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KASHĪR

A History of Kashmīr

by
Al-Hājj Dr. G. M. D. SUFI

SECOND VOLUME

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Dr. G. M. D. Sufi has presented his *Kashīr* to the University of the Panjab. The University has accepted it. *Kashīr* now appears as a Panjab University Publication. Dr. Sufi has no interest in its sale.

4th December, 1943.

M. AFZAL HUSAIN,
Vice-Chancellor,
University of the Panjab.

KASHĪR

BEING A HISTORY OF KASHMĪR

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The strong injunction of the Prophet of Islam embodied in his two traditions, *viz.* (*i*) 'the acquisition of knowledge is incumbent on every Muslim,' and (*ii*) 'he who goes out in search of knowledge is working in the way of God till he returns (from his search)' created among his followers a universal desire for knowledge. Within his lifetime, was formed the nucleus[1] of an educational institution, which, in after years, grew into universities at Baghdād, Salerno, Cairo and Cordova. It was, however, in the second century that this literary and scientific activity of the Muslims commenced in earnest. Baghdād, in this connexion, shines out as a beaconlight to the whole of Asia for the diffusion of learning. Under the Umayyads, says Ameer Ali,[2] Muslims were passing through a period of probation, preparing themselves for the great task they were called upon to undertake.

Under the 'Abbāsids, the Muslims became the repositories of the knowledge of the world in keeping with their claim as the devotees of a universal religion. Various parts of the globe were ransacked by the agents of the Caliphs for "the hoarded wealth of antiquity," which was brought to Baghdād and "laid before an admiring and appreciative public." Schools and academies sprang up in every direction. Free public libraries were established in every city. And the great philosophers of the ancient world were studied side by side with the Qur'ān. In the age of

1. Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, Christophers, London, 1922, page 362.

2. *Ibid.*, page 371

Charlemagne the more characteristic ideas of the modern West, in 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī's words,* were enshrined in Arabic works, and the practical arts and sciences were cultivated by the Muslims. The *'Ilm-ul-Kalām* of Islam and the medieval theology of the schoolmen of Christianity, the Neo-platonists and the Sūfīs show subtle interrelations, sometimes direct and sometimes unconscious, which indicate how religious influences acted as between East and West.

When, however, the light at Baghdād began to wane, Ghaznī offered its hospitality to scholars and *littérateurs* who shed a glorious lustre on the brilliant reign of Mahmūd and his successors under whom literature and the arts flourished abundantly. The munificent patronage of learning under the Saljūqs rivalled that of the 'Abbāsids. But the barbarous campaign of the Mongols put an end, for a time, to the intellectual development of Asia, which had to wait till large numbers of these Mongols had adopted the religion of the Prophet of Arabia. The change of religion changed their outlook on life. "From destroyers of seats of learning and arts they became the founders of academies and the protectors of the learned." Tīmūr was a patron of science and poetry, and was fond of the society of scholars and artists of his day. He was an author as well as a legislator. And the authorship of the *Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūrī* is attributed to him, which claim, though perhaps not quite genuine, at least indicates that Tīmūr had learning enough to be considered a writer of note. Samarqand was resplendent with the glories of the arts and sciences then known to the civilized world. Bukhārā had, in fact, already preceded Samarqand in fame. Kashmīr drank at these fountains. Thereafter it acquired fame as a home of Islamic learning in the days of Sultān Sikandar and his successors.

Promotion of Learning in Kashmir

Under Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn.

We shall begin with the reign of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn (1354–1373 A.C.), as our researches do not help us much before

**Modern India and the West*, edited by L.S.S.O'Malley, Oxford University Press, 1941, page 389.

this period.[1] At the instance of Shāh Hamadān, Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn established the first *Madrasatul-Qur'ān* (a college for the study of the Qur'ān). Abu'l Mashā'ikh Shaikh Sulaimān, who was originally a Hindu, received his education in this school after his conversion, and in course of time distinguished himself as an exponent of the Qur'ān, and was given the title of *Imām-ul-Qurrā,'* the leader of the Qārīs.[2] Madrasas for the teaching of the Qur'ān and the Hadīth were established in all important villages.

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1. The information as given under this section of Chapter VIII has been collected from (1) *Asrār-ul-Abrār* by Bābā Dā'ūd Mishkātī, (2) *Maqāmāt-i-Mahmūdiyya* by Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Naqshbandī, (3) *Tazkirat-ul-'Ulamā'* by Muhammad 'Alī Khān Matīn, Mansabdār, mentioned in the *Khizāna-i-'Amira* as the author of the *Tazkirah-i-Hayāt-ush-Shu'arā,* (4) *Bayān-i-Wāqi'a* a note on the Jāmi' Masjid by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, (5) *Tahqīqāt-i-Amīrī* by Khwāja Amīr-ud-Dīn Pakhlīwāl, (6) *Ta'rīkh-i A'zamī,* and (7) *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan,* and (8) by personal inquiries from local historians in Kashmīr, notably from Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat whose life sketch is given below.

Mufti Muhammad Shah Sa'adat.

Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat is about 66 years old, having been born on Thursday, 18th Muharram, 1298 A.H.=1881 A.C. He has already published 25 treatises on different topics relating to Kashmīr, most of which are given in the Bibliography under published works in *Kashīr.* Nine more are unpublished. Muftī Muhammad Shāh's father was Ghulām Muhyi'd-Dīn Muftī Pāndānī, under whom he began his studies which he continued under Maulavī Rasūl Shāh, Mīr Wā'iz. He then left for Amritsar in 1901 to study grammar, logic and medicine in Maulavī Ghulām Rasūl's Madrasa there. On return to Srīnagar he further studied under Muftī 'Azīz-ud-Dīn, Khwāja Asadullāh, Maulavī Ghulām Mustafā Amritsarī, Muftī Sharīf-ud-Dīn, Maulavī Sadr-ud-Dīn and Maulavī Wafā'ī. In 1917 he took service in the Arabic Institute of the Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srīnagar. In 1919-20 he was employed in the Archæological Department, then under Dr. Hīrānanda Shāstrī, and prepared for the Department a draft volume on the old monuments of Kashmīr. Dr. Hīrānanda, at one time, deputed him to assist Dr. Sir Jiwanjī Jamshedjī Modi, Ph.D., of Bombay in his visits to places of historical and archæological interest in and around Srīnagar. In 1920 he was nominated a member of the Srīnagar Municipality. He was made a Darbārī in 1924. The Muftī has two sons Jalāl-ud-Din, B.Sc., B.T., and Nūr-ud-Dīn. Muftī Ahmad Shāh, M.A., L.T., Munshī Fāzil, in the Kashmīr Educational Service, is Sa'ādat's maternal uncle's son. Mīr Wā'iz Maulavī Yūsuf Shāh, a noted religious leader of Srīnagar, is his brother-in-law, being Begam Sa'ādat's brother.

2. A Qārī is one who devotes himself to the reading or reciting of the Qur'ān. The *qirā't* is a method of recitation, punctuation and vocalization of the text of the Qur'ān.

Tajwīd is the art of reciting the Qur'ān, giving each consonant its full value, as much as it requires to be well pronounced without difficulty or exaggeration, strength, weakness, tonality, softness, emphasis, simplicity.

Under Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn.

Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn (1373—1389 A.C.) built a college in his headquarters at Qutbuddīnpōr in Srīnagar, and named it after himself. Pīr Hājī Muhammad Qārī was the head of the institution, which continued its existence till the establishment of Sikh rule in the Valley. Then it closed for want of patronage. It had a long roll of well-known professors and scholars. Mullā Jauhar Nānth was the head of this institution during the reign of Jahāngīr. Mullā Muhsin *Fānī*, the eminent philosopher-poet, and Mullā 'Abdus Sattār Muftī taught their pupils here. Shaikh Rahmatullāh Tārābalī, Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī* Ashāī the poet, Muhammad Zamān Nāfi' Ashāī the historian and the younger brother of Ghanī, Khwāja Qāsim Tirmizī and Mullā Muhammad Kā'ūs, are some of its distinguished alumni. The locality of the school is known as LANGAR-HATTA, signifying that the Sultān had set up a *langar* or free boarding-house for teachers and pupils. Qutb-ud-Dīn thus laid the foundation of a residential system of education in Kashmīr, which provided for free association of teachers and pupils after formal hours of instruction, and thus led the way for Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, in after years, to establish his University of Nau-shahr close to modern Srīnagar. Soibug, eight miles west of Srīnagar (in Tahsīl Baḍgām or Pratāpsinghpōr), Khuyahōm (in Tahsīl Handwāra) and one more village were assigned for its maintenance.

Khwāja A'zam, 'Abdul Wahhāb Nūrī and Pīr Hasan Shāh mention in their respective works the institution of Sayyid

---

There are three kinds of *Tajwīd*:—1. *Tartīl*, slow recitation; 2. *Hadr*, rapid recitation; 3. *Tadwīr*, medium recitation. *Tajwīd*, "the adornment of recitation," has for its object to prevent the tongue making any mistake in the recitation of the divine words. Besides the study of the articulation of consonants, *Tajwīd* deals with the knowledge of the laws which regulate the pause, the *imlā* or inclination of the vowel to the sound *i* and contraction.

The consonants fall into two groups, *Musta'liya*, or elevated, so called because in pronouncing them, the tongue is raised to the palate. *Mustafila*, or depressed, so called because the tongue is below the palate when they are pronounced.

There are two kinds of contractions; *Great* when the consonants are both vocalized. *Little* when the first of the consonants is quiescent and the second vocalized.

The verses of the Qur'ān, although separated by a sign, are not to be recited with a stop at the end of each of them. The pause is only to be made if the sense of the verse is complete and forms a homogeneous whole.—Moh. Ben Cheneb in *The Encyclopaedia* of *Islam*, Volume IV, page 601.

Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muhaddith, known under the name of the *'Urwatul-Wusqā* (literally, the firmest handle) abbreviated into Kashmīrī as Āravat, and is seen in ruins to this day in Kūcha Ashāī, Fath Kadal. Jamāl-ud-Dīn was induced by Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn to settle in Srīnagar when he came as the companion of Shāh Hamadān. Jamāl-ud-Dīn taught, lived and died here.

Under Sultān Sikandar.

We have already stated on page 152 that Sikandar (1389—1413 A.C.) was an exceedingly generous man, and "his liberal patronage of letters attracted learned men from 'Irāq and Khurāsān and Māvarā-un-Nahr (Trans-Oxiana) to his court in such numbers that it became an example to the courts of other provinces." Near his Jāmi' Masjid, he built a college, which was known as the College of the Jāmi' Masjid. Attached to this college was a hostel. For the expenses of the college and the hostel, several villages of the *parganа** of Māgām were declared a *waqf* or endowment. Qāzī Mīr Muhammad 'Alī Bukhārī, a descendant of Chingīz Khān, was appointed principal of the college on account of his erudition. Some of the noted lecturers were: Mullā Muhammad Afzal Bukhārī for Hadīth, Mullā Muhammad Yūsuf for Philosophy, and Mullā Sadr-ud-Dīn Kāshī for Mathematics. Sayyid Husain Mantiqī, the well-known logician, taught logic and metaphysics.

Under Baḍ Shāh.

Now we come to the glorious period of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn (1420—70 A.C.). His *Dār-ul-'Ulūm* or the University at Naushahr, not far from modern Srīnagar, was a grand monument of his love of learning. The buildings were set up near the royal palace, and the university flourished under the rectorship of the eminent scholar and savant, Mullā Kabīr Nahvī. The Mullā was the author of a commentary on *Sharh Mullā* and was Shaikh-ul-Islam, well-known for his erudition, learning and piety. This great scholar was assisted by a large number of professors and lecturers attracted from different parts of the world. Mullā Ahmad Kashmīrī, Mullā Hāfiz Baghdādī, Mullā Pārsā Bukhārī, Mullā Jamāl-ud-Dīn Khwārizmī who subsequently became Chief Justice, and Mīr 'Alī Bukhārī and Mullā Yūsuf Rāshidī were among the more noted teachers. The revenues of several villages

*A *pargana* is an aggregate of villages. The *pargana* is the smaller unit after the *shiqq* or the *sarkār*. W. H. Moreland in the *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, 1929, has identified the *pargana* with the *qasbah* (pp. 18-19).

were assigned to meet the expenses of the university. A translation bureau was also established under the auspices of the university. It was here that books were translated from Arabic and Sanskrit into Persian and Kashmīrī. The *Mahābhārata* was ordered to be translated. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalyāṇa or Kalhaṇa was brought uptodate by Jonarāja, and a history of Kashmīr was compiled in Persian entitled *Bahr-ul-Asmār* or 'The Sea of Tales,' by Mullā Ahmad. The Sultān's patronage of learning was not confined to Muslims alone. Hindu scholars were also generously rewarded for their eminence in letters and science. Uttāsōm held a high place in the bureau, was the head of what may be called the department of education, and wrote a life of the Sultān entitled *Jainacharita*. Yōdhabhaṭṭa had mastered the whole of the *Shāh-nāma* which he recited to the delight of the Sultān. Even Pandit Ḥargopāl Kaul[1] *Khasta*, who was deported from Kashmīr for tearing down the Qur'ān in 1896 A.C.,[2] in his enthusiasm for the Sultān, says that he was called "not only Baḍ Shāh, meaning the Great Sovereign, but *Baṭ Shāh* on account of his patronage of the Baṭs or Pandits."

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn spent huge sums on the collection of a library for his university. He sent out agents to different parts of the world to secure books and manuscripts for his library, which is said to have equalled the leading libraries of the time in Turkistān and Īrān, and which existed for about a century till the days of Sultān Fath Shāh.

Baḍ Shāh gave six lakhs of rupees for the Madrasatul-'Ulūm at Siālkōt.[3] The queen of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn even gave to the Sultān her most valuable necklace for the promotion of learning.

In Zainagīr, the Sultān established a college between his palace and the royal garden. This also served as a centre for the diffusion of learning in the Valley. A large madrasa was also established at Sir, in Dachhanpōr, near Islāmābād. Mullā Ghāzī Khān was the head of this madrasa.

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1. *Guldasta-i-Kashmīr* by Pandit Hargopāl Kaul *Khasta*, Pleader, 1883, page 116.

2. از روضهٔ کشمیر بدر شد is the chronogram of *Khasta's* deportation, *viz.* 1314 A.H.,=1896 A.C.=1953 Bikramī. The deportation is versified as follows:—

بحکمِ ریزیڈنٹِ کشمیریان شُد اِخراج ازین مُلکِ کشمیریان

3. The *Mu'ayyid-ul-Fuzalā* of Muhammad 'Alī Shirwānī.

Under Sultān Hasan Shāh.

According to the contemporary annalist, Çrīvara, Gul Khātūn, the mother of Sultān Hasan Shāh, built a madrasa. The Sultān himself constructed a *khānqāh*. The Madrasa-i-Dār-ush-Shifā was also founded by him. The Shaikh-ul-Islam of the day, and the *pīr* or the spiritual guide of the Sultān, Bābā Ismā'īl Kubravī, the great-grandson of Abu'l Mashāikh Shaikh Sulaimān, of whom we have spoken in connexion with Shāh Hamadān's Madrasatul-Qur'ān, presided over it. This madrasa stood on the Ḍal at Pakhrī-bal on the eastern spur of the Harī-parbat and consisted of 360 snug cubicles. The revenues of the Bāghāt-i-Malkha lying between Nauhatta and the Ḍal in Srīnagar, and of the village Benhāma in Lār, in the Sind valley above Gāndarbal, were assigned to it. Akbar used this same building as the Jharōka-i-Shāhī for the emperor's *darshan* or appearance to the public. Today the visitor will find here the temple of Pandit Har Kaul, a merchant of Srīnagar. Shāh Begam, the wife of Malik Ahmad, the prime minister, set up a school. Naurūz, her son, likewise built a madrasa for religious instruction. Malik Tāj Baṭ followed their example. Hayāt Khātūn (of the Baihaqī Sayyid family) the queen of Hasan Shāh, repaired old buildings dedicated to learning.

Under Husain Shāh Chak.

Husain Shāh Chak founded a great college, and sought the company of the pious and the learned. He gave Zainapōr as a *jāgīr* for the college which was known as Madrasa-i-Husain Shāh in the Husain Āngan locality, now known as Khānqāh Naqshbandī, Khwāja Bāzār Mahalla, Srīnagar. This college primarily opened in the northern corner of the Kūh-i-Mārān near the Khānqāh-i-Kubravī, at the instance of the Pādshāh's spiritual *pīr* Bābā Ismā'īl, of the preceding paragraph. A library was also built and a free hostel was attached to the college. The villages of Wandhāma, Haran, Darind, Birhāma and the gardens of Daulatābād, Rainawārī, and Bāgh-i-Angūrī, the modern Malkha, were set apart for the maintenance of the hostel and the library. The college was run by Shaikh Fathullāh Haqqānī assisted by Akhund Mullā Darvīsh. Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, a well-known saint of Kashmīr, was a student of this college. Husain Shāh also gave a *jāgīr* for extending the Dār-ush-Shifā, the madrasa founded by Sultān Hasan Shāh mentioned above.

Under the Mughuls.

Darasgāh-i-Mullā Haidar was established in the reign of Jahāngīr by Mullā Haidar 'Allāma in Mahalla Gojwāra near the Poets' Gardens, Bāghāt-i-Shā'ir Wārī, and it turned out a large number of scholars.

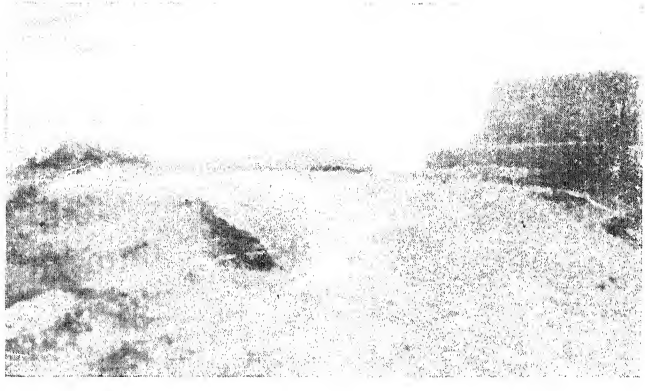
Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd Naqshbandī (*supra* p. 272) founded the Madrasa-i-Khwājagān-i-Naqshband in the reign of Shāh Jahān in Khwāja Bāzār near Khānqāh Naqshbandī. Mullā Haqdād of Badakhshān was the head of the madrasa.

Prince Dārā Shukūh, who wrote his *Risāla-i-Haqq-numā* in 1646 A.C. while he was in Kashmīr, will be remembered for having established the residential 'School of Sūfiism' for *Kasb-i-Māh* (literally, Acquisition of the Moon) at the instance of his spiritual tutor, Akhund Mullā Muhammad Shāh Badakhshānī, on a spur of the Zebanwan mountain higher up the present Chashma-i-Shāhī. Shaikh Shāh Muhammad bin Mullā 'Abd Muhammad, commonly known as Mullā Shāh or Lisānullāh, came from Arksa, near Rustak in Badakhshān, to Lāhore in 1023 A.H. (1614 A.C.), and became a disciple of Miyān Mīr,[1] the great saint of the time. The Mullā was highly respected by Dārā Shukūh who was initiated by him into the Qādirī order in 1049 A.H. (1639 A.C.). After the death of his *pīr*, Miyān Mīr, in 1045 A.H. (1635 A.C.), Mullā Shāh retired to Kashmīr where he passed many days of his life in this monastery built by Dārā Shukūh and his sister Jahān Ārā. Mullā Shāh died at Lāhore in 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.C.), the chronogram of his own composition is :— مُلا شاه جان داد در توحید (See *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī*). He was of the Qādirī *tarīqa* of Sūfīs.

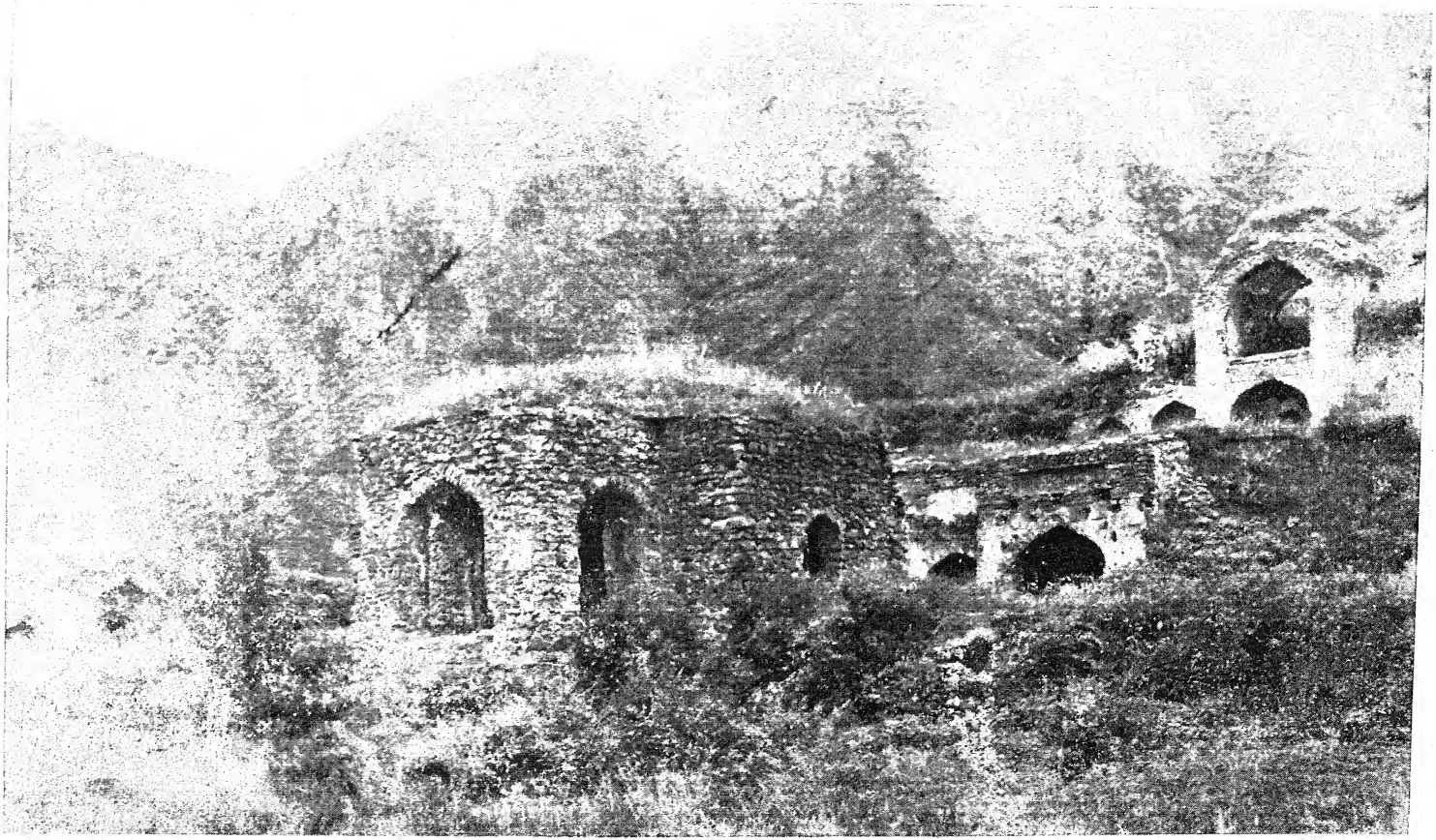
The Mullā was a voluminous writer and has left a *Dīvān*,[2] which has been lithographed, besides several works on Sūfiism. Dārā's *Sakīnatul-Awliyā* gives the Mullā's life on pages 116—158. This school of Sūfiism for *Kasb-i-Māh*, among other things, taught penance and devotion, for puri-

1. Mīr Muhammad bin Sā'in Dātā, commonly known as Miyān Mīr or Miyān Jīv, also Shāh Mīr, born of a Qāzī family at Sehwān, Sind, in 938 A.H. (1531 A.C.), came to Lāhore when twenty-five, and stayed there for about sixty years. He was highly respected for his piety and was frequently visited by Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shukūh. Miyān Mīr died on the 7th Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 1045 A.H. (1635 A.C.) at the age of 107. Dārā Shukūh's *Sakīnatul-Awliyā* deals with the life of Miyān Mīr and his disciples. There is also a notice of Miyān Mīr's life in Dārā's *Safīnatul-Awliyā*.

2. The text and English Translation of the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* by Khān Bahādur M. Mahfūz-ul-Haqq, M.A., Professor of Persian and Arabic, Presidency Collage, Calcutta, 1929, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 63.



The Mazār-ush-Shū'arā or the Poets' Graveyard,
Duragjan, Dal Gate, Srīnagar.



The ruined Parī Mahall, near the Chashma-i-Shāhī, Srīnagar. Prince Dārā Shukūh built this residential School of Sūfiism at the instance of his spiritual tutor, Mullā Shāh of Badakhshān, and named it after his own wife Nādira Begam, supposed to be known also as Parī Begam, the daughter of Prince Parvīz, the son of Jahāngīr.

fication of mind and elevation of soul, by devotional exercises, performed at night during moonlight. The beauty of the spot, its solitude, its general magnificent view of the surroundings particularly of the dark blue, calm, unruffled water of the Ḍal for a mile, and the charm of softening moonlight must have had, no doubt, a most ennobling effect on the mind of the devotees. It is a contrast indeed that, while Akbar had his inclination to the sun, Dārā Shukūh turned to the moon ! But I am afraid we have yet to be clear on this *Kasb-i-Māh.* The building is now in ruins, and is called Parī Mahall (the Fairy Palace), after the name of Dārā Shukūh's wife Nādira Begam known as Parī Begam.[1] She was the daughter of Prince Parvīz, Jahāngīr's son, and is buried in the Dargāh of Miyān Mīr, Lāhore.

The Parī Mahall with a domed ceiling had a garden with six terraces watered by a nearby spring. The retaining wall was ornamented with a series of arches. One statement attributes the construction of the Mahall to astronomical observations, another to astrological studies under the Mughuls.

The Parī Mahall is also called Kūntilun, because, it is said, it was to be "a copy of a castle named Tilun in India."[2] But when ready, the Mahall was not found to equal the Tilun. Dārā Shukūh, therefore, in disgust remarked *Kū Tilun*, i.e., what comparison could it bear with Tilun ? This was corrupted into Kūntilun. This is the statement of the late Pandit Anand Kaul Bāmzai, ex-President, Srīnagar Municipality, for which no authority has been quoted by him in his *Archaeological Remains.* The explanation could be held plausible only if one could be sure of the location and importance of Tilun in India which is hardly known at all.

[Probably, the reference is to the castle of Tilā on the Urūmiyah lake in Īrān where Hulāgū stored treasures plundered from Baghdād and the neighbouring provinces of the Caliphate. Tilā is also Hulāgū's burial-place and of other of the Mongol princes. The castle or fortress of Shāhā is the other name of the castle of Tilā.]

The Madrasa-i-Sayyid Mansūr came into existence in 1125 A.H. (1713 A.C.), under the patronage of Nawwāb 'Ināyatullāh Khān, governor of Kashmīr during Mughul rule. Akhund Mullā Sulaimān Kallu was appointed to the headship of the madrasa, and the village of Wangām was

1. The *Nigāristān-i-Kashmīr*, page 65.

2. *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir* by Pandit Anand Kaul, 1935, page 92.

assigned for its maintenance. The Madrasa-i-Mullā Kamāl and Mullā Jamāl turned out men like Shaikh Ismā'īl Chishtī, Bābā Nasīb-ud-Dīn Ghāzī, and Qāzī Abu'l Qāsim.

There is ample testimony to the Kashmīrīs' love of books in numerous private collections, some of which have unfortunately been gradually sold out from the Valley, and have found their way down to India and to Europe and America.

It was in Kashmīr that Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt wrote his *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*.*

Amīr Fathullāh Shīrāzī died of typhoid due to the intemperate eating of *harīsa* or 'pottage of wheat and meat' in 998 A.H. (1589 A.C.) in Srīnagar, and was buried at the Kūh-i-Sulaimān beside the grave of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān Chaugān Begī. His "separation fell heavily on His Majesty Emperor Akbar when Shaikh Faizī composed the following elegy" :—

(۱) دگر هنگامِ آن آمد که عالم از نظام افتد
جهانِ عقل را، در نیم رُوز عَلمِ شام اُفتد (؟)

(۲) همه گنجینهٔ اِقبال در دستِ لئیام آید
همه خُونابهٔ ادبار در کاسِ کرام اَفتد

(۳) حقیقت گُم کند سررشتهٔ تحقیقِ مقصد را
معانی از بیان ماند، روابط از کلام اُفتد

(۴) زبانِ جهل جُنبد بی مُحابا در سخن رانی
مطالب نا درست آید، دلائل ناتمام اُفتد

(۹) مُباهات از وجودِ کاملِ اُو بُود دوران را
به دورانِ جلال الدین محمد اکبرِ غازی

(۱۰) شهنشاهِ جهان را از وفاتش دیده پُر نم شُد
سکندر اشکِ حسرت ریخت کافلاطون ز عالم شُد

منتخب التواریخ از عبدالقادر بدایونی

مطبوعه کلکته ۱۸۶۵ء- جلد دُوم - صفحه ۳۷۰ - ۳۷۱

*The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*—English Translation by Ross and Elias, Introduction, page 23.

It was in Srīnagar, Maulavī Muhammad Husain *Āzād*[1] has noted, that Akbar was enjoying his visit in 997 A.H. (1588 A.C.) that he specially sent for Hamīda Bānū Begam Maryam Makānī, his mother, and directed Abu'l Fazl to write to her :

حاجی بسُوے کعبہ رود از براے حج

یا رب بُود کہ کعبہ بیاید بسُوے ما

And it was also in Srīnagar[2] in 1005 A.H.=1596 A.C., that Akbar asked Jamāl-ud-Dīn Husain Inju or Anju to compile the Persian lexicon afterwards known as the *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*. Jamāl-ud-Dīn took twelve years to complete the work, and finished it in 1017 A.H. in the reign of Jahāngīr, after whom it was named. Jahāngīr writes : "In truth he (Anju) had taken much pains, and collected together all the words from the writings of ancient poets. There is no book like this in the science."[3] It was revised by the author towards the end of his life. Jamāl-ud-Dīn was promoted to the title of 'Azud-ud-Daulah (The Upper Arm of the State) by Jahāngīr. It is stated in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*[4] that Jamāl-ud-Dīn presented a copy of the lexicon to Jahāngīr in the 18th year of his reign (1032 A.H.=1622 A.C.). Jamāl-ud-Dīn was, for some years, governor of Bihār.

Mullā Muhammad 'Alī Kashmīrī turned to Ahmadnagar in his early youth, and took up employment on the staff of Sa'ādat Khan Dakkanī in the dominion of the Nizām Shāhīs. Later on, he was attached to the King, Sultān Burhān-ul-Mulk. When Khān Khānān 'Abdur Rahīm took Ahmadnagar, Mullā Muhammad 'Alī got on to his staff. On Mullā's impressing 'Abdur Rahīm by his ability, he was engaged in translating the well known work of 'Allāmatul-'Ulamā' Khwāja Sā'in-ud-Dīn from Arabic into Persian. Mullā 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī has extolled his translation in his *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*, published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl in 1931, Vol. III, Fasc. I,

1. The *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, Lāhore, 1910, page 126.

2. Rieu's *Catalogue* of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. II, page 497.

3. English Translation of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, page 257.

4. *Ibid*, page 257.

pp. 58-59. It was on the 15th Rabī'-us-Sānī, 1025 A.H. = 1615-16 A.C., that Mullā Muhammad 'Alī died at Malkāpur, now in the Buldāna district of Berār, Central Provinces, and is buried there.

The *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* of Mu'tamad Khān (page 308) mentions Mullā Bāqir Kashmīrī as one of the learned men of the court of Jahāngīr.

An eminent poet and *insha*-writer was Mullā Muhammad Yūsuf Kashmīrī Hamadānī. Yūsuf distinguished himself as a soldier too. He was the brother of Muhammad Sādiq Kashmīrī, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī*, of whom we shall speak later (see page 356). Yūsuf, as Rieu's *Catalogue* quotes, was a noted poet of the reign of Jahāngīr. He died in A.H. 1033 = A.C. 1623.

Jahāngīr, as the pupil of Faizī, had a special taste for Persian poetry. Therefore, his appointment of *Tālib* of Āmul (a town in the district of Māzandarān or old Tabaristān in Īrān), as his own court-poet, implies great literary appreciation of Tālib by the emperor. Āmulī's* unpublished *ghazal* (ode) on Kashmīr should, therefore, be read with interest :—

فیضِ پیاله بخشد آب و هواے کشمیر
از خِشتِ خُم نهادند گویا بِناے کشمیر

چُون خاکِ عشقبازان هر لحظه در مشامم
بُوے محبت آید از کُوچهاے کشمیر

کشمیر می سِتانم از حق بجاے جنّت
امّا نمی سِتانم جنّت بجاے کشمیر

شاهنشه جهانگیر چید از بهارِ اُو گُل
خُوش مُستجاب گردید آخر دُعاے کشمیر

---

*Nawwāb Sadr Yār Jang Maulavī Habīb-ur-Rahmān Khān Shirwānī, Hony. D. Litt., Ra'īs, Aligarh, kindly sent me a copy of this ode.

گردے ز نُور بنمُود، همرنگ نُور گُفتم
کین سُرمهٔ بهشت است یا تُوتیاے کشمیر
جنّت کُجا تواند با اُو برابری کرد
چُون لُطفِ پادشه گشت رونق فزاے کشمیر
وصفِ بهشتِ جاوید از عاشقانِ اُو پُرس
ما را زبان نگردد جُز در ثناے کشمیر
هر کس پَیِ تماشا کردند خُوش فضائے
رِضوان فضاے جنّت، طالب فضاے کشمیر

Abū Tālib *Kalīm*, who was born in 1028 A.H. (1618 A.C.) and who died on 5th Zulhijja, 1061 A.H.=1651 A.C., was the poet-laureate of Shāh Jahān. He was engaged in versifying for the emperor the *Pādshāh-nāma* also called *Shāh-nāma* or *Shāhinshāh-nāma* in Kashmīr when he died suddenly. He was buried not far from the tomb of Muhammad Qulī *Salīm*, who died in 1057 A.H. (1647 A.C.), and who was another well-known poet of the reign of Shāh Jahān. The *Pādshāh-nāma* begins with the verse—

بنامِ خُدائے که از شوقِ جُود دُو عالم عطا کرد و سائل نبُود

Hājī Muhammad Jān *Qudsī* during these days wrote :—

خُوشا کشمیر و خاکِ پاکِ کشمیر
که سر برزد بهشت از خاکِ کشمیر
سوادش سُرمهٔ چشمِ بهار است
بهشت و جُوے شیرش آبِ لار است
ز جُوشِ سبزه در کُوه و بیابان
زمینِ کِشته و نا کِشته یکسان
جُز ان گُلها که مشهُورِ جهانست
گُل اینجا بُوستان در بُوستانست
کُند در بذلِ عُمرِ جاودانی
هوایش کار آبِ زندگانی

بزیرِ سبزه ره در کُوه و صحرا
چُو از عقدِ زمرّد رشته پیدا
بود مائل بسبزی خاکِ پاکش
مگر آبِ زمُرّد خُورده خاکش
ز فیضِ ابر می رُوید درین کاخ
ز تارِ شمع گُل پیشی از رگِ شاخ
کُند گُل بر سرِ دیوار ریشه
شود فولاد سبز از آبِ تیشه
نگاری بر ورق گر صُورتِ خار
ز تاثیرِ هوا گُل آورد بار
گر اُفتد از کفِ ساقی پیاله
دواند ریشه در گُل همچو لاله
بمینا گر کُند فیضِ هوا کار
ببالد چُون کدُوی تازه بر تار

—حاجی محمد جان قُدسی
از "پادشاه نامه" عبدالحمید لاهوری -
جِلد اوّل - آغازِ سال هفتم - صفحه ۲۲

Muhammad Sādiq Kashmīrī is the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī* which consists of the lives of eminent men who flourished under Tīmūr and his successors down to the reign of Shāh Jahān. Muhammad Sādiq was born about 1000 A.H. = 1591 A.C. He spent his life in Delhi where he met Mullā Kāmī of Sabzwār and Shaikh Husain Kamāngar. Sādiq studied under Shaikh Fā'iz, and became a favourite disciple of Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Dihlavī from whom he daily received affectionate notes during an illness which befell him in that city, as mentioned by the author on folios 293*b* and 309*a*. Muhammad Sādiq had contemplated, as he states in the preface, compiling the lives of saints, philosophers, and poets from the time of the early Khalifs

to the reign of Shāh Jahān, but he was compelled by want of leisure to confine himself to those who lived under the house of Tīmūr. The *Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī* is divided into ten periods or *tabaqāt*, corresponding to the reigns of Tīmūr and his successors, *viz.*, (1) Tīmūr (2) Mīrān Shāh and Shāh Rukh, (3) Mīrzā Sultān Muhammad and Ulugh Beg, (4) Abū Sa'īd, (5) 'Umar Shaikh, (6) Bābur, (7) Humāyūn, (8) Akbar, (9) Jahāngīr, and (10) Shāh Jahān. In each of the *tabaqāt*, the biographical notices are arranged in three sections or *abwāb* comprising (i) the Sayyids and saints, (ii) the learned or the *'Ulamā*, (iii) physicians or the *Hukamā*, and men of letters or the Fuzalā, (iv) the poets or the Shu'arā. The notices are short but 871 in number. A full list of names occupies folios 2-7. The manuscript has 328 folios. The date of the composition of the *Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī* is not mentioned in the preface. A.H. 1046 = A.C. 1636 is spoken of, vide folio 303*b*, as the current year. The manuscript is in the British Museum, Or. 1673 of Dr. Charles Rieu's *Catalogue*, described in Vol. 3, pp. 1009-10, from which this note is summarized. The copy is 8½ inches by 5½; 13 lines, 3¼ inches long, written on thin English paper in the 19th century.

'Imād-ud-Dīn Mahmūd Ilāhī Husainī, known as Mīr Ilāhī, the author of the *Tazkirah*, belonged to the family of the Sayyids of Asadābād, Hamadān, in Īrān, and lived some years in Isfahān under Shāh 'Abbās I, in frequent intercourse with the poet Hakīm Shifā'ī. He then came to India, and accompanied Zafar Khān to Kashmīr in 1041-42 A.H.=1631-32 A.C., and resided there till his death in 1063 A.H.=1652-53 A.C.

Supported by the bounty of Zīb-un-Nisā Begam, eldest daughter of the Emperor Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, Mullā Safī-ud-Dīn Ardabīlī lived in comfort in Kashmīr, and translated the gigantic Arabic *Tafsīr-i-Kabīr* (The Great Commentary) into Persian, and named it after his patroness, the *Zīb-ut-Tafāsīr*.

The *Catalogue* of the Bānkīpur Oriental Public Library (Vol. XIV, pages 122-23) has a MS. of the commentary on Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn bin Abī Qāsim Ja'far Hillī's (d. 676 A.H.=1277 A.C.) well-known Shī'ite work *Sharā'i'-ul-Islām* on Muslim theology and law by 'Abdul Ghanī bin Abī Tālib Kashmīrī entitled *Jāmi'-ur-Razavī* written in 1161 A.H.=

1748 A.C. The preface mentions some leading persons of Kashmīr such as Abu'l Mansūr Khān, Afrāsiyāb Khān and his son 'Alī Rizā.

There was a stone slab describing very briefly, in the *tughrā* script, the promotion of learning from the days of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, put up near the Fath Kadal, close to the spot where Tān Sain is said to have lived during his stay in Kashmīr. This slab has unfortunately disappeared.

Some Men of Learning

1. *Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī.*

We shall now turn to the noted men of learning of these days. Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī was not only considered the most learned of his contemporaries in Kashmīr, but one of the most learned men of his age, a man of international reputation for learning, scholarship and piety.

Shaikh Ya'qūb was the son of Shaikh Hasan Ganāī of the 'Āsimī clan. The 'Āsimī clan traces its descent from 'Āsim, a son of Caliph 'Umar Fārūq the Great. Ya'qūb was the second of the seven sons of Hasan as he himself says below :

همه هفت تن بُوده او را پسر
چو هفت اخترِ آسمان جلوه گر
کمالش به هر فنّ و نامش کمال
کمالاتش افزُون ز حدِّ مقال
مرا زان میان رُتبه حدِّ وسَط
کلان تر ز من لیک یک کس فقط
ز من خُوردتر آن بفطرت لطیف
که نامِ وے آمد محمد شریف
ازو خُوردتر شاهِ نوروُز نام
به کسبِ کمالاتِ عالی مقام
پس از وے محمد که آمد بمن
از آنِ جُمله هم صُحبت و هم سخن

براهیم ازو خُوردتر آمده

ز اسرارِ دین با خبر آمده

ازو خُوردتر حیدرِ نیک خُو ست

فرشته خِصال و ملک خُوی اُوست

—"مغازی النبی" از شیخ یعقُوب صرفی

Pīr Hasan Shāh, a historian of Kashmīr, says that the reported date of Shaikh Ya'qūb's birth is 928 A.H. (1521 A.C.). The *Fatahāt-i-Kubraviyya** (MS.) of Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhāb Nūrī, written in A.H. 1163 (1749 A.C.), also gives the same date (page 408). *Shaikh Hayy* is the chronogram. Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī and the local historians of Kashmīr agree about the date of his death which is 1003 A.H. (1594 A.C.). It appears that the Shaikh lived up to the age of 73, though some say 75, which may be due to a difference in lunar and solar reckoning of dates. While a child of seven, Ya'qūb committed the whole of the Qur'ān to memory. He also began to versify at seven as he himself says :

چُو در سالِ هفتم نهادم قدم ز طبعم روان گشت شعرِ عجم

پدر کردے اِصلاحِ اشعارِ من به اِصلاح بُودے مددگارِ من

He studied under Mullā 'Ainī when the latter was in Kashmīr where he died, and was buried in the Mazār Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh. Mullā 'Ainī was the pupil of the great Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān *Jāmī* so called from Jām, a district in the province of Herāt. Mullā 'Ainī prophesied that Ya'qūb would, in course of time, rise to the literary eminence of a second *Jāmī*. Mullā Basīr Khān Khandabhavanī was his next teacher. Thereafter, Sarfī set out for his education abroad, halting for study at Siālkōt, Lāhore, Kābul, Samarqand, Mashhad, Mecca, Medīna, etc. At the age of 25, Ya'qūb was married in 953 A.H. A son named Muhammad Yūsuf was born but he died in early youth. According to Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badā-

*Loaned to the writer by Shaikh Ghulām Muhammad, M. A. M.O.L. (Panjāb), Retired Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Jammu and Kashmīr.

yūnī,[1] Ya'qūb became the spiritual successor of Shaikh Husain of Khwārizm,[2] in Turkistān—the pupil of Hājī Muhammad A'zam who died in Syria in 956 or 958 A.H.—and acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two holy places of Islam. Ya'qūb received, at Mecca, from the renowned Shaikh Ibn Hajar Makkī, the great teacher of Hadīth, the necessary *ijāzah* or licence to give instruction in the Traditions of the Prophet. Ya'qūb was well versed in the writings of Ibn-ul-'Arabī.

Clad in the robes of the Shaikhs of Arabia and Īrān, he profited greatly by his intercourse with them. He was ordained to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide and, as such, had many disciples, both in Hindustān and Kashmīr. Ya'qūb had also the benefit of intercourse with the well-known saint, Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fathpūr Sīkrī. Both were together on the occasion of the Hajj which was the last Hajj of Shaikh Salīm.

Shaikh Ya'qūb wrote an Arabic *taqrīz* or *imprimatur* or introduction on Faizī's *Tafsīr* entitled *Sawāti'-ul-Ilhām* (The Rays of Inspiration). Badāyūnī says: "He was illustrious, and was relied upon as an authority on all branches of learning which are treated of in Arabic, such as Qur'ānic commentaries, the Traditions of the Prophet and Sūfiism, and was an authorized religious leader." Abu'l Fazl[3] considers him "the greatest authority on religious matters." Not long before his death, he was writing a commentary which, in the words of Badāyūnī, was "one of the most wonderful productions of his perfect genius." Badāyūnī further adds that both Humāyūn and Akbar had a great belief in him, and conferred distinction on him by admitting him to their society. They regarded him with gracious favour. And he was held in high esteem and was much honoured. His generosity and open-handedness were unique at that time. According to the author of the *Dabistān*, he was "a spiritual guide of the age" (Shea and Troyer, Vol. III, p. 92). Shaikh Ya'qūb was also the superior of a hospice.

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1. Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. III, p. 142, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1869.

2. In 1924 Khwārizm united with Bukhārā to form the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic.

3. The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, H. Blochmann's English Translation, Calcutta 1873, Vol. I, page 182.

Shaikh Ya'qūb's *takhallus*, or poetical name, was *Sarfī* which, in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Vol. I, page 581 and No. 2), is given as *Sairafī* on account of the use of this latter in some poems. The *Fatahāt-i-Kubraviyya* of Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhāb Nūrī (page 408) gives the earliest specimen of Sarfī's poetry:

اے رُخ مہ طلعتان آئینۂ رُوے تُو ام
میلِ خُوبان در ہوای رُوی نیکوے تُو ام

گر بُجویم عنبر سارا و گر مُشکِ خُتن
در دماغِ جان نمی آید مگر بُوے تُو ام

Sarfī completed a *khamsa* or a series of five *masnavīs* in imitation of the *khamsa* of Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān *Jāmī*, his teacher's teacher, the earlier *khamsa* being that of Nizāmī. Sarfī thus fulfilled the prophecy of his own teacher, Mullā 'Ainī, the pupil of the great Jāmī. Sarfī was the author of many treatises on the art of composing enigmas, and also of quatrains on the mysticism of the Sūfīs with a commentary. Abu'l Fazl says (The *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, page 581) that he was well-acquainted with all branches of poetry, and Badāyūnī writes that his "genius was highly adapted to the composition of eloquent poetry." The following couplets are by Sarfī:

در صد ہزار آینہ یکرُوست جلوہ گر
در ہرچہ بینم آن رُخِ نیکُوست جلوہ گر

خلقے بہر طرف شُدہ سر گشتہ بہرِ دُوست
و این طُرفہ تر کہ دُوست بہر سُو ست جلوہ گر

مشکن اے غم دل مارا و مبین کان دلِ کیست
دلِ ما ہست ولے بین کہ درُو منزلِ کیست

گر بکُویش گُذری پاے ز سر باید کرد
قصہ کوتہ ز سرِ خُویش گُذر باید کرد

[I see that Comely Face manifest in whatever I regard;
Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors, in all, that One Face is manifest.

On all sides, people are wandering in search of the Beloved,

And the strange thing is that the Beloved is manifest on every side.

Break not my heart, Oh grief! and regard not whose that heart may be;

The heart is indeed mine but consider Who dwelleth there.

Shouldst thou pass through His street, thou shouldst walk on thy head* (that is, with thy head downward, the ground being far too sacred for thy foot).

To be brief, thou shouldst lose thy head, that is to say, be ready to give up your life.]

The enigma on the name *Shaidā* is also by the Shaikh:

ماهِ من بر رُخ نقاب انداخته وه که عمداً رُوز را شب ساخته

[My moon has cast the veil on her face.
Alas, she hath of set purpose turned day into night.]

When the Shaikh obtained permission to depart from Lāhore for Kashmīr, he wrote a letter from the other side of the river Rāvī to Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī which the latter has reproduced in his *History*. In this, Shaikh Ya'qūb writes: "I hope you will not entirely efface the memory of me from the margin of your heart, and that you will adopt the graceful habit of remembering the absent. If you should have any need of Kashmīr paper for rough notes and drafts, I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmīr the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing of which can be washed from the paper with water so completely that no trace of ink will remain, as you yourself have seen . . . "

The Shaikh, on reaching Kashmīr, sent another letter to Badāyūnī, which was the last that he wrote to him. The Shaikh wrote: "I hope that whenever you sit in Nawwāb Faizī's apartment of fragrant grass (*khas khāna*) on the floor, with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmīr, in the midday heat of summer, drinking the water which, though originally warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation, you will think of me, the captive of the hardships of disappointment:

*I am afraid I must differ from Col. Haig (*vide* page 201), when he translates the first hemistich as follows: If thou sayest to him "It behoves that thy foot pass over my head . . . " This is probably due to difference in the text. The correct words are بگُویش and not بگویش Col. Haig's translation of the last line too is wrong. It should be as given above.—Haig's English Translation of Badāyūnī's *History*, B.A.S., Calcutta.

اے بہ بزمِ وصل حاضر، غائبان را دستگیر

زانکہ دستِ حاضران از غائبان کُوتاہ نیست

["O thou, who art present at the cheerful assembly of union, extend a helping hand to the absent,

"For, the hand of those, who thus meet, is never withheld from the absent.]

"I have lost the rough copy of the verses which I wrote in the new Āsaf Khānī style, explaining what had not previously been clearly expressed. It is possible that you, my honoured friend, may have taken a copy from my rough draft and, if so, I pray you to send me a copy of your copy."

While Shaikh Ya'qūb was in Hindustān, Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindī, better known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-ī-Sānī, used to receive instruction from him in Hadīth or Traditions of the Prophet, and Tasawwuf (mysticism).

Shaikh Ya'qūb died on Thursday the 12th Zīqa'da in the year 1003 A.H. = 1594 A.C., eight years after the commencement of Mughul rule in Kashmīr, and was buried in Mahalla Zaina Kadal, Srīnagar. The chronogram شیخِ اَمم بُود (He was the Shaikh of the Peoples) gives the date of his demise. Shaikh Habībullāh Nau-shahrī's chronogram فخرالانام is given in the *Fatahāt-i-Kubraviyyah* (MS., page 425).—

شاہ یعقُوب قُطب و مُرشدِ رہ قَدّس اللہ ربّنا رُوحہ

کردہ روشن دلِ مُریدان چُون بُود بر چرخ فیض بخشیِ مہ

سُوے عرشِ برین عروج نمُود بر بُراقِ اجل چو شُد ناگہ

چشمِ ظاہر اگرچہ محروم است دیدۂ باطنم برو آگہ

آرے آرے ولی نہ خواہد مُرد فَھُوَ حیّ یکُون فی الجنّہ

چُون فنا فی اللہ آمدہ وصفش شُدہ موصُوف از بقا باللہ

گُفت حُبّی بسالِ تاریخش پنج و ہفتاد سالۂ ان شہ

ہست "فخرُالانام" تاریخش گر نباشد ز بندہ توبیخش

On hearing of Sarfī's death Badāyūnī exclaimed :

یاران همه رفتند و رهِ کعبه گرفتند-
ما مست قدم بر درِ خمّار بماندیم
از نکتهٔ مقصود نشد فهم حدیثے-
لا دین و لا دُنیا، بیکار بماندیم

—مُنتخبُ التواریخ—ج ۲—ص ۴۰۳—مطبُوعه کلکته ۱۸۶۵ء

[All our friends are gone, and have taken the road to the Ka'ba,
We, with tipsy foot, remain at the door of the wine-seller.
Not a word of the points, we propose, has been solved,
We are left beggars, without this world or the next.—W. H. Lowe.]

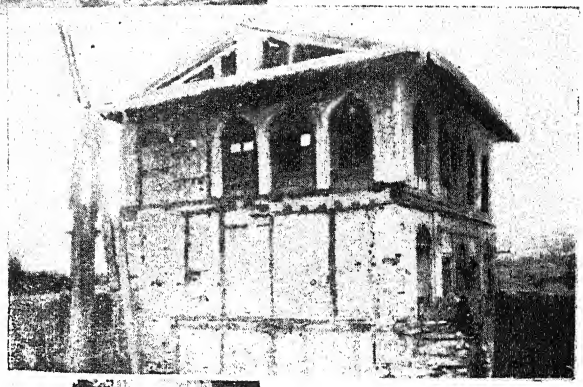
The tomb of Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* attracts visitors and is known as the "Ziyārat-i-Īshān." The word *Īshān* is a Persian pronoun in the third person. It is used in Turkistān in the meaning of *shaikh*, *murshid*, *ustād*, *pīr*, teacher, guide. The celebrated Khwāja Ahrār, who died A.H. 895=A.C. 1490 in Samarqand is always called *Īshān* in his biography. The *īshān* usually lives with his followers in a *khānqāh* (monastery), or the precincts of the tomb of a saint. It is in the sense of teacher that Īshān has been used in respect of Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* in Srīnagar.

Pīr Hasan Shāh has noted the following from among Sarfī's works* in addition to the *Tafsīr–Maslak-ul-Akhyār*, *Wāmiq-u-'Azrā*, *Laylā-Majnūn*, *Maghāzī'n-Nabī*, *Maqāmāt-i-Murshid* (these five form his *Khamsa* already referred to), a *Dīvān*, *Qasā'id* and *Ghazals*, *Manāsik-i-Hajj*, *Sharh* (commentary) of the *Sahīh Bukhārī*, etc. The *Maghāzī'n-Nabī* is a history, in verse, of the struggles of the Prophet of Islam, pages 159, lithographed at the Muhammadī Press, Lāhore, in 1879 A.C. The rest is in manuscript.

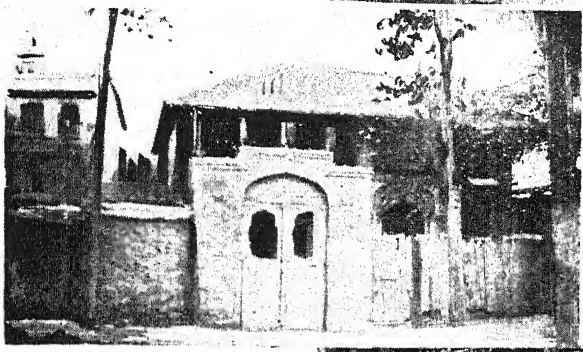
Pre-eminent as was the Shaikh's position in the realm of letters, his place in the politics of Kashmīr was also of considerable importance. On his return from his extensive travels over the Islamic world, Shaikh Ya'qūb was mortified to find Kashmīr divided into factions on account of internecine quarrels. After a careful study of the political

**Hayāt-i-Sarfī* by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, Sābir Electric Press, Lahore, 1356 A.H.=1937 A.C. gives details of Sarfī's writings as also his life.

The reputed grave, shown by an arrow, of Mullā Tāhir "Ghanī," Zaina Kadal, Srīnagar.



The hut supposed to be of Mullā Tāhir "Ghanī," in Mahalla Rājwēr Kadal, Srīnagar, though the structure is not very old.



The tomb of Shaikh Ya'qūb "Sarfī" in Mahalla Hazrat Ishān, old Qutbuddīnpōr, Zaina Kadal, Srīnagar.

The grave of Mullā Muhsin "Fānī" in the locality now known as Masjid Shaikh Mūsā, Gurgārī Mahalla, to the west of the Khānqāh Dārā Shukūh, Zaina Kadal, Srīnagar.

conditions and in consultation with other men of light and leading he, therefore, left for Hindustān, in company with Bābā Dā'ūd Khākī, and took steps to invite Akbar to put a stop to those troubles. The result was the transfer of Kashmīr to Mughul rule.

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2. *Mullā Muhsin Fānī.*

One of the most learned and erudite philosopher-poets of the eleventh century A.H., and a contemporary of the German philosopher, mathematician and man of affairs, G. W. Leibnitz (1646—1716 A.C.), was Mullā Muhammad Muhsin *Fānī*. Kashmīr may well be proud of a scholar of his eminence. Although the actual date of his birth is not traceable from the records before the writer, yet his death is chronicled in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.C.), his grave is reputed to be in Gurgāṛī Mahalla (old Qutb-ud-dīnpōr) close to the Khānqāh Dārā Shukūh, Zaina Kadal, Srīnagar. Putting together the numerical figures obtainable from رفت فانی بعالم باقی which is, curiously enough, Fānī's own composition conveying the date of his own death, he might have been born some time in the earlier part of the eleventh century A.H., or the seventeenth century of the Christian era (about 1615 A.C.). His relationship to another notable figure of Kashmīr, Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī*, of whom we have already spoken, shows that he was descended from a family which enjoyed a reputation for culture and learning. His father's name was Shaikh Hasan, who was the son of Shaikh Muhammad.

After completing his studies at home, in which he distinguished himself in a comparatively short period, Shaikh Muhsin went out from Kashmīr to complete his education, visiting many places and freely mixing with all sorts of people professing different creeds. At last, he reached Balkh, and entered the service of its ruler, designated Vālī, and named Nazr Muhammad Khān. Here it was that he wrote a number of panegyrics in the latter's praise. After having stayed away for some time, Muhsin returned to India where his talents attracted the notice of prince Dārā Shukūh, who recognized them in a suitable way. He was subsequently appointed to the office of Sadārat or judgeship at Allāhābād. Here he became a disciple of Shaikh Muhibullāh, a great saint of his time. In the meantime, the conquest of Balkh

by Prince Murād eclipsed the shining star of Mullā Muhsin's fortunes. In the ex-Vālī's library, verses were found which had been written in praise of the vanquished foe, the former patron of Fānī, and probably some correspondence too. This disclosure resulted in the strong displeasure of Shāh Jahān. Fānī was consequently deprived of his office and of all his privileges, and was dismissed from the court with a paltry subsistence allowance. Shaikh Muhsin then retired to Kashmīr, where he passed his days ostensibly without any public employment, except fostering and imparting learning. And it is said he was happy and respected, and his house was frequented by the most distinguished men of Kashmīr, including the governor of the province. He gave lectures at his house. Ordinarily he would read and comment on the writings of certain authors of eminence. Several scholars of note, among whom were Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī*, Ghanī's brother Mullā Muhammad Zamān *Nāfi*,' and Hājī Aslam *Sālim*, issued from his school. According to one account, Fānī was again raised to the Sadārat of Kashmīr. A desire for change, however, overcame him, and he repaired to Khurāsān, whence he came back to his birth-place, and took to a life of seclusion in a monastery built by Dārā Shukūh. Here, it is believed, he wrote, in 1645 A.C., his *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* or "The School of Sects." Of this we shall speak later. The 'ulamā' or the divines of Kashmīr, condemned him for it, and he was declared *murtadd* or an apostate.

Gladwin says that, besides the *Dabistān*, Mullā Muhsin has left behind him a collection of poems, among which there is a moral essay entitled *Masdar-ul-Āsār* or the 'Source of Signs.' A manuscript copy of the *Dīvān-i-Muhsin Fānī* is in the Panjāb University Library, and other copies are available elsewhere too. Muhsin Fānī's introduction to the *masnavī* of Mullā Shāh begins with—

حامـدا للذی هُو الموجُود که جُز او نیست حامد و محمُود
هُو مَن لیس فی الوجُود سِواه إنهُ لا إلٰه إلا الله

Before we take up the serious question of the authorship of the *Dabistān*, it would be interesting to observe that, even Fānī the 'Perishable' allowed himself to be influenced by a woman called Bachī possessed of extraordinary beauty, though not of very high character. This aroused the bitter jealousy of Zafar Khān *Ahsan*, the *Sūbadār* of Kashmīr, and well-known as the patron of Muhammad 'Alī

Sā'ib of Isfahān. Zafar Khān himself had fallen a victim to the blandishments of Bachī. Not being successful in his advances to her, *Ahsan* vented his spleen in a bitter calumny against *Fānī*. Perhaps, Fānī behaved like Ibn-ul-'Arabī or was swayed like Shiblī Nu'mānī in matters of love.

The Dabistān and its unsettled authorship.

Now a word about the *Dabistān* itself. It is a famous work on the religious and philosophical creeds of Asia. It consists of twelve main sections called *Ta'līm*. These are as follows :—(*i*) Pārsīs, (*ii*) Hindus including Sikhs, (*iii*) Qara Tibbatīs[1], (*iv*) Jews, (*v*) Christians, (*vi*) Muslims, (*vii*) Sādiqīs,[2] (*viii*) Wāhidīs[3], (*ix*) Raushnāīs,[4] (*x*) Ilāhīs[5], (*xi*) Philosophers,[6] and (*xii*) Sūfīs.[7] One, however, misses a detailed account of Buddhism in the *Dabistān*. The short chapter on Buddhism is rather a description of Jainism, the rival creed in early times to that of Buddha. Perhaps Buddhism was almost extinct in India at the time of the author of the *Dabistān*, while Jainism is still to be found. The beliefs and customs of ancient Egypt are also omitted.

In the *Dabistān* which opens with the line :

اے نامِ تو سر دفترِ اطفالِ دبستان

یادِ تو ببالغ خِردان شمع شبستان

1. Qara Tibbatīs are a class of Buddhistic Hindus. 2. Sādiqīs, according to the *Dabistān*, form the sect founded by Musailima, the false prophet of Yemen, who lived during the lifetime of Prophet Muhammad. This sect was not entirely crushed after the founder's fall and appears to have existed in the seventeenth century of the Christian era, and conformed to a second Fārūq or Qur'ān to which a divine origin was attributed. 3. Wāhidīs are the followers of Wāhid Mahmūd who appeared in the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Christian era and is placed by his adherents above Prophet Muhammad and Caliph 'Alī. This sect is said to have been widely spread in the world. In Īrān, the persecution of Shāh 'Abbās forced the Wāhidīs to lie concealed. 4. Miyān Bāyazīd Ansārī was born in the town of Jāllundar in the Punjāb and flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century in the reign of Humāyūn. He took the title of 'Master of Light,' and his followers were called Raushnāīs or 'the enlightened.' 5. Akbar established the Ilāhī (divine) Faith in 1579 A.C., and to the Ilāhians, it was supposed, the author belonged. 6 and 7. The last two chapters relating to Philosophers and Sūfīs are rather selections of all creeds and opinions than particular religions. Sir William Jones supposed these two last chapters not to have been written by the author of the rest of the *Dabistān* which Troyer, its translator, neither affirms nor denies.

important information concerning the religions of different times and countries has been collected. The author's accounts are generally 'clear, explicit and deserving confidence. They agree, on the most material points, with those of other accredited authors.' The author of the *Dabistān* 'enlivens his text by citing interesting quotations from the works of famous poets and philosophers, and by frequent references to books, which deserve to be known. The whole work is interspersed with anecdotes and sayings characteristic of individuals and sects which existed in his times. To what he relates from other sources, he frequently adds reflections of his own, which evince a sagacious and enlightened mind. Thus he exhibits in himself an interesting example of Eastern erudition and philosophy.' The author most commonly leans to the side of progressive reform. The *Dabistān* 'touches upon most difficult points of science and erudition, and comprises in its allusions references practically to the whole history of Asia.'*

Now about the identity of the author. The controversy was started by Sir William Jones. He was probably the first publicly to attribute the authorship of the *Dabistān* to Mullā Muhsin *Fānī*. In his sixth anniversary discourse before the Bengal Asiatic Society, Sir William Jones said :— "This rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions entitled the *Dabistān* and composed by a Muhammadan traveller, a native of Kashmīr, named Muhsin but distinguished by the assumed surname of Fānī, or 'Perishable,' begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of Hūshang." The date of Sir William's discourse was February 19, 1789.

But Captain Vans Kennedy, in his preliminary remarks in his paper on "Notice respecting the religion introduced into India by the Emperor Akbar," said that Sir William Jones was wrong in attributing the authorship of the *Dabistān* to Muhsin. Kennedy was followed by William Erskine. Erskine based his authority on the *Gul-i-Ra'nā* ' or 'The

*Introduction to the *Dabistān*, translated into English by D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843, Vol. I, part III, pp. clxxix—cxcv.

Charming Rose,' by Lachhmī Nārāyan[1] who flourished at Hydarābād, Deccan, at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. William Erskine said that Lachhmī Nārāyan, who had written a short notice of Muhsin Fānī, did not mention the *Dabistān* as a production of Muhsin Fānī. It would appear, therefore, that Erskine's contention is: since Lachhmī Nārāyan does not mention it, we should conclude that Muhsin Fānī never wrote the *Dabistān!*

The late Sir J. J. Modi[2] wrote: "The fact is that as Troyer (the translator of the *Dabistān*) says that the name Muhsin Fānī is found in more than one copy of the *Dabistān*, after the usual address to God in the beginning, in a passage beginning with the words "Muhsin Fānī says," Dastūr Mullā Fīrūz thought that that is the name of a writer, with a quotation from whom the author began his work. So, this writer (*viz.* Fānī), quoted as an authority, by the author, has been mistaken for the author himself!" Sir J. J. Modi then himself adds: "Troyer, about 25 years after the discussion, thought, that the question was still undecided, but we think that Mullā Fīrūz's explanation, approved of by Erskine, seems to be correct." Strangely enough, in his article "Kashmīr and Ancient Persians," Modi himself calls "Muhsin Fānī a native of Kashmīr" as "the author of the *Dabistān*."[3] But in his paper, read before the Sixth Oriental Conference, held at Patna in December, 1930, Sir J. J. Modi said that the author of the *Dabistān* is Āzar Kaiwān. This, however, cannot be reconciled to the passage wherein the author of the *Dabistān* refers to the poem of Āzar Kaiwān, the apostle of the Sipāsīs, Vol. I, (page 76 of Shea's translation)!

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1. Lachhmī Nārāyan *Shafīq* of Aurangābād was the son of Rāi Mansā Rām, and was the Dīwān of Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh in 1204 A.H.= 1789 A.C. *Shafīq* wrote the *Gul-i-Ra'nā*, a biographical dictionary of the Persian poets of India, beginning with this—

یا رب مقبُول ساز اِنشاے مرا در خُوش سخنان بلندکُن جاے مرا

چُون بُوقلمُون کہ رنگ قائم دارد ایمن ز خزان کُن گُلِ رعناے مرا

This dictionary was begun in 1181 A.H.=1767 A.C., and completed in 1182 A.H.=1768 A.C.—*The Bānkīpore Catalogue*, Vol. VIII, page 128, also Vol. VII, page 19. The writer's name is so written in the Persian script. Its Hindi form is Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa.

2. *A Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A. Society*, Bombay, 1905, pages 127-8.

3. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIX, page 248.

Rieu is another scholar who disbelieves in Fānī's authorship of the *Dabistān*. In his *British Museum Catalogue* published during 1879-1883, in the course of his note, in Vol. I, p. 141, on the *Dabistān*, Rieu says : " His (the unnamed author's) glowing account of the Sipāsīs, a sect of the Pārsī or the old Īrānian religion to whom he gives the first largest place, stands in marked contrast to his description of Islamism which is that of a well-informed outsider, and not of a born and bred Muslim." In brief, Rieu seems to be of the opinion that Muhsin Fānī coud not be the author of the *Dabistān*, and a certain Mūbad may have been its probable author. Rieu, however, does not appear to be definite about the exact authorship of the *Dabistān*.

Ethé, in his *India Office Catalogue*, published in 1903, has merely followed Rieu. But E. Blochet, who published his *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris in 1905, puts down Muhsin Fānī as the author of the *Dabistān*, but considers him to have belonged to the Sipāsī or the Ābādī sect. Blochet further adds that the author was instructed by a disciple of the celebrated Āzar Kaiwān, named Mūbad Hūshiyār. But Blochet is unfortunately wrong in thinking that Muhsin Fānī was born at Patna, *vide* his *Catalogue*, pages 241-242, Tome Nos. 1-720 Premier.

H. Beveridge (*J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 165) accepts Mūbad Shāh instead of Rieu's Mūbad, but apparently rejects his non-Muslim origin. Beveridge considers the author's name to be Zulqadr Khān, having the pen-name of Mūbad. The basis of Beveridge's statement is Shāh Nawāz Khān, the author of the *Maāsir-ul-Umarā'* who calls the author of the *Dabistān* Zulfaqār Ardistānī. Nothing here, too, can be considered quite definite.

Waldimir Ivanow who compiled the *Concise Descriptive Catalogue* of Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, published in 1924, says (page 544): " The author's name and the date of composition are even at present not yet precisely known, although they have often been discussed by various scholars. In the present copy, in the colophon, the author is called *Zul-faqār* Beg, with the *takhallus* Mu'ayyad (or Mūbad ?)."

Beal* says that " Mūbid Shāh was a Guebre " who " turned Musalmān and wrote a history of the religions in

*Thomas William Beal's *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, revised and enlarged by Henry George Keene, and published in London, in 1894, page 256.

the time of the emperor Akbar entitled the *Dabistān*. The intention of the author appears to have been to furnish to Akbar a pretended historical basis of the religion which this emperor had invented, and which he was desirous of introducing. For this reason, the author commences with a very long chapter on the religion of the Mahābādians, which is a mere web of incoherent fables. Sir William Jones first mentioned the *Dabistān*. Gladwin published its first chapter in the *New Asiatic Miscellany* together with an English translation. Leyden in the 9th volume of the *Asiatic Researches* translated the chapter on the Illuminati, and the text of the whole work was published at Calcutta in 1809. The Oriental Translation Society also published the whole in English." M. Walter Dunne, Publisher, Washington and London, reprinted the English translation of the *Dabistān* by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, in December 1901, with a special introduction by A. V. William Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, New York, U. S. A. David Shea began the translation which he left incomplete and the last half was faithfully finished by Anthony Troyer. The translation was published in 1843. Professor Jackson in his "special introduction" calls the author '*Moshan Fānī* of Iranian extraction,' and says that "School of Religious Doctrines or Institutes" would be a happier designation.

To revert to Rieu's remarks. To him, the tone of the *Dabistān* shows that the author was not a born and bred Muslim. But Rieu seems to forget that a renegade is, very often, the most relentless critic of his old faith. Still Fānī, if it is Fānī, cannot completely suppress himself. Does not the author of the *Dabistān* invoke heavenly blessings for خُلفاے راشدین و حضرات ائمۂ دین though obviously he does not refer to the Four Caliphs and the Imāms. At the same time, the chapter on Islam is rather long and "technical." The fact, however, remains that Muhsin Fānī on account of his profound philosophical studies, his extensive travels, his intercourse with men of all sorts of religious denominations as well as his correspondence with Gurū Hargovind,* and, above all,

*See reference by Joseph Davey Cunningham in *A History of the Sikhs*, H.L.O. Garrett's new and revised edition, 1918, page 47, footnote 3. Also—Shea and Troyer's, Volume II, page 281.

his unusual tolerance, did incur the wrath of the *'ulamā'* of his age who declared Muhsin *murtadd*, or an apostate. This was the age of Akbar, Abu'l Fazl and Faizī. We must not also omit to mention the influence of the scholarly Dārā Shukūh, the most loved child of Shāh Jahān, and the author of several notable works including the Persian translations of the *Upanishad*, of the *Bhagvad Gītā*, the *Yog-Vaçista* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Free-thinking was encouraged, and it paid. However, under the influence of Mīyān Muhammad Amīn Dār, a scholar and saint of the day, buried in Kūcha Ashāī, Fath Kadal, Srīnagar, Muhsin Fānī is said to have 'repented of his sin.' Most of the historians of Kashmīr, including Khwāja A'zam, a contemporary of the Mughul Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, and Pīr Hasan Shāh have noted this. I shall quote the relevant extract from the *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* which is a MS. at the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, Srīnagar. On its folio 250, it is clearly stated that the book *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* was written by Muhsin Fānī. Before we peruse the extract, we must remember that it was probably Kashmīr's close contact with Tibet that led Muhsin to include the creed of the Tibetans in his *Dabistān*. Kashmīr is mentioned a number of times in the *Dabistān*. There is a reference to the verses of 'Alī-i-Sānī Amīr-i-Kabīr Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Hamadān whom we have been calling Shāh Hamadān in *Kashīr*.

مُلا مُحسن فانی.....بعد تحصیلِ کمالاتِ عُلومِ عقلی و نقلی اطراف و اکنافِ هندوستان را سیاحت نمود و نیک و بدِ زمانه بسیار آزمود و با هر مِلّت آشنائی کرده تحقیقاتِ حالاتِ مذاهب و مِلل بخُوبی ساخته کتابِ دبستانِ مذاهب تصنیف فرمُود.....می آرند که در اوائل بمذهب ازاد بُود و با هر مِلّت صُلح کُل میداشت و مذهبِ حُکما را وثوق میداد- امّا در آخرِ عُمر بخدمتِ حضرت میان محمد امین دار مُشرّف شُده و دستِ اِنابت بدامنِ عاطفتِ ایشان زده از خیالاتِ باطِل در گذشت و عقیدهٔ کامل بهم رسانید و به عُلومِ معنوی و تعلیم و تلقینِ آنجناب بهره مند گشت - آنگاه تا حینِ حیات در گِریه و زاری و توبه و اِستغفار اوقات بسر میبُرد-

This evidence is given for what it is worth, but it may be that the final word on this controversy has not yet been uttered!

[The two historians noted in the preceding paragraph and referred to in several places in *Kashīr* will here come in for brief life-sketches.

Khwāja Muhammad A'zam Kaul "Mustaghni."

Khwāja Muhammad A'zam is the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr A'zamī*. This history is entitled *Waqī'āt-i-Kashmīr* and was commenced in 1148 A.H. (1735 A.C.), and was completed in 1159 A.H. (1746 A.C.). Several works are named at the conclusion on which the *Waqī'āt* is based. The works used by Khwāja Muhammad A'zam are:—

(۱) تاریخِ سیّد علی (۲) تاریخِ رشیدی از میرزا حیدر دُوغلات

(۳) مُنتخب‌التواریخ از احسن بیگ (۴) تاریخِ حیدر مَلکِ چاڈوره

(۵) ریشی نامه از مُلّا نصیب (۶) درجات‌السّادات از خواجه اِسحاق ناوچُو

(۷) اَسرار الابرار از بابا داوٗد مِشکوٗتی† (۸) تُحفةُالفُقراء و دیگر رسائل از

مُرشدِ مُصنف، شیخ مُراد (۹) مآثرِ عالمگیری—

†Mashukbī, copied by Rieu in Vol. I, p. 300*b* is wrong, Mishkātī is the correct word. Bābā Dā'ūd who died in 1099 A.H.=1686-7 A.C. was so nicknamed because he knew by heart the whole of the *Mishkāt-ul-Masābīh*—a well-known book of the Prophet's Traditions (Hadīth), edited by Shaikh Walī-ud-Dīn in 737 A.H.=1335-6 A.C.

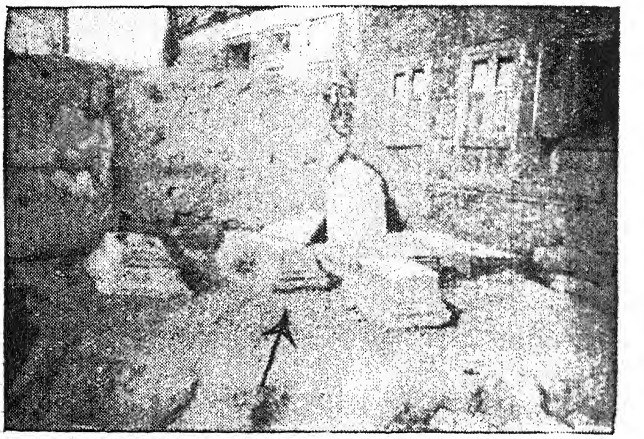
The *Ta'rīkh* has been published, but the MS. copy at the Panjāb University Library and the one I was shown at Srīnagar in September 1925, look more bulky but on examination they are all identical with the printed history. Popularly, the history is known as *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī*. It is written in Persian. An Urdu translation by Munshī Ashraf 'Alī was lithographed in Delhi in 1846 A.C. Recently a Persian edition by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat has been published at Srīnagar by Messrs. Nūr Muhammad Ghulām Muhammad, Booksellers, Mahārāj Ganj, Srīnagar.

Khwāja A'zam was considered a scholar and a saint of his day, and was the *murīd* of Muhammad Murād Naqshbandī, a Shaikh of Kashmīr.

The Khwāja is the author of several works. But he is chiefly known as a historian and flourished in Kashmīr under the Later Mughuls. Pīr Hasan Shāh says that Khwāja A'zam was also a poet and counts the following among his works:—(1) *Faiz-i-Murād*, a treatise giving an account of the life of his *murshid* (spiritual guide) Shaikh Murād (2) *Fawā'id-ur-Rizā*, an account of Shaikh 'Alī Rizā, (3) *Firāq-nāma*, an elegy on Khalīfa 'Ubaidullāh, (4) *Qawā'id-ul-Mashā'ikh*, (5) *Tajribāt-ut-Tālibīn*, (6) *Ashjār-ul-Khuld*,

(7) *Samarāt-ul-Ashjār*, (8) *Sharh-i-Kibrīt-i-Ahmar* and Qasā'ids and Odes. The *Kibrīt-i-Ahmar* is the famous eulogy of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī for the Prophet, and Kashmīrīs have a special veneration for Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir and call him Pīr-i-Dastgīr.

The Khwāja's death is recorded to have taken place on the 10th of Muharram, 1179 A.H. (1765 A.C.) This is according to the very apt chronogram ضُعفِ گُردہ or 'pain in the kidney' of which he died,



The grave of Khwāja Muhammad A'zam Dīdamarī, a historian, in the Malkha graveyard, Srīnagar.

about four years after the defeat of the Marhattas by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī at the battle-field of Pānīpat, and one year after the battle of Buxar when Shāh 'Ālam accepted British protection. Khwāja A'zam lies buried in the Malkha quarter of Srīnagar. The Diddamar quarter, referred to in A'zam's appellation, is on the right river-bank and was built by Queen Diddā for the accommodation of travellers from various parts of India. The actual tomb of Khwāja Muhammad A'zam, which is now a protected monument, stands in the family graveyard at Malkha, near Qutb-ul-'Ālam Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh, Srīnagar.

Khwāja A'zam's father was Khwāja Khair-uz-Zamān. Khwāja A'zam's son, Muhammad Aslam *Mun'imī*, is the author of the *Gauhar-i-'Ālam*, a history of Kashmīr. Aslam has made considerable additions to his father's work.

Pīr Hasan Shāh.

Pīr Hasan Shāh is the author of three ponderous volumes on the history of Kashmīr. He was born in Khuyhōm, a village near Bandapōr, on the Wulur, in 1248 A.H. (1832 A.C.), and died there in 1316 A.H. (1898 A.C.) at the age of 66 years. He came of a family of Pīrs distinguished for their learning. His sixth ancestor was a scholar of great renown whom we know as Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī*. Hasan's father Pīr Ghulām Rasūl was a poet and

the author of four books. Hasan studied under his father and subsequently acquired a knowledge of the Tibbi-i-Ūnānī, which he practised till the close of his life. Mahārājā Ranbhīr Singh conferred a *khil'at* of honour on Hasan for a pamphlet on the terrible famine of 1875-78 in which he made several sensible suggestions for improving the situation. Hasan's three books entitled (1) *Gulistān-i-Akhlāq* (2) *Kharīta-i-Asrār* (3) *I'jāz-i-Gharība* written in Persian mixed with Kashmīrī are greatly admired by the public. Sir Walter Lawrence, when Settlement Commissioner of the Kashmīr State, was supplied by Pīr Hasan Shāh with much historical information and was also taught the Kashmīrī language by him. Sir Walter, in his *Valley of Kashmir* (page 454) expresses his indebtedness to Hasan Shāh as follows :—" What else (of the Kashmīrī language) I have learnt, I owe to Pīr Hasan Shāh, a learned Kashmīrī, whose work has entirely been among the villagers." When Sir Walter became Private Secretary to the Viceroy, he invited Hasan, through the British Resident in Kashmīr, to be presented to the Viceroy, but the invitation was too late as Hasan had died a few days before. (My note is chiefly based on Pandit Anand Kaul's, *vide J.A.S.B.*, volume XI, No. 5, 1913).

The autograph copy of the three volumes on the history of Kashmīr is preserved at the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, the Ziyārat of Shāh Hamadān, Srīnagar. Hasan has evidently taken great pains in his work, and it is a pity that this history is still unpublished. It is in good, clear, simple Persian.

CAUTION.—The author of *Kashīr* very much regrets that he has not always quoted folios of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* as several MSS. were used by him at different times in Lāhore and Srīnagar from different friends. Quoting folios would have caused confusion for purposes of comparison as all MSS. had their respective folios, or modes of paging by the first word of the following page on the previous one.]

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3. *Mullā Kamāl.*

Judged alone by the fact that he had such pupils as Mullā 'Abdul Hakīm Siālkōtī known as the Āftāb-i-Punjāb and Mujaddid Alf-i-Sānī, the saint of Sarhind, and Nawwāb Sa'dullāh Khān 'Allāmī, the prime minister of Shāh Jahān, Akhund Mīr Mullā Kamāl must have, indeed, been a great teacher of his time. Mullā Kamāl is truly the Imām Muwaffaq of Kashmīr, who taught 'Umar Khayyām, the scholar-astronomer poet, Hasan bin Sabbāh, the leader of the Ismā'īlīs, and Nizām-ul-Mulk Tūsī, the prime minister of the Saljūqs. In fact, the similarity between the two in this respect could never be more exact.

Khwāja Hasan Shi'rī ibn Khwāja Sadr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bachh in his *Gulzār-i-Khalīl** traces Mullā Kamāl's ancestry to Chingīz Khān through Mīr Muhammad 'Alī Qāzī who flourished during Baḍ Shāh's reign. The Qāzī's father was Qāzī Mīr Mahmūd Bukhārī who descended from Arghūn, the brother of Hulāgū Khān, the great-grandson of Chingīz. Mīr Muhammad 'Alī had two sons named Mīr Sikandar and Mīr Yūnus. Mīr Yūnus' son was Qāzī Mīr Ibrāhīm, who was the Qāzī of Kashmīr during Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt's time. Qāzī Mīr Ibrāhīm had three sons—(1) Mīr Kamāl (2) Mīr Mahmūd and (3) Qāzī Mīr Mūsā Shahīd. Qāzī Mīr Mūsā Shahīd, the Qāzī of Kashmīr during Yu'qūb Chak's reign, was the father of (*i*) Mullā Kamāl (*ii*) Mullā Jamāl and (*iii*) Qāzī Mīr Sālih. Qāzī Mīr Mūsā, on account of Shī'a-Sunnī strife was killed by Ya'qūb Chak's order, and was, therefore, known as *shahīd* or the martyr (*supra* page 234).

Mullā Kamāl was born in Kashmīr, but the exact date of his birth is not available. His death is recorded in 1017 A.H.=1608 A.C., in Jahāngīr's reign, at Lāhore. The chronogram is—

مُلحقِ حق ، قُطب و تاجِ اولیا ، مُلا کمال

The *Hadā'iq-ul-Hanafiyya* by Maulavī Faqīr Muhammad has : حدیقۂ فیض His grave is not traceable.

Mullā Kamāl had his education under Bābā Fathullāh Haqqānī, who was the son of Bābā Ismā'īl Kubravī, the Shaikh-ul-Islam of Sultān Hasan Shāh, the grandson of Baḍ Shāh. Bābā Fathullāh was forced by the Shī'a-Sunnī troubles of the time to migrate to Siālkōt in the Punjāb. Mullā Kamāl accompanied his teacher, and with the completion of his education at Siālkōt, was married to his teacher's daughter, the second daughter being given to Mullā Jamāl, Kamāl's younger brother, who was also the pupil of the Haqqānī. Mullā Muhammad Rizā, known as Hakīm-i-Dānā, was Kamāl's son from this marriage. According to Khwāja Muhammad A'zam, Mullā Kamāl also studied under Khwāja 'Abdush Shahīd Naqshbandī Ahrārī, a descendant of the great Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrār of Khurāsān. Mullā Kamāl taught at Lāhore also, which explains his burial there.

* *Gulzār-i-Khalīl*, printed at Amritsar in 1291 A.H. (1874 A.C.), is based on the *Tazkirah* of (*i*) Bābā Dā'ūd-i-Mishkātī, (*ii*) *Tazkirah* of Khwāja Muhammad Amīn Gānī, and the (*iii*) *Tazkirah* of Qāzī 'Abdul Karīm Chhawwo, (*iv*) the *Risālah* of Qāzī Haidar Qāzī Khān, and (*v*) the *Maāthir* of Nawwāb Abul Barakāt Khān.

Rājā Mān Singh was governor of Siālkōt at the time. We also already know Maulānā Mīr Kamāl-ud-Dīn as the son-in-law of the Qāzī'l-Quzāt, Sayyid Habībullāh Khwārizmī, the *Khatīb* of the Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar in the time of Husain Shāh Chak (p. 222). So esteemed was Maulānā Kamāl-ud-Dīn's personality that the *kārdār*, or the administrator, of the Rājā accorded him a warm reception, and treated him with great respect on his settling down in Siālkōt. And all people, particularly his countrymen, hailed his arrival there with joy and acclamation. At Siālkōt, Maulānā Kamāl-ud-Dīn began to impart instruction in the mosque of Miyān Wāris. And it was here that his pupils 'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm and Nawwāb Sa'dullāh Khān 'Allāmī, and Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindī immortalized the memory of their great teacher. The eminence of Mullā Kamāl is known from the fact that his title was *'Allāma Mashriqain* and *Mu'allim-us-Saqalain*, *i.e.*, The Savant of East and West, and the Teacher of Men and Genii. Brief notes of the three distinguished pupils here will show how great must have been the teacher.

'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm.

'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm of Siālkōt* was born at Siālkōt about

**Malik-ul-Ulamā' 'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm Sialkōtī* by Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq*, editor, the *Kashmīrī*, Lāhore, with a foreword by the late Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, Kt., M. A. (Panjāb and Cambridge), Ph.D. (Munich), D. Litt. (Hony., Panjab, Aligarh, Allahabad, Dacca), Barrister-at-Law, 1924.

Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din "Fauq."

Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* was the second son of Munshī Ladhā Khān, and the younger brother of the late Mr. Rahīm Bakhsh, Inspector of Works, N. W. Ry. *Fauq* was born in February 1877. After some elementary education, he started as a *patwārī* in 1894, and then turned to journalism under the late Munshī Mahbūb 'Ālam, editor and proprietor of the *Paisa Akhbār*, Lāhore. By 1901 *Fauq* began his own paper entitled the *Panjab-i-Faulād*, and in 1906 the *Kashmīrī Magazine* was ushered into existence which lived up to 1934. *Fauq* is the author of 70 works of which 9 or 10 are yet to be published. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Baḍ Shāhī* is the most recently published. Like Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, *Fauq* has given the best of his life to research in the history of Kashmīr. He has also been an active worker in the cause of the Kashmīrī Conference of Lāhore. *Fauq* died, after an illness of three months at 4 p.m., on Friday, 14th September, 1945, at his residence outside Sherānwālā Darwāzā, Lāhore, when 69. *Fauq* is the father of two sons Zafar-ul-Haqq and Zafar Ahmad, both in postal employ. *Fauq's* elder brother, Mr. Rahīm Bakhsh's son is Mr. 'Abdul Hamīd, B.Sc., Secretary, Railway Board, Pākistān.

See the footnote on page 378.

968 A.H. during Akbar's reign, where he was brought up and where he died on the 18th Rabī'-ul-Awwal, A.H. 1067 (A.C. 1656). His father's name is given as Shaikh Shams-ud-Dīn in the *Rauzat-ul-Udabā*, *Shaikh* being addedout of respect, or probably because of recent conversion to Islam.

'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm acquired such reputation for his learning in logic, jurisprudence, tradition and exegesis that his name went far beyond India, and was familiar in Bukhārā, the Hijāz, and as far as Istanboul, Egypt and Morocco.

When Jahāngīr ascended the throne, he bestowed a considerable *jāgīr* on the Maulānā for his maintenance. Through special royal favours, the Maulānā became quite a well-to-do person. Divines and doctors of Islamic learning in India consulted him for *Fatāwā* or rulings on points of religious law. He is mentioned as one of the sixteen leading Muslim doctors in law of the reign of Jahāngīr.

In the early years of Shāh Jahān's rule, the Maulānā was sent to Akbarābād (Āgra) to preside over the royal madrasa there. The scholar and poet Hājī Muhammad Jān *Qudsī* was then on the teaching staff. Gradually, the Maulānā gained access to the royal court. Here he met learned men from Īrān, Tūrān, Arabia, and Asia Minor. And it is stated that he was one of those most highly esteemed for their learning. It was about this time when his quondam class-fellow, Nawwāb Sa'dullāh Khān 'Allāmī became grand vazīr that the Maulānā was accorded a seat of honour in the row of the learned, known as the "Seat of the Learned." The Maulānā served as a tutor to the princes also for some time. His library was a valuable treasure of books on logic, philosophy, exegesis and ethics. This rare library of Northern India, it is said, was unfortunately given over to the flames by the Sikhs, when they plundered Siālkōt and set the city on fire.

The Maulānā erected several buildings at Siālkōt. (1) His mosque and his madrasa are in existence even today. Over the arch of the mosque, there is written the following inscription:—

تاریخ هذا المسجد من بانیه له البیت فی الجنة

The second half of the line gives the date of its foundation, *i.e.*, 1052 A.H. (2) A rest-house and a bath for travellers, which the British converted into a charitable dispensary in 1275 A.H. (3) The Bāgh-i-Maulavī Sāhib, stated to have been a very spacious and beautiful garden surrounded by a rampart. The Maulānā was buried in it. (4) The 'Īdgāh-i-Maulavī Sāhib. (5) Tālāb-i-Maulavī Sāhib. It is said that this tank cost lakhs of rupees, a conduit from the Chenāb river brought water to it. The traces of the conduit are still to be found here and there, but the tank itself now serves as a water reservoir for the Municipality of Siālkōt.

Footnote on page 377 continued.—

Nawwāb Mīrzā Khān *Dāgh* Dihlavī of the Deccan fame is *Fauq's ustād* in Urdu poetry. *Fauq's* characteristics are simplicity and directness in prose and verse.

Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindī.

Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindī, the son of 'Abdul Ahad Fārūqī, was born at Sarhind in 1563 A.C. and died at Sarhind in November 1625= Safar 1035 A.H., at the age of 63, and was buried there. Shaikh Ahmad belonged to the Naqshbandī order of Sūfīs, and was a disciple of Khwāja Bāqī-billāh of Delhi, and claimed he was the Man of the Second Millennium, and hence his title *Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sānī* or the Renewer of the Second Millennium. One of his writings is called the *Majmū'āt-ut-Tasawwuf*. Jahāngīr imprisoned him for two years. In the fourteenth year of his reign, Jahāngīr writes in his *Tūzuk* :— "Shaikh Ahmad had spread the net of hypocrisy and deceit in Sarhind and caught in it many of the apparent worshippers without spirituality and had sent into every city and country one of his disciples . . . . He had also written a number of idle tales to his disciples and his believers, and had made them into a book which he called the *Maktūbāt* (letters). In that album of absurdities many unprofitable things had been written that drag people into infidelity and impiety . . . . I considered the best thing for him would be that he should remain some time in the prison of correction until the heat of his temper and confusion of his brain were somewhat quenched, and the excitement of the people also should subside. He was accordingly handed over to Anīrāī Singh-dalan to be imprisoned in Gwālior Fort." In the fifteenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, we see him released by the Emperor, given a dress of honour and Rs. 1,000 for expenses. In the eighteenth year of the reign, the Shaikh was given Rs. 2,000 by Jahāngīr. It was, perhaps, in penance for his past attitude towards the Shaikh. And so Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has it :

گردن نہ جُھکی جس کی جہانگیر کے آگے
جس کے نفسِ گرم سے ھے گرمیِ احرار

—بالِ جبریل - ۱۹۳۹ء - صفحہ ۲۱۱

Jahāngīr tried to break Shaikh Ahmad. Jahāngīr could not bend Shaikh Ahmad!

'Allāmī Sa'dullāh Khān.

'Allāmī Sa'dullāh Khān, as the *Maāsir-ul-Umarā'* calls him, was a Shaikh of Chiniōt in the Jhang district of the Punjāb and came of the Qurēsh stock. He learnt the Qur'ān by heart, acquired proficiency in speech and diction. He studied under Mullā Kamāl and entered Shāh Jahān's service in the emperor's 14th year of reign. In the 25th year of the reign, the 'Allāmī was deputed to investigate conditions of famine in the Punjāb when Shāh Jahān was proceeding to Kashmīr where he rejoined the emperor. Then he accompanied Prince Aurangzīb in his expedition to Qandahār, ordered by Shāh Jahān. Later, he became the Prime Minister, and died in 1066 A.H. (1655 A.C.). Lutfullāh, his eldest son, at the age of 11, was provided with a *mansab* by Shāh Jahān on account of the 'Allāmī's great service to the state. Sa'dullāh Khān was so thoroughly honest that he would not care even for Dārā Shukūh's complaints against him to the Emperor.

4. *Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm.*

Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm was a learned Kashmīrī and a man of distinction. He won his way by dint of intelligence and industry. He was the son of 'Āqibat Mahmūd bin Khwāja Bulāqī bin Khwāja Muhammad Rizā. Rieu in the British Museum *Catalogue* of Persian MSS. (Vol. I, pp. 381-82) says that the Khwāja was better known as 'Abdur Rahīm (?) Kashmīrī. Since his very childhood he had cherished dreams of making a pilgrimage to Mecca, and of visiting the holy shrines of the great celebrities of Islam. At the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion of India, Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm had come down to Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) with a view to proceeding to Mecca. His dream of making a pilgrimage, though within sight of realization, was delayed. He approached Nādir Shāh for a permit. Nādir then held possession of the land routes to Arabia. Struck by 'Abdul Karīm's intelligence, Nadīr Shāh offered him employment in 1151 A.H.=1738 A.C. Soon after the sack of Delhi, Nadīr Shāh gave out that he was returning to Īrān. Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm was given an appointment first in Nādir Shāh's camp. Subsequently, he is said to have risen to the position of Nādir's Foreign Minister, and was, on one occasion, deputed as an envoy to Balaclava* and then to the Sultān of Turkey. On his retirement, Nādir Shāh finally permitted him to proceed to Mecca.

Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm's travels extended over many lands. He visited Baghdād, Damascus, and Aleppo. He then proceeded to Mecca along with Mīrzā Muhammad Hāshim, who was called Nawwāb Mu'tamad-ul-Mulk Sayyid 'Alavī Khān *Hakīm Bāshī* or head physician. The Hakīm, who had been taken from the court of Delhi by Nādir Shāh, obtained permission to perform the Hajj after curing Nādir of his illness.

After the pilgrimage, Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm went to the port of Jeddah, from where he sailed to Hūglī. He remained in India for several years, and studied the social and political conditions of Indians as well as of Europeans who had then settled in Bengal and on the Coromandel coast.

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*Balakalva or Balaclava is a port and health resort on the south-west coast of Crimea (Russia), 8 miles south-east of Sevastopole, memorable for the action of October 25, 1854 A.C., and the charge of the Russian gun by the Light Brigade (Six Hundred). Balaklava is a gay village producing grapes for the markets of Sevastopole.

After his long journeys over many lands, the Khwāja finally returned to Kashmīr, where he was persuaded by his friends to write of the experiences he had had during his extensive travels. Consequently, he wrote his *Memoirs*. These are in Persian[1] and contain many a picturesque description of men and things, and bear testimony to Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm's intellectual ability, his power of observation, and his fascinating style of writing. The book, besides being written in an effective and interesting style, contains useful information. It provides valuable references to contemporary history, namely, an account of the court of Īrān, and a narrative of the most interesting events in the history of Hindustān from 1739 to 1749 A.C. Dr. L. Lockhart[2] says that 'Abdul Karīm, having no reason to fear Nādir's resentment, writes "freely and without exaggeration of his humble start in life." The Khwāja gives anecdotes and interesting personal details regarding Nādir Shāh which are not to be found in Mīrzā Mahdī's official biography of Nādir. 'Abdul Karīm's *Bayān-i-Wāqi'* is frequently referred to in Irvine's *Later Mughals* by Sir Jadū Nāth Sarkār in connexion with Nādir Shāh's invasion of Delhi. It is divided into five chapters and a *Khātima*: (1) Rise of Nādir Shāh and his march to India, (2) His return from India and his march through Tūrān, Khurāsān and Māzandarān to Kazvīn, (3) the Khwāja's journey to 'Irāq, Syria, Arabia and return by sea to Hūglī. Events from the Khwāja's return to the death of Muhammad Shāh, (4) Events of the reign of Ahmad Shāh. No complete translation of the *Bayān* has yet appeared. Francis Gladwin's is incomplete. So is that of Lieutenant H. G. Pitchard. A French translation of Gladwin's version is by Langlés, *Voyage de l'Inde á la Mecque*, Paris, 1797. The *Bayān* is also known as the *Nādir-nāma* or *Ta'rīkh-i-Nādirī*. Under Or. 181, Rieu's *Catalogue* (Volume I, page 382) states that in another copy, after the portion of the work which has been translated by Francis Gladwin, who had served in the Bengal Army and was appointed Professor at the College of Fort William in 1801, are found the following additional chapters: Assassination of Nawwāb Bahādur; war of Safdar Jang with the Amīrs of Ahmad Shāh; accession of Akbar Shāh and devastation of old Delhi, accession of 'Ālamgīr II, accession of Shāh 'Ālam and the events of his

1. *The Memoirs of Khwaja Abdul Kareem*—translated from the original Persian by Francis Gladwin, Esq., London, 1793.

2. *Nadir Shah* by L. Lockhart, B.A., Ph.D., Luzac & Co., London, 1938, page 301.

reign. The last occurrences recorded are the escape of Prince Jawān-bakht from Delhi, and the arrest of Majd-ud-Daula by the Amīr-ul-Umarā,' both events of 1198 A.H. (1783 A.C.). The next chapter, which treats of the progress of the British power in Hindustān from the death of Shujā'-ud-Daula to 1198 A.H., and the rise of the Sikhs, terminates abruptly although a subscription is appended, as though the work was complete.

As an illustration of his great power of description and of minute observation, we might mention 'Abdul Karīm's description, which covers four pages of his book, of Nādir Shāh's tent,[1] decorated with precious stones. He gives a most vivid picture of the tent used by the great Īrānian conqueror. This tent was pitched in the *Dīwān-khās*, or the public hall, where the celebrated Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān and the Takht-i-Nādirī (Nādir's Throne) and thrones of some other monarchs were placed.

An example of his keen understanding of men is 'Abdul Karīm's, intelligent account of the Europeans in Bengāl, given in the chapter entitled "A summary account of occurrences in Bengāl and different parts of Hindustān."[2] The Khwāja describes the tastes and habits of Europeans, their cleanliness, and the freedom of their women, their business-like habits, and their firm military discipline.

The book, in short, is full of intelligent reflections and wise observations, and forms a valuable record of references to contemporary events, and helps us to visualize the personality of Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm. In the Punjāb Public Library, Lahore, there is a manuscript entitled the *'Ibrat Maqāl* by Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm, dated 1816 A.C. The work is a general history of Shāh 'Ālam and gives useful information about the Punjāb.

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5. *Khān 'Allāma Tafazzul Husain Khān of Lucknow.*

'Allāma Tafazzul Husain Khān Kashmīrī was a very learned mathematician.[3] He was well versed in Arabic, Persian, English and Latin. Nawwāb Āsaf-ud-Daula of Oudh appointed him as his Nā'ib. But the 'Allāma kept up his simplicity and accessibility to such an extent that he would not agree to have a *darbān* (door-keeper) at his door.

1. Francis Gladwin's translation of *Khwaja Abdul Kareem's Memoirs*, pages 29-32. 2. *Ibid.*, pages 169-179.

3. See his biography by Nawwāb Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī Khān, Hydarābād, Deccan, 1330 A.H., also by the R.A.S., London, 1804.

Any one could see him. His two works *Jabr-u-Muqābala* (Algebra), *Farangī 'Ilm-i-Hai'at* (European science of Astronomy), are well known. Nawwāb Farīd-ud-Daula, the Prime Minister of Shāh 'Ālam of Delhī and the maternal grandfather of Sir Sayyid Ahmad, came to Lucknow to study astronomy and mathematics under him. Tafazzul Husain Khān was of the Shī'a persuasion. He died in 1800.

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6. *Maulavī Sayyid Muhammad Anwar Shāh.*

Among the 'ulamā' of Kashmīrī origin, the name of the late Shaikh-ul-Hadīth Maulavī Sayyid Muhammad Anwar Shāh of the Lolāb valley is worth mentioning, on account of his eminence in Muslim theology. For several years, he held the rectorship of the Dār-ul-'Ulūm at Deoband, United Provinces, and was the acknowledged successor of the late Maulānā Mahmūd-ul-Hasan, who was universally acclaimed one of the leading 'Ulamā' of the entire Islamic world. Maulavī Sayyid Muhammad Anwar Shāh died on 2nd Safar 1352 A.H.=29th May, 1933 A.C., at Deoband, at the age of 60. With him died, perhaps, the greatest scholar of Hadīth of the day. Maulavī Sayyid Muhammad Mu'azzam Shāh, the father, outlived his great son.

Some Women of Note

1. *Lalla 'Ārifa.*

In the roll of notable women of Kashmīr during Muslim rule, the place of honour certainly belongs to Lalla 'Ārifa, who has influenced Kashmīr to such an extent that her sayings are on the lips of all Kashmīrīs—Hindus and Muslims—and her memory is reverenced by all. Hindus claim her as theirs, while Muslims claim her as theirs. Though originally a Hindu, she was greatly influenced by Islamic Sūfiistic thought, and may, in truth, be said to be above all formal religious conventionalities. She was the contemporary of Shāh Hamadān at the time of his visit to Kashmīr, and Muslims affirm that she embraced Islam at his hands, and inspired Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn with her teachings. Her verses, as edited by Grierson and Barnett, show that she was imbued with Yoga philosophy as propounded by the Çiva cult of Hinduism.

Lalla 'Ārifa was born in 735 A.H. (1335 A.C.) in the time of Udyānadeva.

فزون بُود بر هفت صد، سی و پنج
ز ویرانهٔ شُد پدیدار گنج

—عبدالوهّاب شائق

In Indian history this was the time when Fakhr-ud-Dīn Jauna Ulugh Khān Muhammad 'Ādil bin Tughluq commonly known as Muhammad Tughluq was the ruler of Hindustān. He had already founded Daulatābād in the Deccan in 1327 A.C., and, to be precise, had, that very year, left Delhī for the conquest of Madura down south. Khwāja Jahān, his minister, accompanied by the great traveller Ibn Battūtah suppressed the rebellion in the Punjāb. The foundation of the great city of Vijayanagar took place in the following year, *viz.* 1336 A.C.

Lalla's parents lived at Pāndrēṭhan, the old capital of Kashmīr in Açoka's time, four miles to the south-east of modern Srīnagar. She is said to have been married in Pāmpar, and to have been cruelly treated by her step-mother-in-law, who nearly starved her. Of this treatment, a story is told that poor Lalla had always "a stone to her dinner," that is to say, her step-mother-in-law used to put a lumpy stone on her platter, and thinly cover it with rice, so that it looked quite a big heap. And yet Lalla would never murmur! She appears to have brought her married life to a close by quitting her home. According to one account, Lalla was so named on account of her increased abdomen. Hindus call her Laleshwarī, or Lalla Yogīshwarī, Muslims Lalla Dēd or Lalla Mājī or Mother Lalla.

Lalla used to wander about in rags and went about the country singing and dancing in a half-nude, or even nude condition. A student of Freud will find in this phase of Lalla's life a reaction* from her domestic affliction sufficient to unbalance any mind. When remonstrated with for such disregard for decency, she is said to have replied that they only were men who feared God, and that there were very few such men about. While she was roaming about naked,

*Introduction page 3, *Lalla Yogiswari—Her Life and Sayings* by Pandit Anand Koul, with an Introduction by Dīwān Bahādur Rājā Narindra Nāth.—The Mercantile Press, Lahore, 1942.

Shāh Hamadān arrived in Kashmīr. One day, she saw him from a distance, and according to the common Muslim tradition cried out "I have seen a Man," and turned and fled. Thereafter she soon wore clothes and recognized Shāh Hamadān to be "a Man," and freely associated with him and other Muslim saints of the time. This incident is said to have taken place at Khānpōr, pronounced by the Kashmīrīs Khāmpōr, and is the last stage on the road to Srīnagar from the Punjāb.

Lalla died at an advanced age at Bijbrōr or Bijbihāra,* 28 miles to the south-east of Srīnagar, just outside the courtyard of the Jāmi' Masjid, near its south-eastern corner where her grave is shown today.

It is commonly avowed by Muslims in Kashmīr that the verses of Lalla, as collected and published, are those which she composed before her contact with Shāh Hamadān and other Muslim saints, that her verses after that contact are more expressly reflective of Muslim thought. It is noteworthy, here, that, even the Patron-Saint of Kashmīr, Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, is given the distinctly Hindu name of Nand Riosh, or Nand Rish, by the Pandits of the Valley.

The sayings of Lalla, as edited by Grierson and Barnett, says Sir Richard Temple, commence with a narration of her own spiritual experience. She had wandered far and wide in search of truth, had made pilgrimages to holy places, and sought for salvation through formal rites, but all in vain! Then suddenly she found it in her own 'home,'

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*Bījbihāra or Vijabrōr, abbreviated from Vijayeçvara (Çiva's temple), is said to have been founded by King Vijaya (69-61 B.C.). The tradition regarding Açoka's connexion with it supplies historical proof for its antiquity. The new temple of Vijayeçvara was built by Mahārājā Ranbhīr Singh.

Dārā Shukūh built a bridge over the Jhelum in 1631 A.C. It is now in ruins. The Bādshāhī Bāgh is remembered on account of the slab which bears the following inscription:—"By the grace of God, Dārā Shukūh on the 22nd day of Ramazān in the year of the Hijra 1060, in the reign of Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, completed this building which was erected under the superintendence of Dārūgha Muhammad Zāhid Abu'l Hasan Samarqandī." The site of the Bādshāhī Bāgh lies on the right bank of the river to the south of the present bridge.

The shrine of the saint and scholar Bābā Nasīb-ud-Dīn Ghāzī is situated on the left bank of the river near the Jāmi' Masjid.

The population of Bijabrōr, according to the census of 1941, is 4,532.

her own soul. There she found her own Self, which became to her the equivalent of a spiritual preceptor. And she learned that it and the Supreme Self (God) were one. Sir Richard Temple has made a verse translation* of her sayings, some of which are reproduced below. The reader will agree with Sir Richard that, in her method of teaching her doctrine by means of verse, Lalla is at once mystical and transcendental.

3. Passionate, with longing in mine eyes,
   Searching wide, and seeking nights and days,
   Lo : I beheld the Truthful One, the Wise,
   Here in mine own House to fill my gaze.
   That was the day of my lucky star.
   Breathless, I held him my Guide to be.

4. So my lamp of knowledge blazed afar,
   Fanned by slow breath from the throat of me.
   They, my bright soul to my self revealed,
   Winnowed I abroad my inner light ;
   And with darkness all around me sealed
   Did I garner Truth and hold Him tight.

28. Keep a little raiment for the cold
   And a little food for stomach's sake :
   Pickings for the crows thy body hold,
   But thy mind a house of knowledge make.

43. Slay first the thieves—desire, lust and pride ;
   Learn thou then to be slave of all.
   Robbers only for a while abide ;
   Ever liveth the devoted call.
   All a man's gain here is nothing worth,
   Save when his service shall be his sword ;
   Ash from the fire is the sun of birth ;
   Gain thou then the knowledge of the Lord.

61. Whatsoever thing I do of toil,
   Burdens of completion on me lie ;
   Yet unto another falls the spoil
   And gains he the fruit thereof, not I.
   Yet if I toil with no thought of self,
   All my works before the self I lay ;
   Setting faith and duty before help.
   Well for me shall be the onward way.

**The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess*, Cambridge University Press, 1924.

94. "Think not on the things that are without;
Fix upon thy inner self thy Thought:
So shalt thou be freed from let or doubt:"
Precepts these that my Preceptor taught.
Dance then, Lalla, clothed but by the air:
Sing, then, Lalla, clad but in the sky.
Air and sky: what garment is more fair?
"Cloth" saith Custom. Doth that sanctify?

214. Heedless ever that the Day Sublime
Cometh when the wicked looketh not
When the apple of the autumn time
Ripens with the summer apricot.

2. *Bībī Tāj Khātūn.*

Tāj Khātūn was the daughter of Sayyid Hasan Bahādur, the commander of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn's forces. Sayyid Hasan belonged to a very distinguished family, and was the son of Sayyid Tāj-ud-Dīn Hamadānī. It will be recalled that Shāh Hamadān brought about reconciliation between the Kashmīr and Ohind armies. It was on this occasion that, according to one of the terms of the treaty, two girls of the royal family of Ohind were married to two Kashmīr notables. Bībī Tāj Khātūn was the daughter of Sayyid Hasan from this marriage. Special pains were taken in the matter of her education. She was married to Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī, the son of Shāh Hamadān. Bībī Tāj Khātūn was of a saintly character. She passed most of her time in meditation in the garden built for her, near which Fath Kadal was subsequently built. She was buried in the same garden.

3. *Bībī Bāri'a.*

Bāri'a was the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, for forty years the Chief Minister of Kashmīr and, after her conversion with her father, was married to Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī, after the death of Bībī Tāj Khātūn. The photo of Bībī Bāri'a's tomb at Karālapōr, five miles from Srīnagar on the Charār Road, appears on page 93.

4. *Bībī Haura.*

Haura, as given in Persian histories of Kashmīr and called by Firishta Sūra, may have really been Hūrīah, a houri or a nymph, was the mother of Sultān Sikandar, and the

queen of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn. She was a remarkable woman, and exercised tremendous influence over her husband, and subsequently over Sultān Sikandar. It was her strong personality that kept down all mischief during the earlier part of the reign of her son. She was gifted with a strong mind, and could strike terror into the hearts of enemies. She practically acted as the regent of her son for some time. When she found that her own daughter and son-in-law were plotting against the person of Sikandar, she did not hesitate to get them disposed of without any delay, and thus nipped in the bud an evil which might have subverted the royal line of Shāh Mīr. Despite her prominent part in the civil and military affairs of the kingdom, she found time for devotion, and was the disciple of Shāh Hamadān. She was buried in the first royal burial-ground which still exists near the Kānil Masjid, Zaina Kadal, at Srīnagar.

5. *Bībī Bahat.*

Bahat (meaning 'pure') lived in the time of Baḍ Shāh, and was noted for her learning. Her sayings in Persian are still on the lips of educated Kashmīrīs. One of her sayings is—

هر کہ از بُود وا رهیدہ از اندُوہ رُستہ و از غم بیم و آمید جُستہ

[He, who is relieved of the thought of existence, is relieved of anxiety, and is relieved of the sorrows and fears of hope.]

Bahat was the disciple of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, the Patron-Saint of Kashmīr. The graves of this learned lady and that of her sister, Dahat, both being known as Chāt-dedī (Chāt meaning disciples in reference to the same spiritual guide) can be seen in Zālūsa (or Zālus) village, in the Nāgām *pargana*, 1½ mile below Chrār on the motor road.*

6. *Lachhma Khātūn.*

Lachhma was the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn Ḍār, a military commander, during the reigns of Baḍ Shāh and Hasan Shāh. She was married to Malik Jālāl-ud-Dīn, a minister of Baḍ Shāh. Lachhma was well-known for her learning

*A *pargana* is a tract of country comprising the lands of several villages.

and piety, and founded a *khānqāh* (hospice) and a *madrasa* near the Jāmi' Masjid in Mahalla Gōjwāra. The *madrasa* has disappeared, but the *khānqāh*, now a *ziyārat*, still exists there, and is known as Masjid-i-Qazā' on account of the Qāzīs of Srīnagar issuing their *fatāwā*, or rulings, from a place near about. For the Jāmi' Masjid specially, as also for her *khānqāh* and *madrasa*, she brought a waterway right from Lār. It was called the Lachhma Kol. *Kol* in Kashmīrī means a waterway. She profited by the company of Bābā Ismā'īl Kubravī, who was the Shaikh-ul-Islām of Sultān Hasan Shāh, and became the Shaikh's *murīd* or disciple.

7. *Gul Khātūn.*

Gul Khātūn, the queen of Sultān Haidar Shāh, built a *madrasa*. She was also famed for her solicitude for Hindus. Çrivara says of her that 'she favoured the customs of Hindus as the light of the sun favours the lotus.' She was greatly esteemed by all, and men wept at her death.

8. *Bībī Sāliha.*

Sāliha was the queen of Sultān Muhammad Shāh and the sister of Kājī Chak. She also came under the influence of Bābā Ismā'īl Kubravī. Kashmīrīs remember her for the reconstruction of the shrine of Shāh Hamadān, known as the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, which had been demolished by the Shī'as. She would not touch State revenues, and therefore sold her jewellery to defray those expenses.

9. *Habba Khātūn.*

Hub Khātūn is popularly known as Habba, or Habba Khotan. Khōtan is the Kashmīrī form of Khātūn. Habba was a remarkable woman. Her original name was Zūn, the moon. And truly she was like the moon in beauty, a 'perfection of youth, health and grace.' She came of a lower middle class family of Chandahāra, a village about ten miles from Srīnagar and about two miles from Pāmpar known for its saffron.

After some education consisting of the study of the *Gulistān*, the *Būstān* and the Qur'ān, and somewhat prosaic life, she was married. Her mother-in-law bullied her. Her husband was indifferent to her. She obtained a divorce.

One day, while singing in a saffron field, her melodies reached Yūsuf Shāh who happened to pass by. The prince was captivated. This was a turning point in the life of Habba. She was henceforth a queen, and was called the Nūr Jahān of Kashmīr. Her chief contribution was to music. The *Kashmīrī Rāst* melody is her addition to the charm of Kashmīrī music. She introduced the *Lōl*-lyric in Kashmīrī poetry, the treatment of which will be found at its proper place on page 415. By virtue of her extraordinary beauty, her great skill in music, Hub (حُب meaning love) was indeed "The Lady of Love."

When Yūsuf Shāh was made to leave Kashmīr by Akbar, Habba forsook the world, and became a hermitess. Perhaps her stanzas refer to this period of her life—

Love has consumed me from within,
He has cast me into a hot oven
And is burning me to cinder.

Love has melted me like the snow,
He has fretted me like the hill-stream,
And has made me restless like the rills.

The world observes the Ramazān,
The lover celebrates the 'Īd ;
But there can be no 'Īd when love is away.

—*Kashmiri Lyrics* (page 77).

She built a small cottage near her mosque in the village of Pāndachhok, three miles from Srīnagar on the Islāmābād road, and passed the rest of her life in contemplation, and is believed to be buried there, though the exact grave cannot be definitely recognized.

Habba's poetry is on the lips of Kashmīrīs. Her life saw strange changes of fortune. Till 18 or 19 she led a simple life in a village. For the following 14 years she enjoyed life with Yūsuf Shāh as the queen of Kashmīr 'luxuriating in the spell of lovely weather at Gulmarg, Sonamarg, Ahrabal, Achabal and on the Ḍal.' For about twenty years, she was a hermitess, and died at the age of fifty-five or thereabout.

What hope can keep me alive ?
He doth not think of me !—*Habba Khātūn.*

10. *Hāfiza Maryam.*

The roll of famous women of Kashmīr claims the tutoress of the celebrated Zīb-un-Nisā' Begam, the daughter of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr. Hāfiza Maryam, to whom Zīb-un-Nisā' owed her education, was a learned lady, wife of Mīrzā Shukrullāh of Kashmīr. Maryam's scholarly son 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān rose to the position of Mughul governor of Kashmīr. She died on the 26th of Rabī'-us-Sānī 1089 A.H. (1678 A.C.). The tablet on the grave of Hāfiza in the enclosure of Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh bears the following inscription :—

از جهان رفت مریمِ دوران بُرده با خویش حِلیهٔ ایمان

دفن بعد از نمازِ جُمعه شُده است هر که و مه به تعزیه بنشست

عقل بهرِ وفاتِ نیک سرشت گُفت تاریخ شُد بسُوے بهشت

11. *Hāfiza Khadīja.*

Hāfiza Khadīja was the daughter of Mīr Sayyid 'Abdul Fattāh, who was a descendant of Mīr Sayyid Husain Simnānī. The reader will recall that Mīr Sayyid Husain Simnānī was deputed by Shāh Hamadān from Īrān to visit Kashmīr for a survey for the preaching of Islam in the Valley of Kashmīr (p. 84, Chapter III). Mīr 'Abdul Fattāh was a learned man and himself taught his daughter. By twenty Khadīja completed her formal education. The Qur'ān, the Hadīth, the Fiqh formed part of her course. The *Hisn-i-Hasīn*, the *Qudūrī*, and the *Mishkāt* are specially mentioned in her course of study. Khadīja was married to a scholar whose name was Mullā Zain-ud-Dīn Muftī.

Khadīja lives in history as a great teacher who opened a *madrasa* for women on her own premises. Her death at about sixty is recorded to have taken place in 1152 A.H. =1739 A.C.

12. *Begam Sumrū.*

Zīb-un-Nisā' Begam whose original name was Farzāna Begam (French form, Paragauna) is known to history as Begam Sombre or Sumrū. She was undoubtedly a wo man of undaunted courage, great cleverness, unusual ta ct, and extraordinary charm of person. Captain Mundy in his *Journal of a Tour in India* says that the history of her life, if properly known, would form a series of scene s, such as, perhaps, no other woman could have sustained. Co lonel

Skinner had often, during his service with the Marāthas, seen her, then a beautiful young woman, "leading on her troops to the attack in person, and displaying, in the midst of carnage, the greatest intrepidity and presence of mind."

[There has been some difference of opinion about the origin of Begam Sumrū. We shall therefore briefly discuss it here. Nevill's *Meerut District Gazetteer*, published in 1904, probably follows H. G. Keene (*The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, published 1876, page 135) when it states that Begam Sumrū was the daughter of Asad Khān (according to another account Lutf 'Alī Khān), a Musalmān of Arab descent who had settled in the town of Kutāṇā, about thirty miles north-west of Meerut, and that she was born about 1753 A.C. Keene mentions that her mother was a concubine. On the death of her father, she and her mother became subject to ill-treatment from her half-brother, the legitimate heir. The mother and the daughter consequently removed to Delhi about 1760. On the dawning of her youth the Begam came across the path of Sumrū. Francklin (*Shah Aulum*, page 116) describes Begam Sumrū as the daughter of a Mughul nobleman. That Begam Sumrū was really a Kashmīrī has been recently brought to light by an incidental note. Mr. M. A. Singarvelu, curator of the old records at Pondicherry, has copied a footnote (in original) to the letter from Bussy to Marshal de Castries, Royal Minister of France, in which it is stated that Begam Sumrū was a Kashmīrī woman (*vide The Modern Review* for September, 1925, page 275, under the caption "Disunited India as seen by a Foreign Eye" with an introduction by Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār, Kt., C.I.E.). This authoritative note of Bussy settles the question of Begam Sumrū's origin. Her features look quite Kashmīrian. Her earlier name, Farzāna, is a typically Kashmīrī name abbreviated in the Kashmīrī language as Farzo, Farza, or Farzī. Zīb-un-Nisā, or 'the Ornament of Women,' was the title conferred on her by the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam, on account of her loyalty and her courageous defence of the person of the emperor against the attack of his enemies, and called her his most beloved daughter (*vide* the late Mr. Brajendra Nāth Banerji's article on Begam Samrū in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, March, 1925, page 36. See also his *Begam Samrū*, Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1925.) It is interesting to note that the Begam used a screen when giving interviews to foreigners, and had a veil when out in the battle-field.]

Walter Reinhardt, of obscure parentage in the Electorate of Treves, had taken the *nom de guerre* of Summers when he enlisted in the British army. His comrades from his saturnine complexion turned Summers into Sombre and the Indians, by corruption, Sumrū or Shumrū. Reinhardt obtained the principality of Sardhana as a *jāgīr* from the emperor of Delhi. He sought the hand of the Begam, when a young and handsome girl, formally married her in 1773,

and converted her to the Roman Catholic religion. According to another account, she was baptized three years after the death of Sumrū, who died, or was murdered in the year 1778 A.C. at Āgra. The Begam was christened Johanna Nobilis. Begam Sumrū's second husband was a French adventurer, a soldier of fortune, Colonel LeVaisseau, who commanded her army.

Begam Sumrū died on 27th January, 1836 A.C.=8th Shawwāl 1251 A.H., aged about 83 years. She must have, therefore, been born in 1746 or 1748 A.C. The Begam was buried in the splendid cathedral in the citadel of Sardhana, of which she was the founder, and which she had modelled on St. Peter's in Rome. At her death, she left upwards of six lakhs of rupees for various charitable and pious purposes, and gave instructions for founding a college for young men to serve on the Apostolic Mission to Tibet and Hindustān. Her gifts were not confined to Christianity alone, but she subscribed liberally towards Hindu and Muslim institutions as well. The benevolence of her disposition and extensive charity, which had endeared her to thousands, excited in the mind of Lord William Bentinck, "sentiments of the warmest admiration." On her death, her *jāgīr* lapsed to the British Government. She left in cash, more than half a crore of rupees. She is now a saint of the Roman Catholic Church.

Thomas describes the Begam as small and plump, her complexion fair, her eyes large and animated. She wore Hindustānī costume, made of the most costly materials, and spoke Persian and Urdu fluently, and attended personally to business.

Begam Sumrū was not a sovereign princess. Her status was that of a *jāgīrdār*, holding lands of the Delhi crown on military tenure. If she had accepted the proposal of Ghulām Qadīr Rohila, and sided with him against the emperor, perhaps she would have been the empress of India. The British Government addressed her as Her Highness. Her estate was extremely wealthy and well provided with fine towns. The revenue yielded by the estate—equal to two English counties—amounted to eight lakhs of rupees per annum. Besides this, there were other sources of income. For instance, the Begam enjoyed the right to collect transit duties on goods passing through her territories by land and water.

The military establishment of the Begam, according to Sleeman, cost her about four lakhs of rupees a year, her civil establishments eighty thousand, and her household establishments and expenses about the same. The total sum amounted to six lakhs of rupees a year.

As a *jāgīrdār* of the emperor of Delhi, the Begam had to maintain an army to help her sovereign in his need. A part of her army was at Sardhana, her capital, and a part at Delhi in attendance upon the emperor. Apart from her regular army, she raised temporary troops whenever need arose. She had a well-stored arsenal, and a foundry for cannon within the walls of a small fortress built near her dwelling at Sardhana. Her army was a well-disciplined force, composed of infantry, artillery, and a complement of cavalry, manned by Europeans of different nationalities like Marchand, Baours, Evans, and Dudrenec, who were principally occupied in opposing the inroads of the Sikhs. After them, the command of her troops devolved successively upon the Irishman George Thomas, the Frenchmen Le Vaisseau, Saleur and Colonel Poethod. At the time of her death, her forces were led by General Regholini, and eleven other European officers, one of whom was John Thomas, son of the celebrated George Thomas.

Begam Sumrū herself commanded the army on many a battle-field. The people in the Deccan, who knew her by reputation, on the occasion of her assistance to Sindhia, believed her to be a witch. After her treaty with the British, she became their most sincere ally, and was never found on the battle-field again except on one occasion. The siege of Bharatpur conducted by Lord Combermere, revived all her military ardour, and she was desirous of taking the field and obtaining a share of the glory. Major Archer, Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere, writes: "When the army was before Bharatpur in 1826, the commander-in-chief was desirous that no native chief of our allies should accompany the besieging force with any of his troops; this order hurt the pride of the Begam who remonstrated. She was told that the large and holy place of Muttra was to be confided to her care. "Nonsense," said she, "if I don't go to Bharatpur, all Hindustān will say I am grown a coward in my old age." (Skinner, *i*, 144 *n*).

The Kashmiri Language

Wherever Islam has gone, it has had an extraordinary influence over the language of the land and its script. The present Persian and the pre-Ataturk Turkish languages are instances of the kind. These, in turn, have influenced others. The Persian and the Turkish languages have been greatly influenced by Islam. In India, though Islam has not given a wholly new language to the country, it has substantially transformed the Braj Bhāshā (Vraja Bhāshā) into the Urdū or Hindustānī of our day.

A not dissimilar process has taken place in Kashmīr. The original Dardic language has supplied the skeleton. Sanskrit has given it flesh, but Islam has given it life. And the modern Kashmīrī language laid the foundations of its present-day literature during Muslim rule.

Hitherto it was believed that the Kashmīrī language was of Sanskrit origin. But Professor Ernst Kuhn of Munich[1] was perhaps the first to suggest that the Hindu Kush dialects together with Kashmīrī formed a separate group within the body of Indo-Āryan languages and suggested distinction by some phonetical peculiarities. The researches of Sir George Grierson have now established the fact that the claim of Sanskrit origin of Kashmīrī cannot be sustained, and that Kashmīrī belongs to the Dard group of the Dardic languages. It has, however, for many centuries been subject to Indian influence, and its vocabulary includes a large number of words derived from India, which have given support to the supposition that it is derived from Sanskrit. Some people in Kashmīr still hold this view; but the result of the researches of Sir George has been accepted by scholars who can speak with authority on the subject. In order, therefore, to trace its history, it is essential that we should know what *Dard* signifies. But before we do so, let us briefly go over the distribution of Āryan languages.

The presumption is that there was, in pre-historic times, a language known as Āryan, spoken by the common ancestors of the Īrānians and of the Indo-Āryans in the oasis of Khīvà.[2] "The original home, whence the Āryans separated from

1. *The Indian Antiquary*, May 1887, page 165.

2. This note has been summarized from Sir George Abraham Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1919, Vol. VIII, Part II, pages 7-8, 235, 241-253. See also *Dardistān*—1866, 1886, 1893 by Dr. G. W. Leitner, Woking, England.

the ancestors of other Indo-European languages," says Sir George, "is believed to have been the steppe-country of Southern Russia." The common ancestors of the Indo-Āryans appear to have followed up the course of the Oxus and the Jaxartes into the high-lying country round Khūqand and Badakhshān. Here, a portion of them separated from the others, marching south over the western passes of the Hindu Kush into the valley of the river Kābul. Thence it moved into the plains of India where they settled, as the ancestors of the present Indo-Āryans. The Āryans who remained behind, on the north of the Hindu Kush, and who did not share in the migration to the Kābul valley, spread eastwards and westwards. Those who migrated to the east occupied the Pāmīrs, and now speak Ghalchah. Those who went westwards occupied Merv, Īrān and Baluchistān, and their descendants now speak those languages which, together with the Ghalchah languages, are classed as Īrānian. Apparently, therefore, the Īrānian languages are the direct descendants of the ancient Āryan stock, while the Indo-Āryan languages represent a branch which issued from the parent stem at a very early date.

The Dardic languages possess many characteristics which are peculiar to themselves. In some other respects, they agree with Indo-Āryan and, in yet other respects, with Īrānian languages. They do not possess all the characteristics either of Indo-Āryan or of Īrānian. It is assumed that, at the time when they issued from the Āryan language, the Indo-Āryan language had already branched forth from it. The Āryan language had, by that time, developed further on its own lines in the direction of Īrānian; but that development had not yet progressed so far as to reach all the typical characteristics of Īrānian. The Āryan language still retained some, though not all, of the characteristics which it possessed when the Indo-Āryans set out for the Kābul valley. In brief, Āryan is the parent stock, from which shoots off the Indo-Āryan language at a very early date, and passes down to India. Then, before the other branch of the parent-stock becomes actually Īrānian, another branch, the Dardic, shoots off, and settles in what we call Dardistān, namely, Chitrāl, Chilās, Gilgit, Dāreyl (Yāghistān), etc.

The word 'Dard,' says Sir George, has a long history, and the people bearing the name are a very ancient tribe.*

Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII, Part II, page 1.

A small group of Dards from the neighbourhood of Drās, which is about 40 miles beyond Sonamarg (The Meadow of Gold), via the Zōjī-Lā.

["These fellows are hardy and enduring as any men I have ever met with; though living in the most trying circumstances of climate, they are not oppressed or weighed down by them, but keep such a cheerfulness as the inhabitants of the most favoured climes and countries may envy."—Frederic Drew in his "Jummoo and Kashmir Territories," London, 1875, page 424.]

They are spoken of, in Sanskrit literature, as 'Dārada' or 'Darada,' which name is of frequent occurrence, not only in geographical works, but also in the epic poems and in the Purāṇas. Kalhaṇa often refers to them under the name of 'Dāradas' or 'Darads,' and mentions them as inhabiting the country where we now find the Shiṇs who, at the present day, are called Dards. Greeks and Romans included, under the name of the Dard country, the whole mountainous tract between the Hindu Kush and the frontiers of India proper. Accordingly, this tract embracing Astor (called by Dogrās, *Hasora*) Būnjī, Chilās, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Pūniāl, Yāsīn and Chitrāl, has been known to outsiders as Dardistān, though this is not strictly accurate as it includes much of the country not occupied by Dards. The Āryan languages spoken in this tract are, therefore, conventionally or conveniently termed Dardic. But it appears that the inhabitants nowadays resent these names of Dard, Dardistān and Dardic when applied to them, to their country, or to their language. They want their own distinctive names to be used for them. As a matter of fact, Dards call Kashmīr not Kashmīr, but *Kashrat*. Herodotus refers to the country of the Dards, in III, 102-105.

Dardistān was once inhabited by tribes whom Sanskrit writers grouped together under the title of Piçācha. But exception has been taken to the use of this word as it connotes a cannibal demon, and therefore that term has been given up, and the name Dardic used instead. It denotes a combination of three groups (*a*) Kāfir (*b*) Chitrālī (*c*) Dard group proper. This last consists of (1) Shiṇā (2) Kashmīrī, and (3) Kūhistānī.

Kashmīrī—or as the people call it—Köshur—is the language of the Valley of Kashmīr and of the neighbouring valleys. Although it has a Dardic basis, it has come, to a large extent, under the influence of the Indo-Āryan languages spoken in its southern parts. It is the only one of the Dardic languages that has a literature; and is estimated to be spoken by 1,413,166 people in Kashmīr according to the census of 1931, and over 8,000 emigrants in the North-Western Frontier, the Punjāb and other Provinces. Kashmīrī has also overflowed the Pīr Pantsāl range into the Jammu Province of the State. It has one true dialect which is called Kishtwārī, and is estimated to be spoken by 7,464 according to the Linguistic Survey.

In the standard Kashmīrī of the Valley, there are minor differences of language, for instance, the Kashmīrī spoken

by Musalmāns slightly differs from that spoken by Pandits. Not only is the vocabulary of the former more filled with words borrowed from Persian (and Turkish and Arabic), but also there are slight differences of pronunciation. Again, there is the distinction between town and village talk or between *grūst* and *gandur* (uncouth and refined). Then, there is the distinction between the language of prose and that of poetry.

Kashmiri Literature

Kashmīrī has a small but respectable list of literary works. The foundation of Kashīmrī Literature was laid during early Muslim rule. According to Sir George Grierson (p. 237), the oldest author is Lalla or Lal Dēd born in 1335 A.C., as already mentioned under the section *Some Women of Note*. She flourished in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ūd-Dīn (1343-45 A.C.). Hundreds of Lalla's verses are commonly quoted all over the Valley. Manuscript collections of her verses have, from time to time, been made under the Sanskrit title of *Lalavākyāni*. Lal Dēdī's verses* are all religious. *Bāṇā-suravadha* is the first secular poem that can be dated, though its authorship is not known. It is on music, and is in the Hindu dialect, and was written in the reign of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. The Kashmīr State Research Department has published a book entitled *Mahānaya Prakāsh* by Çiti Kanṭha. This book, however, is believed to have been written in the 15th century A.C. Some critics, however, consider it to be very much earlier than the 15th century, and its language to be the oldest Kashmīrī containing Sanskrit words here and there. "*Satpar* by Munujī on medicine and astrology, *Lengparan* by Paruthī on the Hindu law of inheritance, *Rāmāvatāracharita*, a tale of Rāma, with a sequel entitled *Lavakuçacharita*, *Kṛishṇāvatāralīlā*, the life-story of Krishna, *Çivaparinaya*, narrative of the circumstances connected with Çiva's marriage with Pārvatī, are highly poetical works in pure Kashmīrī, also in the Hindu dialect." The *Rāmāvatāracharita* was printed in the Persian character at Srīnagar in 1923.

Mahmūd Gāmī (Gāmī—of *gām*, *gām* means a village in Kashmīrī) of Dūru, near Vēr-nāg, is the best known of

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*Translated by Sir Richard Temple, Cambridge University Press, 1924.

writers in the Muslim style, and is the author of *Yūsuf Zulaikhā*. An edition of the *Yūsuf Zulaikhā*, with a partial translation, has been prepared by Karl Friedrich Burkhard in German. Gāmī's *Lailā-wa-Majnūn*, *Shīrīn-o-Khusrav*, *Hārūn-ur-Rashīd*, *Shaikh San'ān* are all on familiar Persian models. Professor J. George Bühler, in his *Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS.*, mentions the following works:—*Wāmiq-o-'Azrā* by Saif-ud-Dīn, *Nisāb* a sort of lexicon by Sumty Pandit, *Amsila* (a poem), *Hārūn-ur-Rashīd*, *Mahmūd-i-Ghaznavi*, *Shaikh San'ān*, by 'Azīzullāh *Haqqānī*. Hamīd-ullāh's *Akbar-nāma* is a history of Afghān rule, dedicated to Akbar Khān, the second son of Dūst Muhammad Khān of Afghānistān (in Persian). The *Dīvān-i-Nāzim*, the Dialogue of Sukh Jīwan and his wife, is, however, in Persian. Zahīr-ud-Dīn's *Makhzan-ul-Adviah-i-Kashmīr* is also in Persian.

The *masnavī*, *Hīmāl*, of Saif-ud-Dīn in Kashmīrī is well-known. *Rauzat-ush-Shuhadā'*, *Jauhar-i-'Ishq*, *Mumtāz-o-Binazīr*, in six parts, are from the pen of 'Azīzullāh Haqqānī.

The New Testament was translated into Kashmīrī by the late Rev. T. R. Wade, B. D., a former missionary in the Valley, and was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in the Persian character. Rev. Wade also compiled the first grammar of Kashmīrī. The grammar of Kashmīrī in the Sanskrit language, entitled the *Kaçmīra Çabdāmṛita* by Pandīt Īçvara Kaula, was edited by Sir George Grierson, and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898. The Pandit was also engaged on a Kashmīrī-Sanskrit Dictionary at the time of his death in 1893, but the materials collected by him for this purpose were subsequently made over to Sir George Abraham Grierson. From these and other sources, a Kashmīrī-English Dictionary was prepared by Sir George, and published in 1932 by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in a large quarto volume of 1,252 pages (text) under the title of *A Dictionary of the Kashmīrī Language*.

Kashmīrī Proverbs.

Connected with formal literature, though not a part of it, are the subjects of folk-tales and proverbs. Kashmīr is a land of proverbs, and the common speech is profuse with them. Some of the proverbs have been collected and arranged by Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, C.M.S., and are full of information regarding the customs and character of the people.

A few of the proverbs are given below :—

A blind man's wife is in God's keeping.
The dew is like a flood to the ant.
A man loves his own fault.

The bachelor wishes to get married, the married man regrets having married.

I do not want honey, nor do I want the sting.
Chickens do not die from the hen's kick.
Childhood is without care.

Giving advice to a stupid man is like giving salt to a squirrel.

The fish dies from thirst in the river.
Sweet to the taste but bitter to pay for.

Kashmīrī Riddles.

"Riddles," writes the late Pandit Anand Kaul,* "raise a momentary sensation of wonder and afford a light intellectual pastime. Their literature constitutes a relic of ancient folk-lore. Besides amusing children, they appeal most to students of anthropology, philology and research. They are valuable in shedding light upon the remote past of the Kashmīrīs."

1. O my piebald horse and horseman !
Carry me slowly across the bridge
Thou hast not got the tresses (*i.e.* strings).
And I shall plait them for thee.

Answer. Wooden sandals.

2. An old woman descended from the sky
Her feet touched the earth
There is none but God !
I will rejoice, I will ask five villages as *jāgīr*.

Answer. Snow.

3. A doe is shedding tears on a hill.

Answer. Straining boiled rice in a pot.

4. An ass is dancing with the door shut.

Answer. A mill grinding corn.

5. Live intestines in a dead female elephant.

Answer. The inmates of a house.

**The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII, 1933, pages 21-28.

6. A Pandit came downstairs with three girdles girt.
Answer. A load of timber.

7. A Pandit came downstairs wearing red coloured clothes.
Answer. Red pepher.

8. Eatable, drinkable, crushable,
Seed for the garden and food for the cow.
Answer. A water-melon.

9. There is a small fence round a lake.
Answer. Eye-lashes.

10. It has thirty-six windows, thirty-six doors.
It is thirty-six yards in width.
The king happened to build it.
There is a maund of gold on its spires.
Answer. The Jāmi' Masjid.

Kashmīrī Folk Tales.

Kashmīr is celebrated for its folk-tales. Not only are some familiar in every home, but there are also professional *rāvīs* or reciters, who make their living by telling these tales, which are worthy of the *Arabian Nights*. These men, says Sir George, recite, with astonishing verbal accuracy, stories that have been handed down to them by their predecessors now and then containing words that have fallen out of use, and with the meaning of which they are now unacquainted. Sir Aurel Stein has made a collection of such tales as dictated by Hātīm Tilawyn of Panzil, a professional story-teller of the Sind Valley in Kashmīr. This collection has been translated by Sir George Grierson, and was published by John Murray in 1923 under the title of *Hātim's Tales*. Revd. Knowles has also written *Folk-Tales of Kashmīr*.

Newspapers & Broadcasts in Kashmīrī.

The *Gāsh* (Light) is the name of the short-lived weekly journalistic venture appearing on 9 Ashid 621 Kashmīrī=31 Sāvana 1997 Bikramī=1359 A.H. (1940 A.C.). Due to the second world war, scarcity and cost of paper and printing, it ceased publication. The *Pratāp*, the college magazine of Srī Pratāp College, Srīnagar, and now *Lāla Rukh* the Amar Singh Degree College magazine, and such others devote a portion of their pages to Kashmīrī literary contributions,

Urdu newspapers like the daily *Hamdard*, the daily *Khidmat*, both of Srīnagar, and others also, at times, publish Kashmīrī poems. According to recent announcements in newspapers* London and New Delhi radio stations are to broadcast news in Kashmīrī and Kashmīrī songs. Radio Pākistān, Lahore, broadcasts news in Kashmīrī nowadays.

The Kashmīrī Script.

Kashmīrīs use three alphabets for writing their language, the Çāradā, the Nāgarī and the Persian. The Persian script is used by Muslims and by several Hindus. It is also the script employed at the present day by Christian missionaries in writing books, designed for the natives of the country The spelling of Kashmīrī words, written in the Persian character, has the advantage of being fairly constant, but it is pointed out that "the alphabet is not quite so well suited for illustrating the complicated vowel sounds of the language." The Nāgarī character has a limited use amongst the Hindus. The first is sometimes called Musalmānī Kashmīrī. The second is called Hindu Kashmīrī. The Çāradā character is the ancient indigenous character of Kashmīrī. It is allied to Nāgarī, being built on the same system and corresponding with it, letter for letter, but the forms of the letters differ greatly. It is more closely allied to the Tākkrī or Dogrī alphabets of the Punjāb Hills, and has a complete array of signs for the different vowels. It is generally used by Hindus.

Kashmiri Poetry.

The beginning of Kashmīrī poetry is to be traced back to Kashmīrī folk songs and ballads. A Kashmīrī muses when his herd winds over the verdurous lea. He sings to dance when he takes his flock of sheep to pasture. He describes the boat he plies in the waters of the Vitastā or the Jhelum, which he calls the "River of Love." He entertains himself with opera songs. He is enchanted by the natural beauty of environments and grows romantic to sing to his love. He sings even when carrying the load. The maid sings even when she washes clothes or cleanses utensils or grinds corn. As a matter of fact, Kashmīrī women, unlettered mostly, have "relieved the tedium of their life" by finding in these songs "a sincere echo of their emotion."

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*The *Hamdard*, Srīnagar, 25th April, 1944.

The Kashmīrī sings in chorus on matrimonial occasions. His lullaby notes lull the child in the cradle. He elegizes, at their death, those near and dear to him. He is, besides, mystical.

"Of course, as in the case of all poetry," says Rabindra Nāth Tāgore, "the folk poems have different degrees of merit. The living stream that flows from the genius of a true poet has its origin, like the mythical river Mandākinī, in an unattainable world. Then come those others, who set to work digging canals to take the water to the corn-fields." Metrical romances like the *Gulrīz* by Maqbūl Shāh of Krālawārī, the *Shīrīn Khusrav* by Mahmūd Gāmī and the *Hīmāl-ta-Nāgrāy* by Walīullāh Mattū have their own charm. The last mentioned and the *Aknandan* are two of the earliest of metrical romances. *Himāl wa Nāgrāy* or *Nāg Arzan* is also the theme of the masnavī, *Tuhfat-ul-'Ushshāq*, by Muftī Muhammad Sadr-ud-Dīn *Wafā'i* in Persian (MS.) Wafāī died in 1222 A.H. = 1807 A.C.

Kashmīrī ballads have a legendary hero whose adventures and exploits form their main theme. Through these ballads vibrates the very life of Kashmīr. These are the word paintings of unsophisticated emotions, and in them are enshrined the relics of Kashmīr's home-spun traditions. The period of their composition cannot be determined with any definiteness, but certainly they seem to date back to several centuries past.

Much of the old Kashmīrī poetical composition is not extant, and still less do we know of early poets. The life of Kashmīrī poetry may be divided into three periods. The first period may be taken to embrace (1) Çiti Kanṭha, (2) Lalla, and (3) Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn. The second period begins with Habba Khātūn and closes with Araṇī Māl (Mrs. Bhawānī Dās Kāchrū) and Prakāsh Bhaṭ, the author of *Rāma-AvatāraCharita* (Life of Rāma), including *Lavakuça-Charita* (Lives of Lava and Kuça, Rāma's two sons). The third period begins with Mahmūd Gāmī and comes down to 'Azīzullāh Haqqānī. The present period of Kashmīrī poetry may be taken separately to form the fourth or modern period, of which Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad *Mahjūr* is the best known.

Çiti Kanṭha, as already mentioned in the section on the Kashmīrī language, is the first Kashmīrī poet known to have lived in the thirteenth century or earlier. His poetry has here and there Sanskrit expressions. It is a

coincidence that Çiti Kanṭha lived in Kashmīr almost in the same century in which Sārangdeva, another son of the soil, was making a name in Devagiri (Daulatābād, Deccan), at the court of the Yādavas, and became famous as the author of the *Sangīt-ratnākara*, a well-known Sanskrit book on Indian music. The reader need not be reminded that Mahāmahopādyaya Pandit Lachhmī Dhar of the University of Delhi has already claimed the great Kālidāsa as a Kashmīrian (*vide* Chapter II, pp. 46-47).

Some notable Kashmīrī Poets and their Works.

After the cherished dawn of its folk-songs and ballads, there came the hour of higher Kashmīrī literature. After Çiti Kanṭha the real history of Kashmīrī poetry begins with the great lady of the land, Lalla or Lal Dēd (born in 1335 A.C.). Her account has already been given on pp. 383-387 in this Chapter VIII. Lalla was more a sage and philosopher than a pure poetess, who preached her philosophy of Çaivism through the medium of poetry. Her language was mixed with Sanskrit words. Lalla's poetical compositions have been recently published under the title *Wāk-i-Lalla Īshwarī*, or *Lal-Ded-e-hind Wāk*. The pronunciation of Kashmīrī has undergone change from Lalla's time. And it is not easy to understand and appreciate the metre and rhythm of her verses. Dr. Grierson and local historians state that the metre of Lalla is accentual rather than quantitative. The metre of Kashmīrī is different. It is modelled on Persian. The sayings of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn are found in the *Nūr-nāma*. A note on his life has been given in Chapter III. Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn is more didactic than Lalla. He lived in the latter part of the fourteenth and the earlier part of the fifteenth century. Sōma Pandit, the author of *Zaina-Charita*, Yōdh Baṭ, the author of *Zaina-Vilās* flourished in the reign of Baḍ Shāh. Then comes Habba Khātūn. She is followed by Khwāja Habībullāh Nau-shahrī who died in 1617 A.C. Rūpa Bhawānī burst into spiritual poetry. The dates of her birth and death are 1624 and 1720 A.C. Her language was also coloured with Sanskrit. Sāhib Kaul who wrote *Krishn-avatāra* and *Janam-Charita* lived in the reign of Jahāngīr. Araṇī Māl (wife of Bhawānīdās Kāchrū) appeared on the stage in the middle of Afghān rule in Kashmīr. Mullā Fākhir is known for his odes. He died about the close of the eighteenth century. Mīr 'Abdullāh Baihaqī who was the author of

Kāshir-'Aqā'id (a *masnavī*) and *Mukhtasar Waqāyah* (a religious poem) died in 1807 A.C. *Samsār-māyā-moha-jal Sukh-dokh-Charita*, that was copied in 1815, is by Gangā Prashād. Mahmūd Gāmī, whom we have already mentioned, died in 1855 A.C. Gāmī's grave may be seen at the village Arwadrī, near Ḍōrū not very far from Vēr-nāg. Walīullāh Mattū's *Masnavi*, *Himāl* cannot be ignored. 'Abdul Ahad *Nāzim* wrote *Zain-ul-'Arab*, a love poem. Parmānand of Maṭan (Mārtaṇḍa) comes between 1791 to 1879.

There are legendary and epic poems like the *Aknandan* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Prākāsh Rām who was contemporary with Sukh Jīwan Mal, a governor of Kashmīr under the Afghāns.

With the advent of Muslim rule in Kashmīr, however, Kashmīrī literature did not remain impervious to the influence of the Persian language. A Kashmīrī poet freely used Persian expressions. He unflinchingly borrowed Persian simile and metaphor. He went to the extent of echoing Persian thought and imitating Persian style. Mahmūd Gāmī flourished towards the latter part of the nineteenth century. He is, out and out, a true copy of Persian poets. He is called the Nizāmī of Kashmīr, a title given him, perhaps, because of his self-asserted claim of holding the same position in Kashmīrī literature as is held by Nizāmī in Persian. He composed a collection of five books entitled the *Khamsa* on the lines of Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, or the *Panj Ganj*, *i.e.*, five treasures.

Maqbūl Shāh's compositions, *Gulrīz* and *Grist-nāma* are also tinged with Persian. The *Gulrīz* is a versified legend of Ajab Malik with Nūsh-lab, borrowed from a Persian book. The *Grist-nāma*, a satire, describes the satanic spirit of a peasant and his entanglements. Both the works are published. 'Abdul Ahad *Āzād* bestows very high praise on Maqbūl's beauty and charm of language in the *Gulrīz*. The *Grist-nāma* is rather pungent, he says. Maqbūl's other works are:—*Pir-nāma*, *Malla-nāma*, *Bahār-nāma*, *Mansūr-nāma* and *Ayyūb-nāma*.

Still Habba Khātūn (16th century A.C.), the royal spouse of Yūsuf Shāh Chak, a brief account of her has appeared in this Chapter VIII, under *Some Women of Note*, and Mrs. Bhawānīdās Kāchrū (about 1800 A.C.) preferred the language as it stood among the masses, and gave vent to

their innermost feelings in beautiful poems. Habba Khātūn introduced the element of lyricism and romanticism into Kashmīrī poetry by her passionate love lyrics.

Rasūl Mīr, born in Shāhābād, and the contemporary of 'Abdul Ahad *Nāzim*, also kept up the chastity of the Kashmīrī language. In odes or *ghazals* he surpasses Mahmūd Gāmī and Maqbūl Shāh. Pandit Prakāsh Rām's language is Kashmīrī—neither Sanskrit nor Persian.

Parmānand may be called the Sanāī of Kashmīr, his mysticism is so forceful and appealing. Though the contemporary of Mahmūd Gāmī, he employs Sanskrit in preference to Persian. He may even be said to have adapted Sanskrit to Kashmīrī. He stamped Sanskrit words with Kashmīrī accent and modified them to look Kashmīrī. But it is strange that Parmānand should have himself left a copy of *Upanikhat*, that is, the Persian rendering of the Upanishad, made under the supervision of Dārā Shukūh. Master Zinda Kaul* relates Parmānand's meeting with a Muslim mystic named Wahhāb Sāhib. When Parmānand went to him with a companion, the mystic remarked that Parmānand had written all his poetry in Hindu Kashmīrī which was intelligible to Hindus only, and nothing for his Muslim friends. Upon this, Parmānand turned to his companion and dictated, on the spot, a short poem beginning with the following:—

"In the contract of division (of produce) in the ratio of five parts to three, the agreement has to be fulfilled exactly—neither more nor less can be accepted."

In this poem Sanskrit words are avoided altogether. Among those who influenced Parmānand are Lalla and Nūr-ud-Dīn. In his maktab or the village school, Parmānand studied the *Gulistān* and the *Būstān* of Sa'dī, and rudiments of letter-writing and arithmetic. In his Persian *ghazals* he assumed *Gharīb* as his poetical name. His Persianized Kashmīrī is now lost. Only a few verses are, here and there, recited from memory.

Parmānand's real name is Nand Rām. He was born in Bhavan (Maṭan) in 1791 and died in 1879 A.C., having spent all his life in his village, where he was a *Patwārī*

**Parmānanda Sūkti-Sāra*, Durga Press, Srīnagar, 1941, pages 32-33.

or petty revenue official. When Parmānand resigned his service towards the end of his life, the head of the village, the Muqaddam, his employer, Sālih Ganāī continued to give him his emoluments.

Pandit Nand Rām, commonly known as Parmānand, a Kashmīrī poet, the Sanā'ī of Kashmīr, born in Maṭan in 1791, and died there in 1879.

Parmānand is the author of the *Sudāma-Charitra*, the *Rādhā Svayamvar*, the *Shiva-Lagna* and many other religio-philosophical poems. He is placed next to Lalla in mysti-

cism, and is deeply devotional and highly philosophical. Parmānand is imaginative too. Some of his poems are printed and are available in Kashmīr. His forte is the description of Çrī Krishna Līlā into which he has thrown his heart and soul and intellect.

Parmānand was followed by his disciples, Pandit Lakshman of Nāgām and Pandīt Krishna Dās of Vanpōh. Pandit Krishna Dās excels even Parmānand in clearness of language, in his description of nature, in 'local colour,' and perhaps in the musicality of verse.

The melodies of Krishn Rāzdān of Vanpōh deserve quite a fair place in Kashmīrī poetry. His songs, very musical indeed, are popular with women folk who sing them in chorus especially on matrimonial occasions.

'Azīzullāh Haqqānī, who died in recent years, is another lyricist. Music is the keynote of his compositions. His love ballads and lyrical poems have been collected and published under the title of *Ghazaliyyāt-i-Haqqānī*.

The small village of Hājin in the Bārāmūla district, on the way to the Wular, claims more than one noted poet of Kashmīrī. 'Abdul Wahhāb Parē—the Firdausī of Kashmīr—flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the teens of the twentieth in this village. He died in his 71st lunar year on Tuesday the 11th Safar, 1333 A.H.=1914 A.C.=1971 Bikramī. He was born on Monday, 14th Sha'bān 1262 A.H. = 1845 A.C., when Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd-Dīn was Sūbadār under the Sikhs, just a year before Mahārājā Gulāb Singh came in. Parē died in the same village. It was at a mature age that he wrote poems. His father died when he was two years and six months, and his younger brother, 'Azīz Parē, of only forty days. Their mother spun to bring them up. 'Abdul Wahhāb appears to have worked in several miscellaneous capacities, *i.e.*, tahvīldār, patwārī, and nā'ib tahsīldār. Starting his career as a contractor, he rolled in riches for the major portion of his life. In his last days he, however, relinquished all wordly riches and lived like a faqīr, but did not leave his home. In the introduction to his famous translation of the *Sultāni*, he says that it was in a dream that Shaikh

Hamza Makhdūm, the famous saint of Srīnagar, infused into him the poetic spirit.

The poet 'Abdul Wahhāb Parē hailing from Hājan in the Bārāmūla district of Kashmīr. Parē was born in 1262 A.H. (1845 A.C.), and died in his seventieth year in 1333 A.H. (1914 A.C.)

His famous translations are :—1. Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma.* Each Persian verse is appropriately translated into Kashmīrī verse in four volumes. 2. *The Akbar-nāma* is the epical versified account of the first three Afghān Wars where Akbar Khān, the son of Amīr Dūst Muhammad Khān of Afghānistān, is represented as the hero. It is a voluminous

work in Persian verse written by Hamīdullāh of Islāmābād and has been translated verse by verse into Kashmīrī by 'Abdul Wahhāb Parē.

Other works are: *Haft Qissa-i-Makr-i-Zan* or the seven stories of the viles of women, *Haft Qissa-i-Haft A'mā* or the seven stories relating to seven blind men, *Qissa-i-Chahār Darvīsh*, the *Qissa-i-Nau-nihāl Gulbadan*, the *Qissa-i-Bahrām Gūr*.

The *Sultāni* is a voluminous biography of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm written in Persian verse and prose by five successors of the saint, and has been rendered into Kashmīrī verse by 'Abdul Wahhāb.

Parē's original works are:—1. *The Divān-i-Wahhāb* which comprises the whole of his poetry. There are some Persian poems also, but the *Divān* of 767 odes is in Kashmīrī.

His verse embraces:—1. Religious poems in praise of Islam, the Prophet, his Companions, and Indian Muslim saints. 2. Didactic poems with satirical touches on social customs, habits and manners. 3. Amorous poems of a strangely puritanical bent of mind. 4. Mystic poems with copious references to Muslim history. 5. Narrative poems mostly permeated with pessimism.

2. شکل و شمائلِ آنحضرت صلعم—The main theme here is the physical description of the Prophet. It is written in one metre with remarkable fitness of the word سچن (happened) at the end of each line.

3. درویشی is a treatise on Sūfīs and Sūfiism mostly illustrated with the author's personal contact with some Sūfīs.

4. سیلاب نامہ is the first poem of its kind in Kashmīrī verse, and describes the havoc wrought by the flood that swept off the whole of the Kashmīr Valley in 1960 Bikramī (1902-1903 A.C.). It is full of humour.

5. The *Kār-i-Patwār*. 6. One book on geometry is also traced to him. 7. The *Khilāfat-nāma* supplements his *Shāh-nāma* with a brief summary of the Khilāfat till the time of Sultān 'Abdul Majīd Khān of Turkey. None of Parē's works except the *Shāh-nāma* and a selection of his *Divān* by Khawāja Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn Parē, M.A., LL.B (Alig.), of the Prince of Wales College, Jammu, is printed

MSS. are found in several parts of the Valley. A life of the poet is reported to be in preparation at Hājin.

Maulavī Siddīqullāh died some years earlier than 'Abdul Wahhāb Parē, *i.e.*, in 1318 A.H.=1900 A.C. He shone as a jurist, translator and poet. He translated the *Sikandar-nāma* of Nizāmī into Kashmīrī verse. His next translation in Kashmīrī verse is that of بدائع منظوم It is a versified Persian work on Muslim jurisprudence. His third work is شکل و شمائلِ آنحضرت صلعم. It is descriptive. He wrote also a small book against the Wahhābīs. This is named ردّ الوهابیه. Except شکل و شمایلِ آنحضرت صلعم the first three of his works have been published. The other unpublished works of Siddīqullāh are about nine.

Asad Parē was born in 1862 A.C. in Hājin and died in the village Sālūra near Gāndarbal in 1923 A.C. Asad was a born poet, though illiterate. On the death of his parents, when he was about twenty years old, he began travelling in Kashmīr, spent some time in the village Ganastān near Sumbul (Sambal) where Ramazān Baṭ, the famous author of the mystical exposition of *Aka-nandan*, in five versified parts, met him and became his disciple. He spent his last days in Sālūra where he had been married. He was naturally melancholic, pious, and mystic. He satirized the "seasonal mendicants" once, the burden of the song being :—

"Rancour turned them to ashes—
Their hobby is a show of the study of the Qur'ān!
Puffed in vainglory are they!
A wooden shoe, dishevelled hair, tattered garment and a string of beads
Are the paraphernalia of the cheat
For bargaining
Hāl Qāl on a dirty soil.
Unseen slumbering under the shade,
The seasonal dervish calls vigilance in prayer.
Hoodwinking a female disciple is the climax of his creed.
Immersed like a drop in the ocean of Essence
Are those who feel as did Mansūr al-Hallāj.

But for these "truants in trance," Mansūr's story
Provides a means to inflame their bodies with!"

A popular folk-singer of Hājin was Tāntre who died in the first quarter of this century.

Rahmān Ḍār of Chhattabal, Srīnagar, is another poet who lived in obscurity. Very little is extant of his composition. His poems, handed down to us, are marvellously mystical. If he had cared to come to limelight, Rahmān Ḍār would possibly have been ranked with Mahmūd Gāmī, whose contemporary he was. Rahmān Ḍār's poem *Dūst Muhammad Khān* was well-known in his lifetime. But another poem *Mānchh-tullar* (the honey-bee) is current to this day.

Nand Lāl Kaul or Nanna is another modern poet and dramatist. He infused a new spirit in the Kashmīrī language. Some of his works, *viz.* *Satach-Kehwaṭ*, *Dayya Lol*, *Rāmun Rāj*, *Prahlād-Bhagat* have been published only recently. Māna Jū 'Attār of Bhurī-Kadal, Srīnagar, has versified the *Shrīmad Bhāgwat Purāṇa* into the Kashmīrī language.

Master Zinda Kaul, B.A., a sound critic of Kashmīrī poetry, is a poet himself. One of his poems entitled مجبوریا لاچاریا is worthy of very great praise. (See pp. 428-9).

Pandit Dayā Rām Ganjū is sometimes humorous. In his *Ghar Vyez Māl*, he addresses little sisters and daughters of his community and country and gives them advice on household duties, cleanliness and good habits.

Pandit Nārāyan Khār of Maṭan has translated the Bhagvad-Gītā into flowing Kashmīrī verse and has, besides, composed a few other poems.

Mīrzā Ghulām Hasan Beg *'Ārif*, M.Sc. (Alig.), Deputy Director, Sericulture, Srīnagar, is originally a resident of Islāmābād. 'Ārif is a noteworthy young Kashmīrī poet of today. He took his Master's degree in Zoology and still did not by-pass the emotional aspects or deeper problems of life which became the subjects of his song. Now he would give a homely simile, as in *Khām Sīr*, and bring home to his readers that the unburnt brick grew firmer and finer after burning in an oven. So can every man grow more perfect by burning in the fire of hardship. His confidence in the greatness of the destiny of man is obvious not only here, but even when the *Namāz-i-Janāza* or the

funeral prayer is the subject of his verse. He is reassured about the greatness of man before whom the angels prostrated when he sees the Musalmāns praying towards the Ka'ba in front of the body of one of their dead. Mīrzā 'Ārif's *Bāng-i-Sahar* has been published by 'Alī Muhammad, Bookseller, Habba Kadal, Srīnagar.

Of the living poets, Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad *Mahjūr* has earned indeed very great popularity and wide fame. His many songs, enriched with beautiful similes and metaphors, are already on the lips of the masses. His lyrical, patriotic and political poems have won him great laurels. "His songs and his poems," says Balrāj Sahnī,* "are the cherished property of every man, woman and child, living between Bārāmūla and Pīr Pānchāl. If Mahjūr writes a poem today, it will be on the lips of the populace within a fortnight. Children on their way to school, girls thrashing rice, boatmen plying the paddle, labourers bending in their ceaseless toil, all will be singing it." Balrāj further says that the beauty of Mahjūr's poetry "lies more in its music and refined sentiment than depth of thought. It has the water colour delicacy of Kashmīr landscape." Mahjūr like Parmānand has been a Patwārī. One of his fiery political compositions once brought him into serious trouble, but the tactful handling of his revenue head averted his dismissal and perhaps prosecution. His books *Kalām-i-Mahjūr* (in nine parts) and *Payām-i-Mahjūr* have been published. About a lakh of copies are reported to have been sold out in the Valley. "Besides being very musical and correct in the technique of metre and rhyme," says Master Zinda Kaul, "Mahjūr is, perhaps, the first to introduce into Kashmīrī the ideas of patriotism, human freedom, love of mankind, unity of Hindus and Muslims, dignity of work, respect for manual labour, and nature (scenery, birds, flowers, etc.).

In the *Pratāp* (page 11) of June 1937, Mahjūr has been criticized for unsound imagery. But the poem evoking criticism was the second of Mahjūr's earliest attempts at poetical composition in Kashmīrī, and therefore does not call for any very serious consideration. His *Tarāna*, however, does not make a very special appeal on account of the obscurity of personages chosen from Kashmīr history.

**The Vishwa-Bhāratī Quarterly*, November, 1938, Volume IV, Part III, New series, pages 213—221.

Perhaps, Mahjūr will revise it some day to make it a live, inspiring national anthem for Kashmīr.

Mahjūr's father was Pīr 'Abdullāh Shāh. The poet was born in Mitrī-gām in Avantipōr or Pulwāma Tahsīl in 1888. His mother wrote a very fine hand. Her instructions for Mahjūr's education are a cherished treasure of Mahjūr. Mahjūr is interested in Persian poetry produced in Kashmīr and has a volume in manuscript on the subject. He has recently retired from service. Pīrzāda Muhammad Amīn is his only son. The family shoots from Mullā Ashraf *Dairī* (p. 479).

Munshī 'Abdul Ahad *Āzād* of Rāngar, Tahsīl Baḍgām, head master of a primary school, occasionally contributes to the columns of the *Hamdard*, Srīnagar, his poems which show depth, observation and taste. Mahjūr is a nationalist who longs for liberty and prays passionately for the prosperity of his native land, but Āzād is a socialist who craves for a new era of equality. Mahjūr is sweet and looks on a wider surface of the sea, but Āzād, though dry, is diving deep into the sea. The one looks to the past, the other to the future. The one is a *pīr-zāda* (is born in a *pīr* family), the other is a *dihqān-zādah* (comes of a family of farmers). As a matter of fact, " a large majority of discerning critics acclaim Āzād a poet of greater merit than Mahjūr." *Kalām-i-Āzād*, *Payām-i-Āzād*, and *Sarv-i-Āzād* are published by Messrs. Ghulām Muhammad Nūr Muhammad, Mahārāj Ganj, Srīnagar. Āzād's *Sangarmāla* is also published. Āzād's manuscript volumes on the systematic history of Kashmīrī poetry entitled *Ta'rīkh-i-Adabiyyāt-i-Kashmīr*, when published, should establish his status as a leading exponent of Kashmīrī poetry in the Valley of Kashmīr and wherever Kashmīrī is understood or appreciated. Ārif's note on Āzad appears as an appendix to this Chapter.

There are many popular folk ballads, half-satire and half burlesque, commemorating the introduction of snuff, modern inventions like the aeroplane, or the floods, and the like*.

Some features of Kashmīrī Poetry.

It is the woman who first offers her heart in the realm of Kashmīrī classical lyrics or folk-songs. The woman is the

*Pandit Nand Lāl Ambārdār, B.A., B. T., a young poet who desires a complete renaissance of Kashmīrī literature on modern lines, furnished me with notes on several Kashmīrī poets. He is ex-editor of the Kashmīrī section of the *Srī Pratāp College Mayazine*, Srīnagar, and is now serving in the Education Department of the State.

lover and the man the beloved. The woman hunts the man, as it were, in the very passion of her love for man. This is but natural. She should do so as the guardian of human species. Like a mountain-bred stream, points out Professor Davendra Satyārthī,* she flows with impulsive vibrations of love-rich dance and music to become one with the sea. Her eyes look up to no heaven beyond the love of her man, faithful in life to him and in death too! She is naturally distressed when left in indifference, wantonness and even faithlessness by the beloved who is generally a handsome young man.

The beloved is beautiful. His locks are black snakes. His eyebrows are bows with eyelashes as arrows. His eyes are almond-shaped. His cheeks are like rose petals. His stature is like that of the cypress, and his complexion like silver or jessamine. His names are Madan, the maddener, Cupid, the beautiful, the magician. He is *tīr-andāz* or one who strikes with arrows, one who shoots with balls. He is wanton, faithless and a promise-breaker. Among flowers, birds and insects, he is likened to the spikenard, or the rose, the parrot, the nightingale, and the black flower wasp, or the drone bee.

The lover is the yellow rose, the narcissus, jessamine, and the wild *mainā*. The metaphor of the candle and the moth is also frequently used as in Persian and Urdu poetry. The lover is mad, intoxicated, distracted. The flame of love is likened to fire, with which the lover is burning or scorched, or constant fervour burns the lover's heart into roasted flesh.

The meeting places or trysts of lovers are woods, pastures, gardens, springs and banks of brooks.

The lover, in her melancholy, turns to thoughts of death, the autumn, the evanescence of the world and worldly beauty. She complains of the wickedness and the ridicule of co-wives, or people unaffected by love. She confides in her female friends and charges the wind, the parrot, the pigeon, or the crow with messages for her beloved. She appeals or prays to God. She forsakes her home for her lover. She is prepared to sacrifice her life for him. The beloved first welcomes, encourages, and entices her, and, after elopement, leaves her forlorn on the way, and enjoys the company of others like a black bee taking out the nectar of one flower and alighting on another. Her rival

The Modern Review, Calcutta, March 1945, pages 307-8.

laughs at her and taunts her. Nevertheless, she is devoted to the false and faithless beloved and wishes him well. She keeps her sorrow to herself, but is unable to endure it. She, then, wanders like an insane in search of the beloved, longing for a single look of him.

Reference to classical lovers like *Hīmāl* and *Nāgrāy*, Laylā and Majnūn, Zulīkhā and Yūsuf, Shīrīn and Farhād are quite common.

Human love is expressed by the typical Kashmīrī *Lōl*-lyric. *Lōl* is a Kashmīrī word signifying an untranslatable "complex of love longing and a tugging at the heart." The *Lōl*-lyric is "very musical, very brief, rarely more than ten lines including the repeated refrains, abounding in rhymes and assonances, put in the mouth of a woman lover, a cry from her heart, expressing in a flexible pattern more a mood than a thought."* In its early days from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century it was mystical, spiritual or didactic. It is no longer so now.

Fairies are sometimes mentioned as singing and dancing in sylvan nooks invisible to human sight except to that of poets.

Mystically, the cult of love and devotion is called the tavern. Love is the wine or the wine-cup. The beloved is the dealer in wine. The practice of *Habs*, or the control of breath, is recommended for the aspirant. The aspirant is called the *Rind*, free from convention and careless of religion. He is to merge himself into the Lord, like the stream, into the sea, like Mansūr into the consciousness of 'I am Truth.' He minds not the common herd who pelt him with stones and hang him on the gallows.

The oneness of God and of His Truth in all religions are frequently dwelt upon. Rām and Rahīm are one. The God of the Ka'ba or the Qibla is also the God of the temple. Ādam had two sons: one chose cremation and the other burial after death.

The dignity of human soul is upheld. The angels bow before man if he proves himself as the true servant of God. Heaven has houris. The Kausar is for cool drinks for the faithful. The hell fire is for the wicked. The *Mi'rāj*, or

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**Kashmiri Lyrics*, Introduction, page *xvii*.

the Ascension of the Prophet of Islam, is a pious theme.*

Rās-Līlā lyric, introduced by Prākash Rām and Parmānand, is distinguished by its "abandon to joy, expressing devotion and religious fervour for a personal God, notably Çiva or Krishna. The universe exists: it is real and it is good. Indeed all creation is an overflowing of God's joy: it is a Līlā, a Çiva's dance."

"At the happy sight of saffron flowers, agleam with golden tinge in the calm moon-lit night," says Professor Satyārthī, "the peasant is amazed and knows not whether to admire the beauty of colour or the soothing scent most. He is neither a connoisseur of beauty and scent, nor a mystic poet, but as the saffron flower is a thing of his life rather than a day dream, he knows how to address it and sing of its beauty and scent—the cherished gifts."

The lotus is a symbol of beauty and it has an interesting poetry and folk-lore. The ripe barley field and the ripening golden paddy field are the symbols of the bride and the groom. Again, Hīmāl is the bride, and Nāgrāy the bridegroom.

The Chinār is a celestial object in the Kashmīrī landscape. Rich in foliage, the stately Chinār is always cherished by the weary way-farer. The Chinār leaf is the emblem of Cupid to the Kashmīrī.

سو جائیں ایک پتّے کا سینہ پہ رکھکے ہاتھ

مدفن دلِ تپان کا جو زیرِ چنار ہو

جسٹس محمد شاہ دین، ہُمایون

To the Kashmīrī nothing is as soft as Pashmīna or the shawl wool, or the shawl itself.

The ear-ring is the emblem of a sweet baby. The mother sings of her son naming him *Lāla* or the tulip flower, and of her daughter *Yimbarzal* or a bud of the narcissus flower.

The Akanandan.

Although there is no room for any details of Kashmīrī poetry in *Kashīr*, Ramazān Baṭ's ballad of Akanandan,

*The above paragraphs are taken (slightly modified) from *Parmanand Sukti-Sara* by Masterjī Pandit Ẓinda Kaul, B.A., Durgā Press, Srīnagar, 1941.

however, deserves brief mention. Mr. Nand Lāl Ambārdār, B.A., ex-editor of the Kashmīrī section of the *Pratāp College Magazine*, himself a student of Kashmīrī poetry, has furnished me with this note on "Akanandan" which I append here with some modification :—

"The story of Akanandan is justly famous in Kashmīrī legend and folklore. Ramazān Baṭ of Dharamunah village, near Soibugu, Baḍgām Tahsīl, Bārāmūla district, the author of this ballad, seems to have left an indelible mark in Kashmīrī literature by this, probably his single ballad, over 50 years ago. The *Aka-nandan* is the cherished property of both the villager and the citizen, and is very often sung during marriage days to the resonance of Kashmīrī kettle-drums. A rustic bard of Kashmīr narrates the story of Akanandan as follows :—Long long ago, in the hoary past, there was a city called Salāma-nagar (old name Samdhimat-nagar), subsequently submerged into the Wular Lake. Here lived a pious king and a queen called Chiknaweg and Ratnamāla respectively. They had no son. They prayed to God for giving them one. Their prayers were granted. A hermit or a Yōgī appeared at the time. A covenant was entered into by the king and the queen with this Yōgī, according to which the son, when born, would belong to the king and queen for the first eleven years. Thenceforth, in the 12th, the son would be the Yōgī's. The parents agreed to this covenant reluctantly of course. The son was born. He was named Akanandan, For eleven years Akanandan pleased his parents with his innocent play and childish pranks. He grew to be very intelligent and wise. The child thus became a cynosure of many an eye. When the terrible 12th year came, the Yōgī appeared and demanded back the son as promised. Akanandan was brought from school in order to be presented to the Yōgī. But to the great horror of the parents, the Yōgī ordered the boy to be killed and cooked as meat for him as he was feeling hungry. There were naturally very bitter and loud lamentations. Ultimately the Yōgī's will had to prevail. The boy was killed and cooked into a dish. The Yōgī asked the parents to keep a portion of the meal for everybody including Akanandan himself. Both the father and the mother were taken aback at such an extraordinary request of the Yōgī. They called out for Akanandan while they were weeping, for they felt that they were calling one whom they had already killed. Akanandan appeared in his childish innocent manner, smiling and calling for food and

the Yōgī vanished. This story has, in a sense, a parallel in Hazrat Ibrāhīm's sacrifice of his son, Ismā'īl, and of Abraham and Isaac according to its Jewish and Christian versions. This story has also some slight sad resemblance to the German "Der Riese und das Kind" or "the Giant and the Child," of the *Deutsche Mythologie* by Simrock.

"The *Akanandan* was first written by Ramazān Baṭ. Ahad Zargar, Samad Mīr and 'Alī Wānī have also versified this story. But their attempts were not as successful as that of Ramazān Baṭ. The poem is a ballad. Its style is simple, vigorous and forceful. A lady was not far wrong when she remarked that one must have a stout heart in order to hear the story of Akanandan. Compare the force of

بٹنی کتہ چُون اکنندونئے منزباگ ژاٹن شُولہ ماران

یی یئے ووُندہ تہ از دِتن کھیونئے مِہ فقیرہ ھیوتمہ ژھانڈونئے

[O! Woman, where is thy Akanandan?
Looking so bright among his class-fellows?
If you have the heart,
Offer him as a sacrifice today.]

Mark how pathetic is the appeal of Akanandan when he asks his mother to tell the Yōgī to spare his life:

ھتئے مُوجی ژہ مئے مار پان یہ آسہ دیوجِن تتہ مُشران

دپُس گُذران کرتو مُشرانو ولو ژل ژو ولو ژل ژو

[O mother! do not beat thy breast;
He must be a monster, a jin, or the Devil himself;
Say unto him: "Forgive us, O forgive us!"]

Again how grim is the murder scene of Akanandan:—

ٹرِہ زنگہ رچنس رتنہ ماتا یئے آس ودان ھا خُدایہ بے پروایئے

پنہ نی مالِ ھوٹ ھو ژوٹ سو ولو ژل ژو ولو ژل ژو

[Mother Ratana caught him by the hands and feet,
Crying, O God, my God, O how cruel!
His own father did cut his throat.]

Mark again how sublime is the scene when Akanandan was brought to life—

رتنہ ماتا آلوس ورایئے دادہ ودان برہ بُکہ آیئے

لایُن آلواہ ووتہ سُو اسمانئے دَئے ٹوٹھیوم گوم مِہربانئے

[Mother Ratna came out to call him,
Weeping and about to choke with grief,
She called him aloud
And down he came from the heavens.]

Kashmīrī poems generally do not use refrain except in *masnavīs*. Ramazān Baṭ's *Akanandan* is divided into seven parts having the following refrains :—

(۱) ویسیئے مونئے کوتیئے گوم (۲) کریو میزمان دارئیے

(۳) می فقیره هیوتمه ژهانڈونئے (۴) ولو ژل وُو ولو ژل وُو

(۵) بختا وارئے اکه نندئے جوگیو (٦) دئے ٹوٹھیوم گوم مهربانئے

(۷) صد مبارک چهم فقیر تتیئے-

[1. Friend, whither is my Love gone ?
2. I shall play the host to you.
3. I have begun to search for a Faqīr.
4. Let us run away, let's run away.
5. To Akanandan, the Fortunate One, O Yōgī.
6. God has been pleased with me and has showered his grace on me.
7. A hundred greetings for the miracle-working Faqīr !]

So far as the language is concerned, Ramazān Baṭ is sweet and musical. He is pure, simple, clear and truly Kashmīrī. There are, however, certain lines which suffer from balance of feet and may be called *contra metrum*. But these minor defects can be overlooked in consideration of the great merit of the poem.

And thus the words of Pandit Amarnāth Jhā* are peculiarly apposite when he says :—"For over five centuries the lyric has flourished in Kashmīr, touching life at many points, describing trivial happenings of every day, depicting scenes from nature, delineating human feelings, the life of toil, of suffering, of hunger, of passion, never forgetting quite and ever retaining in the background the spiritual heritage of the land. The greenwood tree, winter and rough weather, the sweet breath of spring, the ravages of time, Death's purple altar, the many voices of nature, the shadow of the night,

*Foreword to *Kashmiri Lyrics*, selected and translated by Pandit Jai Lal Kaul M.A., Professor of English, Amar Singh College, Srīnagar, September 1945. Rinemisray, Lambert Lane, Srīnagar, Kashmīr pp. xvi—xvii.

'The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
The fair humanities of old religion,
The power, the beauty, and the majesty
That had their haunts in dale or piny mountain
Or forest, by slow stream or pebbly spring—
Or chasms or watery depths'—

All these and strains of music from elfland " we find in Kashmīrī lyrical poetry, which is but a part of Kashmīrī poetry in general.

Some Kashmīrī folk-songs and a few extracts from Kashmīrī Poets.

Brief extracts have already been given from Lalla in this chapter. A few lines have also been given from Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn in Chapter III. More from him will come in later. We shall now give extracts from Kashmīrī folk-song in the meantime to be followed by others from poetry in general.

Like gold art thou gleaming, O saffron flower!
To thee I devote my all, O saffron flower!
Like a burning lamp dost thou look in moon-lit night.
Who hath given thee colour, O saffron flower?
Who hath given thee scent, O saffron flower?
Just would I give thee a sweet embrace.

Towards Pāmpōr flew away my Love
The saffron flowers confined him in sweet embrace:
O he is there, and ah me, I am here
When, when, O God, would I see his face?

Let us go to Pāmpōr, O maiden
When blooms the saffron,
It makes my heart throb
And steals it, ah me!
Let's go to Pāmpōr, O maiden
When blooms the saffron.

Come to my Jhelum, shepherd please,
To cause thy sheep's thirst appease.
All my boats would I illuminate
To manifest thy coming, dear mate.
Come to my Jhelum, shepherd please,
To cause thy sheep's thirst appease.

Green grass, with Love's water do I keep,
O come and feed thy goats and sheep,
Come to my Jhelum, shepherd please,
To cause thy sheep's thirst appease.

O thou slow-motioned Jhelum !
For thee, let me devote my all, O Jhelum !
How great is thy stateliness, O Jhelum !
For thee let me devote my all, O Jhelum !

Take me, take me, O boatman to your bank
O here flows the Jhelum, the deep River of Love.
My boat takes only the pair in love
O here flows Jhelum the deep River of Love."

To me, O Chinār-leaf, my Love has sent thee,
My all, O Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee,
Thou art, O Chinār-leaf, a Prince of Beauty,
My all, Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee.

Shawl wool shall I spin with my own hands
And shall get it dyed in saffron colour.
And exquisite shawl shall I weave with my own hands
And shall get it dyed with saffron colour.

How soft—O how soft, is the shawl wool,
A song of its softness, I'll sing,
O, the shawl-wool is a heavenly thing,
A song of its softness, I 'll sing.

My mate's head is crowned with a shawl-wool turbān
On his person looks lovely the shawl wool *pheran*,
On my home loom was woven the cloth of turban and *pheran*
A song of its softness shall I sing.

The banks of the Jhelum I'll illuminate today
O, our groom will come in a *shikāra* today,
The whole of Kashmīr I'll illuminate today.
O, our groom will come in a *shikāra* today.

Nāgrāy has come in the golden boat,
Come, come, O, Hīmāl, come!
Lotus-like Nāgrāy will come wearing a shawl,
Narcissus-like Hīmāl here awaits him.

Far off forests have all blossomed forth,
Hast thou not heard of me, my Love ?
Mountain-lakes like Tār-sar are all full of flowers.
Hast not thou heard of me, my Love ?
Come on, we will go to the meadows where the lilacs have blossomed ?

Hast thou not heard of me, my Love ?
They play hide and seek and sing :
Thoroughly shall I search thee
Among the Arval flowers, my Love !
Will not thou meet me anywhere ?
Among the Arval[1] flowers, my Love.?[2]

Lalla 'Ārifa.

Some though asleep, are yet awake,
While on some, who are awake, hath slumber fallen.
Some, despite ablutions, are unclean,
While some, 'mid household cares are actionless.

All impurities within me I burnt away,
And I did slay my heart.
I came to be known as the pious Lalla,
Only when I cleaved unto Him there :
Only when I sat, just there, waiting for His grace.

Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn.

The body exposed to the cold river winds blowing,
Thin porridge and half-boiled vegetable to eat—
There was a day, O Nasro!
My spouse by my side and a warm blanket to cover us,
A sumptuous meal and fish to eat—
There was a day, O Nasro! (See pp. 98 and 102).

The oriole seeks out a flower garden ;
The owl seeks out a deserted spot ;
The she-jackal searches dreary wastes ;
The donkey searches dung and dirt.

Parmānand

Strengthen the field of action
With the loom of righteousness,
Then sow the seed of contentment,
Which will yield the harvest of bliss.

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1. Arval is composed of *āra* a brook, and *val* a rose. It means the rose on a brook.

2. *The Modern Review,* Calcutta, March 1935. Renderings by Professor Satyārthī.

You are what you are
(Undefinable in any other terms)
Imperceptible to any but your own self,
That which makes the eyes see is not visible to the eyes:
There is not much in seeing the objects of sight;
The great thing is to see the Seer."

In the realization of Self the so-called control
Of mind and the senses is not of much avail.
The Self is to be attained by conviction of faith.
The true Self is to be contemplated,
The selfless Self is to be meditated upon.

There is no victory for the mind except in retreat.
Desirelessness can alone make one
Fully happy and blissful.
God's grace to the soul means only
That the soul holds nothing dear but God.

Great ascetics feel proud and rejoiced
In their austerities,
But at the end of their lives
They (are still unsatisfied and)
Desire more life (to renew their efforts)
Unless the doubts in their mind and disputes come to an end
They only become duller.

One freed from doubts and fears
Is like gold that has passed the ordeal of fire
Rid of the imperfection of being partially heated.
A cooking pot ceases to seethe and boil
When the food within is well cooked.

A tree casts its reflection on water
No bird can possibly sit on its reflection—
The ignorant man desires
To possess such a house.

Parmānand says nothing strange
When he holds that all have gone
Hence with this desire
(Of fully knowing the Lord) unfulfilled.
Let everybody try the weight of this (truth)
With his own measures (of mind, reason, etc.).

Mrs. Bhawānīdās Kāchru (Araṇī Māl).

(Owing to pangs of separation) my complexion
Which was like July-Jessamine
Has assumed the pallor of the yellow rose
O when will he come and let me have
A look at his beloved face!

He whom I propitiated and made my own
Feeding him on sugar and sweets,
Has given me the slip and gone
I know not whither.
Oh, the wanton used to laugh at me
In the presence of strangers!

The blue beauty has subjected me
To the taunts of rivals and strangers;
These schorching and partial burnings
Have emaciated me. Who will now take my letters
And messages to him?

My rivals are flinging taunts at me
Since the beloved has ceased to speak to me.
Won't he come for a short while, and show me
His face, so that I should offer
My arterial blood as sacrifice for his safety?
God grant happiness to my beloved.
Let him be kind to others (and forget me) if he will;
Enough for me is the satisfaction (coupled with
A remote hope of restoration to his favour)
That he, at least, is happy."

See friend, where I was born and where I was married!
My parents celebrated my marriage in the city with great *éclat*:
City-born and bred, into the country I was married;
But widowed only seven days after,
My parents had to call me back.
See, friend, where I was married!
Once I went to my father's home,
There my brother's wife taunted me so bitingly that
Widowed as I was, I wished I had died as soon as I was born.
See, friend, where I was married!

Lakhshmaṇ Bhaṭ

"O my friend, my confidante ; I have been
Weeping bitterly (or running about) in the
Anguish of separation from my beloved ;
The crown of my head is almost scorched
By the hot sun. Oh, what madness made me
Come in this hot month of June (from my
Comfortable home) in Lār to (the dreary waste of) Shālyun[1] ?

I who was (free and frolicsome) like water
Have become frozen like ice on the slopes of a glacier.
When, if ever, will the summer sun now fall
On (and re-melt) this heap of ice (change the icy state of my heart) ?

I had to reap what I had sown ;
My running about the fields and farms have been vain and useless.
When tares are sown in the spring—
How can wheat be reaped in the autumn ?

When will the misery of this bodily life end ?
How long must I endure the fever and the burning ?
The body seems to me to be an un-soundly built house
Made of the wood of Arkhor[2] (stinging tree).

The consideration whether this or that
Wood is strong or weak is verily out of
Harmony with the higher truth ; for (the same)
Fire is in (and awaits) every kind of wood,
Be it *Kail, Linu,* or anything else.

Bulbul, the poet, was never fortunate enough
To taste the fruits of the garden of this world.
Owing to false hopes (that were never realized) the red cherries of
His cheeks got the (pale yellow) colour of the wild plum."[3]

Wahhāb Khār.

Love said : "My beloved I shall create" ;
And there was tablet and pen.
The pen wrote the command of God.
Sing hey ho for joy !

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1. Till recently a waste tract to the south of Srīnagar.
2. Arkhor is the name of a poisonous tree found in Kashmīr forests. It is as big as the acacia tree.
3. Selections rendered into English by Masterjī, Pandit Zinda Kaul, B.A.

Shaikh San'ān recited the name of Rāma,
And in an Indian girl he found his Love,
He worshipped an idol and burnt the Qur'ān.
Sing hey ho for joy!
"I am the Truth," said Hazrat Mansūr,
In his own mind he found his Love—
That secret is difficult to tell
Sing hey ho for joy!
Since I tried to know the secret of man's being
And obeisance low I made,
The angels have begun to dance for joy
Sing hey ho for joy!

'Azīz Darvīsh.

Manacle thy (self and make of it a) bridge (to span this ocean wide);
And, across, attain to the "Annihilation in the Divine,"
Where there is no Hindu nor Musalmān.
Hear, O hear, that song so sweet!
'Azīz-mot has gone crazy,
He is letting out love's secret among his fellow-men,
He has heard it from pious men and saints.
Hear, O hear, that song so sweet!

**Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad Mahjūr.*

Arise, O Gardener!
Let there be a glory in the garden
once again!
Let roses bloom again!
Let bulbuls sing of their love again!
The garden in ruins,
the dew in tears,
the roses in tattered leaf—
Let roses and bulbuls be kindled anew with life!
Thy wailings avail thee not, O bulbul,
Who will set thee free?
Thy salvation thou hast to work
with thine own hands alone.
Birds of the garden are full of song
but each one strikes his own note—
Harmonize their diverse notes, O God,
into one rousing song!

**Kashmiri Lyrics* by Jai Lal Kaul, M.A., LL.B., Professor of English, Amar Singh College, Srīnagar, Rinemisray, Srīnagar, pp. 21, 23, 121, 127, 129, 131 and 161.

If thou wouldst rouse this habitat of roses,
leave toying with kettle-drums;
Let there be thunder, storm and tempest,
yes, an earthquake!

'Abdul Ahad Āzād.

Friend, plead with my Love:
"May he keep his word,
forgive my offence,
come to me,
stay awhile and
talk to me!
See how airily he comes into the garden,
his arched eyebrows dyed!
God help the poor narcissi—
fair damsels almond eyed!
Mercy and pity they have none—
these cruel and pitiless ones.
God knows how many hearts he sets on fire
with the henna flame of his finger-tips.
Lift not the veil so wantonly
(let not thy glory be seen);
Lovers will cry, "O Love! O Love!"
forgetting both God and world.
The fever of love consumes *Āzād*;
And if thou dost not fulfil his desire.
He will raise a hell,
regardless of all restraint.

Master Zinda Kaul.

Man would weep,
He would not gulp down his tears;
But what availed it him to shed his tears?
What availed it him to drop blood from his eyes?
What availed it him to beat his head against a rock?
Knowing that none heeds him,
What drives him on still to sue for help?
What drives him on to shoot his darts at the void?
What compulsion! what helplessness!
Man—momently dying:
By hunger, cold and thirst oppressed,
By disease distressed, by worry harassed,
By fear and want and woe subdued.
These sorrows o'er, by a hundred desires beguiled,
His unsteady mind, nor finding rest in anything here,
Still craves for a something, though unknown,
The Good not seen by him, nor known by him,

He yet would find as something lost, which he possessed before—
Like one who wakes with a memory dim
Of the taste of wine he had in a dream.
What misery—between want and desire!

Extract from 'Abdul Quddūs Rasā Jāvidānī.

I love thee dearly : thou disregardest me.
I flee to thee : thou flee'st from me.
What wouldst thou ? Command, I will obey ;
Thy bidding I will do.
I drank my fill at the travern of love :
I found thy wanton eyes bedew the cups of wine.
Unplait thy tresses lovely ;
Rent into hundred toothed rents
(by the keen darts of love),
My heart will serve thee for a comb.
Thy heart is pure, O poet,
What carest thou if they speak ill of thee ?

Extract from Asadullāh Mīr.

When wilt thou bloom, O Rose ?
When wilt thou fulfil my heart's desire ?
When wilt thou bloom, O Rose,
In the garden of my beauty
at the flowering time of youth ?
When wilt thou waft thy fragrant breath
over the flower-beds of my desire ?
In the red poppy of my heart.
There is a dark stain of despair :
When wilt thou wipe the stain
from the red poppy of my heart.
I am a cypress tall and lean :
O Rose, when wilt thou twine round me
thine ivy bonds of love ?
My body craves for thee and
so doth my soul :
I would, O Rose, thou didst make
thy body and soul one with mine!

In the following extracts, the reader interested in the Kashmīrī language will have a bird's-eye view of Kashmīrī poetry from Lalla to Mahjūr. The translation into English will be followed by the Kashmīrī text in the Persian script.

The First Period of Kashmiri Poetry.

[Text and translation]

Lalla ʿĀrifa.

وِدان وِدان گاش ھــو سُوری وِدنہ سیت مدُن مــیلہ نو

وُندہ تھو صاف ادہ پھیری اکہ زیرے نتہ چُھوک شال زن وُونگان بیرے تل

[Constant weeping will cause loss of thy eye-sight,
But will not lead thee to thy Beloved.
Keep thy mind pure, so that thou may'st have an easy access to Him.
Otherwise, thy weeping is like the howling of jackals in ambush in the field.]

صبرھا مالہ چُھوی سُونہ سُوند کُورئی

مُولــہ چُھوی دروُگ تے ھئیس کُس

صبرھا مالہ چُھوی نُون- مرژ تہ زیبُورئی

کھئینہ چُھوی ٹیوٹھہ تہ کھئیس کُس

[Patience, my son! is like a golden bowl;
Being costly, none doth dare purchase it.
Patience, my son, is a mixture of salt, pepper and *zīra* (spice);
It is bitter to taste, so who will taste it?]

سیکہ شاٹھس پھل نو بووے کُوم یاجین راوَرِ زینہ تِیل

موٹُس گیانچ کتھہ نو ونہ زے خَرَس گُور دنہ راوی ٹُوہ

[No crop can grow in a sandy desert.
It is useless to mix butter with bran cakes.
It is as fruitless to impart spirituality to a dullard
As it is waste of time to give candy to an ass.]

Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn.

کانن تھندین دار زینہ سِپر کرتل چھوکن پھر زینہ روی

بلایہ تھنزہ وندیہ زے شَکر ادہ چُھوی یتہ کھیو تتہ آبروی

[Shield not thyself against His arrows,
Turn not thy face away from His sword,
Consider adversity as sweet as sugar,
Therein lies thy honour in this world and the next.]

سرفس ژلزے استس کھنڈس سھس ژلزے کروُھس تام

کَین دارس ژلزے وریس کھنڈس لینس ژلزنہ اچھہ موھس تام

[One can run away a pole from a serpent,
One can run away a league from the lion,
One can keep oneself off the creditor for a year,
But none can escape Fate for a twinkling of the eye.]

The Second Period of Kashmiri Poetry

Habba Khōtan or Khātūn.

(۱)

گوشن منزها وتهراوے ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

(۲)

ولہ متیہ گژھوؤ ھیئے یُس مرہ سو کتیُو یئیے

پَراران چھیس تھنزیہ زِیئے ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

(۳)

ولہ متیہ گژھوؤ پُوشن مارہ مُت یار چُھوم روشن

رُوشتھہ رُودوم گُوشن ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

(۴)

ولہ متہ گژھوؤ ھندے لُو کہ مت کڈنس رندے

لانیُون نیای کتیہ - اندے ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

(۵)

ولہ متہ گژھوؤ آبس دُنیا چُھو نِندرہ تہ خوابس

پراران چھسیو جوابس ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

1. [I shall bestrew the meadows with flowers for thee.
Come ! my lover of flowers !

2. Come ! thou, O my darling ! Let us collect jessamine,
For none doth return after death.
I am waiting for thee.
Come ! my lover of flowers.

3. Come ! my dear, come !
Let us be off to the meadows to collect flowers.
My beloved is sulking
And keeping himself away in remote regions.
Come ! my lover of flowers.

4. Come ! my dear, come ! let us go out to collect lettuces.
The people are speaking ill of me,
But who can alter one's destiny ?
Come ! my lover of flowers.

5. Come ! thou, my beloved ! let us go to the river bank.
The whole world is enveloped in deep slumber,
But I am waiting for a reply from thee !
Come ! my lover of flowers.]

Khwāja Habībullāh Nau-shahrī.

(۱)

یارہ گژھوژ رِویئے وتھُو گژھوژ رِویئے

(۲)

اشکارا دراویئے صُورتن منز ژاوئے

چُھوس مُحمد ناوئے وتھُو گژھوو رِویئے

(۳)

کُنتُ کنزاً آوئے جلوہ ماران دراوئے

نَحنُ اَقرب باوئے وتھُو گژھوژ رِووئے

(۴)

کروھ ژُوریہ مُوھ تیر دِتنم دار داری رُوح ضایع کرتھہ نِیرتھہ گُوم

پھیرِت وُچھنس لجسس پاری ڈیشت تراونم پاری زان

[1. My beloved, let us go to see the Fair;
Get up, friend, and let us be off to the Fair.

2. He manifested Himself in many a beautiful form
He assumed the name of Muhammad,
So let us be off to the Fair.

3. He shone forth saying:
'I was a hidden treasure . . '
So! 'we were so close to you'
So let us be off to the Fair.

4. From far off he shot at me arrows of fascination,
Then ran away having injured my heart.
O, the charm of his looking back!
He saw me and yet pretended not to know.]

Mrs. Bhawānī Dās Kāchru (Shrīmatī Araṇī-Māl).

گیٚٹی گیٚٹی مُو کر ھا یندرو کَنہ رین پھلہِ لے مَل یُو بو

رَبہ تَل کارتُل ھا سنٛبلو یمجرزل پیالہ ھتھہ پیارن چھے

ھیہ تھرچھیس تے بپہنو پھولہ یُو کَنہ رین پھلہ لے مل یو بو

[1. My wheel, don't make noise
I will soon anoint you with scent.

2. Raise thy head, out of mud, O Hyacinth;
I, thy Narcissus, am waiting for thee with goblets in my hands.

3. I am like a bush of jessamine;
Never to blossom again!
I will soon anoint you with scent, my wheel.]

(۱)

ھَن ھَن چھیم لولہ چانہِ بَرت ظُولہ چھیم نو سُندرے-سُندرے

(۲)

وژھہ والنج ھاوے مُژراوتِھہ کژھہ پن زن ھرہ یو-ھرہ یو

(۳)

مژھہ مژَھہ بند زن گژھے لا رِیتھہ

ظُولــہ چھیمنو سُندرے— سُندرے

[1. From head to foot
I am filled with love for thee ;
I have no sleep ! my fair one !

2. I will lay bare my heart unto you,
And fall to the ground like the leave of a wild bush.

3. I will cling to you like a charm on your arm.
I have no sleep ! my fair-one !]

The Third Period of Kashmiri Poetry

Mahmūd Gāmī

(۱)

تمثیل ادم پرژھام حُبابس رنِدہ چھوک زندہ کِتھہ ابس سیت

[1. Seeking for a likeness of man
I said to the bubble :
How live you on water ?]

(۲)

کسُبک معنی پرژھام قصابس دُو پنم دِل گنڈُ قلابس سیت

دزہ دزہ سیت چُھوی مزہ ات کبابس

رِندہ چھوک زندہ کِتھہ آبس سیت

[2. I asked of the butcher the meaning of love's art.
He said " Tie thy heart with the fork of Love.
This roasted meat tastes better while burning."
How live you on water ?]

---

(۳)

حُبہ سیت حبیبِن پھوکہ لوی حُبابس

پھوکہ سیت یہ میول آبس سیت

مُود کیاہ تہ رُود کیاہ باقی حِسابس

رِندہ چُھوک زندہ کِتھہ آبس سیت

[3. Out of His love the Lover blew the bubble ; and it lived !
Soon was it blown off with another breath
But who died ? and what remained still
To account for, is the riddle.
How live you on water ?]

(۴)

پو چھُرک پردہ ژٹ اچھ منز حجابس
پادشاہ ڈیشہ ھن نوابس سیت
برونٹھ پکھ' کھوژمو قھرس عذابس
رِنـــدہ چھُوک زندہ کِتھہ آبس سیت

[4. Tear open the veil of thy malice ;
And thou shalt see the Monarch with His Viceroy seated.
Go forward, fear not frowns and frets.
How live you on water ?]

(۵)

صُورتس معنی تعبیر خوابس مُشک زن میلت گُلابس سیت
واصلس نشہ ژھاے چھینہ کینھ نقابس
رِندہ چھوک زندہ کِتھہ آبس سیت

[5. The Form and the Reality are like the dream and its interpretation.
The two are as the rose and its perfume.
Really all the veils are removed from him who is one with Him.
How live you on water ?]

(۶)

فِکرہ ھنزہ رزہ لم ذکر دُولابس ارھٹ پھیری طنابو سیت
موگژھ مشغُول خوشیہ تہ خوابس
رِند چھُوک زندہ کِتھہ آبس سیت

[6. Try to turn the wheel of constant remembrance by the rope of meditation,
For, this water-wheel moves by its own ropes.
Don't be given to luxury and repose !
How live you on water ?]

Maqbūl Shāh Krālawārī.

(۱)

رنگہ رنگہ آسہ گُل یکبار پھُولمِت
ز مستی پُوشہ نُول آسہ ھُوشہ ڈُلمِت

(۲)

لگان یلہ آسہ پوشن واوہ گرائے
ہراں آسہ عطر باغس جایہ جائے

(۳)

چمن تہ ڈور بربرِ سور پوشو
سگومت چینیہ‌کیو نافہ فروشو

(۴)

گلاب بیہ ہی تہ مسول ارہ‌ول کیاہ
کنول کوتاہ چمن بریہہ بریہہ مول کیاہ

(۵)

مشکبو تازہ رو گلِ یاسمن لاؤ
سمن نسرین تہ خیری ارغوان نیاؤ

(۶)

تہرن پٹہہ کیاہ وزل گلہاے انار
زلن بلبل کلن پیٹہ ما ہتون نار

(۷)

وتہرمت اوس سبزک فرشِ منجل
کران تت برگ گل سیم و زرس تل

(۸)

چہنن گلبرگ چہت تہ سرخ و زرد ءس
چہکن زن سون تہ روپ بر لاجورد ءس

(۹)

درختن اوس نہ حد میوہ دارن
نہالی مشک بیدن سایہ دارن

[1. The garden was full of variegated flowers,
The nightingales were intoxicated.

2. The garden was filled with perfume,
As the flowers waved with the breeze.

3. Beds were filled with Suri flowers
As though they were watered by the musk-dealers of China.

4. The red rose, the yellow rose, the white rose and whole beds of red flowers were there.

5. The fresh and fragrant jessamine, narcissus and tulips
And lilacs were there in sheaves.

6. The pomegranate trees were full of red flowers,
The nightingale took them to be on fire,
And flew away.

7. The verdure was spread like a carpet of green velvet,
Whereupon petals of flowers were scattering gold and silver coins.

8. The red, white and yellow petals were falling
Scattering gold and silver on violet beds.

9. And innumerable were the fruit trees,
Fragrant and shady willows.]

Rasūl Mīr Shāhābādī.

(۱)

اے حُور صورت چانہ برتل پیون ریوان یاد

جنّتِ تجری تحتہا الانہار دلبرو

[1. Weeping at thy door, O thou fair as a houri
I was put in mind of Paradise, below which streams flow.]

(۲)

کھٹت سینس اندر بونالہ رٹت شامہ سنُدر

جامہ زن سروقدس پان ولہیو مدنو

[2. Ah! I wish to hide thee in my heart,
To take you in my embrace, O my Black Beauty cypress,
And to wrap my body round thy cypress-like stature as does thy garment!]

(۳)

چُھوم مِہ تمنا بالہ تہندوے بیہ یوریہ نائے

ٹور بر ھس دودھ ھرہ کی ھرہ کرت گوم

کمہ نعمژ کھیاوہ ناؤن چاوہ ناون چاے

.....

[3. How I long for his return:
I would offer him bowls of cream.
Alas! He has gone away and made me distraught.
What dainty dishes I would have served him!
What fine tea!]

(۴)

زره زاجنس زره کوتاه ذره نے چھیس مائے

بره اژم نا - بره مارس - بره کرتھه گوم

تھره تھره چھم شره تھندے-سوچھو بے پروائے

[4. He has scorched me with the fire of Love.
How much patience should I have ?
He cares not for me.
If only he would enter my house,
I would slay young lambs for him,
But he has made me fade in sorrow !
I am shivering in separation.
But he cares not for me !]

بٹھه پیٹھه مو گوهره گوهره کر

وس ڈنگه سودرس منزلاے تھاه

لالن ماله تہ مُختس لره کر

[Crave not for pearls while thou art on the shore
Dive deep into the depths of the sea
Make garlands of jewels and weave wreaths of pearls.]

کاهـــل پانس همُتک آره کر جاهل لا گکھ تہ چُھوکھه گُمراه

رایل رگُسی ژٹیخ تھره کر لالن ماله تہ مخُتس لره کر

[Shake thy lethargic body with dauntless courage.
If you act like the ignorant, you are lost.
Bestir thyself to lop down the cypress of obstruction.
Make garlands of tulips, make wreaths of pearls.]

'Abdul Ahad Nāzim.

عاشق چھه روزت اشه هسه ماشه مسه مار

زُونه گاشه یکھنا چرار چے برسواره عزیزو

[Thy lover, O Beloved, is waiting for thee, with every hope.
Ignore him not, Come !
Won't you come in the moonlight on a Thursday sacred to Chrār ?]

منزچین زُلفس خال شامک دزد رسن باز

زُونه ڈیه حُسنچه پان هانکله کھاره عزیزو

[2. The black mole on thy cheek,
Is a thief that hides at dusk in the curls of thy hair.
At night he will raise himself
To the moonlit courtyard of thy beauty with the help of the chain.]

کیا ونوے زُلفو تہ دورو مُیون سیاہ و سفید

گیمتس حرفِ پریشانس تہوت کن تی پزیا

[Ah ! Who knows what good or evil about me
Thy tresses and thy ear-rings have said to thee ?
But, was it proper for thee
To give ear to their senseless raving ?]

Swāmī Parmānand, the Sanā'ī of Kashmīr.

(۱)

ژٹی پہلہ پہلہ ووہتی ہیلہ ہیلہ وٹہ

کول کوہ روٗوس گیم گلیہ زیو

زوچہ گژھہ پیٹھنے گرٹہ بیوٹھم ژرٹہ

کٹ سنکٹ ھے مُکٹ داری

[1. What I have sown in grain I shall reap in ears
I am tongue-tied, alas ! why did I stray off my path of search ?
What to speak of cakes,
Before the grain was good to flour,
The mill has stopped.]

(۲)

تار دِتمو یِمہ بوہ سرہ نتہ پہٹہ رنگہ رنگہ منگنس بو ٹنگہ امُت

منگومی مہ ایکہ وٹہ ژہ تہ دیم ایکہ وٹہ کٹ سنکٹ ھے مُکٹ داری

[2. O God ! Before I am drowned
Lead me safe across the sea somehow.
I am weary of asking for boons again and again.
So now I ask Thee once for all
Bestow Thou favours likewise.]

(۳)

ھول ھول یہ پاپن بُور گوب تہ ٹُجہ اٹہ

اٹہ بارہ ھیتہ کاٹھہ کتہ واتہ گاٹھہ

وتھہ ٹُور یندرے چُور بٹہ سٹہ وٹہ

کٹ سنکٹ ھے مُکٹ داری

[3. The path is mazy (or, my belt is not tight) ;
The burden of sin is heavy ;
The ropes are loose ;
A sheep is on my back ; my joints are stiff.
How shall I reach the *ghāt* ?
My destination is far off.
And the thieves of sense are organized.]

(۴)

ارناوہ کرناوہ پُھوٹہ ریم پل تہ وٹہ

زُونم نہ ھو دہ ھرہ ھرونہ آس

ھفت جوش پانس آکاشہ وچھمہ ترٹہ

کٹہ سنلک ھے ملک داری

[4. I pounded rocks and stones (*i.e.*, performed great feats)
In far off places.
But Ah ! I did not know, that thereby
I was entangling myself in the worries of the world.
My steel frame made of the seven metals
Became the target to lightning darts from above.]

گندہ ناچھو زندہ مرن سہزہ وژار کُرن

پانہ روس پانہ سورن سہزہ وژار کُرن

[To die while one is alive is excellent sport ;
It is meditation on one's self
The contemplation of the Self apart from the Ego.]

یتہ سوروی چھو شرپان تتہ ماپان وپان

بھگوان تت چھہ دپان سہزہ وژار کُرن

[Wherein everything is absorbed,
There is no room for the Ego.
That is called God.]

پریمہ سرہ وھہ ونے رہ لگیہ ھنہ ھنے

پاؤن لگیہ تیلہ کنے سہزہ وجار کرن

[3. By the burning breath of love,
Every particle will be ablaze.
And water will serve as oil.]

سریس ماچُھہ چھائے تھود وتھہ مہ شائے

بایہ ژلہ نے ژہ گرائے سہزہ وژار کُرن

[4. The sun has no shadow,
You clear away from the place.
And all your waverings will disappear.]

'Abdul Wahhāb Parē, the Firdausī of Kashmīr.

On Childhood.

(۱)

با کرتھم باز گارو لُوکچارو ھو بے وسا بے اعتبارو لُوکچارو ھو

[1. O my childhood! you played a trick
With me like a juggler.
O childhood, you are fleeting and unreliable.]

(۲)

کنجہ ھندے دیوہ دارو آرہ کرونے توہ وارہ کرونئے پارہ پارو لُوکچارو ھو

[2. You deodar of the forest, the saw (of time)
Has cut thee into little bits
And reduced thee to dust.]

(۳)

اد او سک رنب ارو ایرہ والان کوہ چھیوتھان ونکن غبارو لُوکچارو ھو

[3. Just now you were like a mountain torrent
Flooded and sweeping away whole hills.
But now there is nothing in you but the dust of dryness.]

Fight between Rustam and Suhrab.

(۱)

کرک نیزہ بازی بھم زود تر سپن نیزنی ریزہ ریزہ پتھر

(۲)

دوشی گرم بازار شمشیر گے دوشی تیغ زن تشنہ لب سیرگے

(۳)

کرون ون ھتوک جنگِ گُرز گران دوکر ھتھہ یرن پیٹھہ چوآھنگران

(۴)

دوشی تم عرق ریز خونین بدن دوشی اس درخندہ ھر دو رون

(۵)

کھی دکھہ اکس گرزہ لایکھہ بزور تمن پیٹھہ سیھاہ گرزہ پھوٹ اورہ یو

(۶)

کرکھہ پیشدستی بہ تیر و کمان کران ھلہ تم ھمچو پیلِ دمان

(۷)

دوشن تیر و ترکش سپن مختصر دوشن ضرب کانھہ گوکھہ نہ کارگر

[1. First they fought with their spears
Which were reduced to pieces.

2. Then both of them drew their swords,
And satisfied their thirst (for blood).
3. Then came the turn of maces,
And they began to strike like blacksmith's hammers on anvils.
4. Both were full of sweat and wounded.
Both were weeping while apparently laughing.
5. They struck each other so furiously
That their maces were broken.
6. Now they began to fight with bows and arrows.
Attacking each other like mad elephants.
7. The arrows also were exhausted on both sides
But none of their darts proved fatal.]

'Azīzullāh Haqqānī.

راہ و رسمِ عشقِ جانان جُز بلا ہرگز چُھونہ
عاشقس غیرِ بلا رُوزن روا ہرگز چُھونہ

[Nothing but tribulation is the way of love.
The lover must not live without tribulation.]

یکسانہ اندرہ درا و یکسانہ نے تس جسم نے جوہر
چھوے جایہ جایہ سوے جانانہ نے تس جسم و نے جوہر

[The same came out of the same.
He has neither body nor substance.]

The Modern Period of Kashmiri Poetry

Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad Mahjūr.

وُزہ مَل

THE LIGHTNING.

(۱)

نازہ تنہ یم وُزل جامہ کم ولئے نُورہ وُزملئے پُورہ ہاو پان
نورہ وُزملئے پُورہ نازلئے نُورہ وُزملئے پُورہ ہاو پان

[Who clothed your delicate body in red ?
Resplendent Lightning ! let us see the whole of you.]

(۲)

جلوہ ہاویتہ پیٹھہ اہرہ بلئے شہرہ تے گامہ گو شُور یکسان
پریم رس باگران وچھکے کھنہ بلیئے نُورہ وُزملئے پُورہ ہاو پان

[You manifested yourself at Ahrabal.
And you created an uproar alike in villages and towns ;
You came down Kahnnabal
Scattering the essence of love.]

(۳)

زُلفک پاٹھہ چھی پیچ ھلیہ ھلئے کارہ پت شُوبان مارِ پیچان

سُونہ ھارمستسی وانکہ ولیہ ولئے نُورہ وُزملئے پُورہ ھاو پان

[Ringlets like writhing snakes look beautiful behind your neck.
Your body is crooked like somebody's locks
Your golden hair is woven into plaits.]

---

(۴)

شامہ ژھایہ ابرہ دار جامہ ول ولئے

واریو یتھہ چھک پھیرت گژھان

یہ چھکھہ مالیون گژھان ژل‌ژلئے

نُورہ وزُملئے پُورہ ھاؤ پان

[Dressed in garments covered with mica you go at dusk,
To your father-in-law's house, but
Like a girl (newly wed), you immediately run back
To your paternal home.]

(۵)

درشن ھووتھہ پردہ تل تلیہئے نظر اکیہ وچھتھن سُوروی جھان

پان ژھایہ تھوُوتھہ یہ ولیہ ولئے نُورہ وژہملئے پُورہ ھاو پان

[You manifested yourself
From behind the folds of your veils,
You viewed the world all at one glance ;
And quietly hid yourself.]

(۶)

زنہمُک سرونوی کمی گاٹلئے سندرین کُیوت چھُونہ یہ سمسارجان

تی وچھت پتھہ ھیوت تھے یمبرزلئے نُورہ وژہمیلئے پُورہ ھاو پان

[What wise man revealed to you the mystery of existence
That this world is not the proper abode for the beautiful
Is that, why, O charming creature,
You kept yourself back ?]

(۷)

جان نے یہ عالم زُونتھہ رنگہ ولئے

پھیر پھیر کیازہ چھک یُورکُن وچھان

درسہ کوس لُوبھہ چھُوئی کران مسولئے

نُورہ وزُملئے پُورہ ھاو پان

[If you did not consider this world good
Why do you look back to it again and again ?
What temptation attracts you, O beautiful flower ?]

(۸)

هیره بون لاگت جامه وزلئے اَتهه‌کیا چُهومعنے یه‌کمیوک‌نشان

خون ناحق‌ما درایکهه مل‌ملیئے نُوره وُزملئے پُوره هاو پان

[Why, from top to bottom, are you dressed in red ?
What does it signify ?
Are these clothes perhaps stained
With the blood of some one wrongfully slain ?]

(۹)

انِه گٹه یِم مسافیر وتنه ڈلئے منزه‌منزه چهک ثَمن ژه وتهه هاوان

چانه مشعاله هُند گاش‌چُهونه‌مولئے نُوره وُزملئے پُوره هاوپان

[Now and then you guide the travellers
Who lose their way in the dark,
You bestow the light of your torch without any price.]

(۱۰)

تهزرے پیٹهه چی نار مشعلئے

گاش هیتهه‌کُس چُهوهن ژیز ژهاران

چهیپه چهاره ماچهک گِندان ها نژلئے

نُوره وزُه‌ملیئے پُوره هاو پان

[O flaming torch of the sky,
Whom are you looking for ?
Are you playing hide and seek, you accuser of people ?]

(۱۱)

باز مهجُورس کرئے ازلئے سیت باج حصه تس آمئے غیرزان

سوره فل گنزرِک تسندُ دُوره فلیئے نُوره وُزملیئے پُوره هاو پان

[Fate has played a trick upon *Mahjūr*,
He got ignorant men for his companions,
Who mistake his gems for ashes.]

---

(۱)

یانء هُور میء ٹُورِ چندن مولُومَے تامت چلُـومَے یار ویسی

دپیوم آگس بَہِ روشہِ زاگس لاگـس بَہ شیرہِ هی

دِله کس باغس پُوشا پهولُومے تامت ژلـومے یارِ ویسی

[Hardly had I, a budding houri, bathed me in sandal-oil,
When he, my Love, did flee away from me, O friend.
Methought I would lie in wait for my lord
With jasmin to crown his head.
In the garden of my heart, a rare flower had blossomed
When he, my Love, did fly away from me, O friend.]

(۲)

دامانہ بوٗڈم اشہ متہ کامنہٕ پراران دُوھ گوٗم

سامـــانہ گنڈتھ آیس یُوت کیاہ چہ لوگے نشہ متہ

پامن لاج - تھس کیاہ کَرہ کامنہٕ پراران دُوھ گوٗم

[The hem of my robe is drenched with tears, my Love,
Waiting and yearning for you, my days drag.
I came bedecked;
Prithee, why so proud, my Love?
You put me to the taunts of others, alas!
Waiting and yearning for you, my days drag.]

(۳)

میانہ مدن ھیو ھیو چھم چان لادن

ھا پیو پیو-درش دیو دیو-چھم چانہٕ لادن

ادنہ چیے سیت کریوم وعدے

وعدہ کوہ ڈولھم پیو پیو - چھم چان لادن

[3. My Love, my Jasmin, my Jasmin,
I long for thee.
O come, O come,
And show thyself;
I long for thee.
I plighted, when young, my troth to thee,
Why didst break thy troth, my dear, my sweet?]

دُورہِ رُودم اند—دُورہ وَنتے وَنتے ویسئ ییہ نا سَن

دُورہِ دو پنم گژ ووٗ وَنتے چُورہ رُودم منز لا سن

مُورہِ نارچُھم کیھوللہ وَنتے وَنتے ویسئ ییہ نا سن

[He held aloof, 'mid distant woods,
Say, Friend, will he not come?
From far off he cried, 'let's away to the woods';
But in some lovely spot himself he hid.
My bosom is aflame, how shall I endure it?
Say, Friend, will he not come?]*

*Englished by Pandit Jai Lal Kaul, M.A., LL.B., Professor of English, Amar Singh College, Srīnagar.

Mīrzā Ghulām Hasan Beg 'Ārif.

A stirring elegy on the death of a dear child from the mouth of a Hindu woman with the ashes of her son in the bottle in her hand.

کُور کُن گُو میون یُوسف میون سُوی ماہِ تمام

کم کِڈس کل کم دتوس برهم کم کُرم مندین مہ شام!

O where has gone away my Yūsuf, my full moon.
Who tempted away my brilliant day and gave me gloomy night.

وقتِ پیری تراوُنس کس - دستگیری کُس کرِم

راوُرم یاون یمسِ پتهہ تراوُنس بے اِنتظام!

In old age I am helpless whom no one would now support.
I spent away my youth for him who left me uncar'd for.

گوم نِیرتهہ بیہ نہ فیرتهہ یاژ کیاہ چَهس میان دی

آلفتس تاثیر دی چها؟ دِم سزا تهاوُم غُلام!

He left me never to return: why should he hate me for my love.
My bondage I do guarantee : now let me be his slave.

لولہ تاوے پان گووُلُم تہ چَووُم جُوے شِیر

شِیر خوارن گِیر کرنس، سیر راوِم عام خام!

My tissues fire of love did melt to feed him with my milk,
This secret would be known to all since I must wail in grief.

قَالبسَی منزہ شکل دِژمس کینہ پنن کینہ مال سنز

الفتِچہ جادُوگری تهاویوم وسرِتهہ زیرِ دام!

Upon the figures of his father and myself I form'd his shape,
Within this trap of love, in vain, I tried that he may fall.

بدنہ منزہ تس داریہ رِہ کِژھ میانہ لُولُک نارچَها

لُول چها، تصویر بعضے، نار بعضے! جَیرہ الم!

O was the fire of funeral pyre my fire of love?
Bewildered am I for my love once shaped his form, then body burnt.

چھایَوھُوے تعمیر یتھہ لولن کرم صُورتگری

صُورتس چھا سُور مُژ رادان لولس اِنہدام!

O where has gone away that form that I did shape with my own love?
Are ashes end of beauteous form and burning end of love?

زندگی ہند چھایَوھُوے انجام؟ اُلفت نا تمام

خام چھا اُلفت پُنون؟ کِنہ فِطرتس خام اِنتظام!

Unworthy was my love, or is this end of every life?
Is nature imperfect, or unripe still is love?

نارہ گُوی حاصل چُھو و اصل آبہ کِس نُورس کریُون

لولِچہ گنگایہ منز لولس پتون اخر مقام!

In gleaming water cast him now when fire reduce'd him thus,
Affectionate Ganges' bosom keeps for love his resting-place.

Kashmir's Contribution to Persian Poetry

I.—By Muslims.

It is a universal fact that the physical features of a country profoundly influence its people, their occupation, their art and their literature. Kashmīr is a typical instance of the kind. Nature has profusely endowed Kashmīr with the wealth of real beauty which has made it renowned as a paradise on earth. Such a land could not fail to be the home of poetry, perhaps the highest expression of beauty. And, did not Bilhaṇa tell the world that the seed of poetry is the saffron flower? And the land that produces saffron produces poetry. But the poetry of Kashmīr has not as yet been properly appreciated, and the outside world knows very little of what the genius of Kashmīr has contributed to the realm of poetic thought. The arts and crafts of Kashmīr have acquired a fame on account of the energy of 'the commercial artist;' but the art of the poet has lain hidden in the manuscripts which have hardly seen the light of day. As we are concerned here, in this section, with the Muslim period of the history of Kashmīr, we shall confine ourselves to what Kashmīr has done for the muse of poetry in the language of its adoption, namely, Persian. If Persia is proud of its Firdausī, its Ḥāfiẓ, its Rūmī and its Nizāmī,

Kashmīr is equally proud of its Shā'iq, its Ghanī, its Sarfī and its Akmal. 'Abdul Wahhāb *Shā'iq* wrote a versified history of Kashmīr or the *Shāh-nāma-i-Kashmīr* consisting of 60,000 couplets. Ghanī's *Dīvān* or the collection of his odes has gone beyond the confines of Kashmīr though it still awaits its days of proper appreciation. The *masnavī* of Mīrzā Akmal-ud-Dīn Beg Khān *Akmal* is a *masnavī* of sublime mystic thought in Islam. The *Khamsas* that Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī*, or Mullā *Ashraf* Dāirī *Bulbul*, or Mullā Bahā-ud-Dīn Mattū *Bahā*, or Mullā Hamīdullāh *Hamīd* Shāhābādī wrote have yet to enter the precincts of a printing press. Gray's well-known lines—

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear,"

apply most aptly to the Persian poetry of Kashmīr

چھپے رہینگے زمانہ کی آنکھ سے کبتک
گہر ہیں آبِ ولر کے تمام یکدانہ—اقبال

The Persian language may be said to have entered Kashmīr with the advent of Islam. But it was about a century later during the reign of Sultān Sikandar and Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn that the sweet literary language of Asia acquired general adoption. Till then Sanskrit continued, and the Çārada script was in vogue. It was the presence of scholars and poets like Mullā Ahmad *Ahmad*, Sayyid Muhammad Amīn Mantiqī *Uwais or Wais* Kashmīrī, Mullā Nadīmī senior, Mullā Fasīhī, Mullā Malīhī, Mullā Jamīl, Mullā Ahmad Rūmī, Mullā Nūr-ud-Dīn, Mullā 'Alī Shīrāzī, Mullā Nādirī, Maulānā Husain Ghaznavī and others, at the court of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn and his successors, that struck Persian roots deep into the soil of Kashmīr. The Sultān's own composition, the *Shikāyāt*, has already been mentioned. Sultān Haidar Shāh composed a book of songs in Persian. Under Husain Shāh Chak, who was himself a poet of note, Persian poetry further flourished in Kashmīr till under the Mughuls it reached its climax at a time when Urdu was struggling for its formation in and around Delhi. Persian poetry under Mughul rule in Kashmīr produced Mazharī, Fānī, Ghanī, Sālim, Aujī, Fitratī, Furūghī, Najmī, Taufīq, Gūyā, Jūyā, Sāti' and Yaktā, and a host of others. The court language and the language of the literate had already been perfected and polished as a convenient vehicle of human sentiment and emotion, of delicate impressions of love and of yearnings of the heart. The ecstatic

raptures and thought imagery of the Kashmīrī poet's mind found expression in the sweet and graceful rhyme of the land of Īrān. The exquisite beauty of Kashmīr's natural scenery inspired the thoughts, which found their harmonious expression in Persian phraseology. It was as though the Kashmīrīs were staging themselves not in their national *pheran* (*pairahan*) but in the clear-cut fashionable and up-to-date Persian draperies, flounced here and there with the Arab thread-work. The effect was peculiar and exquisite. It was peculiar because the Kashmīrī poet utilized the Persian ways of expressing his emotions in the Persian idiom, ready to his hand and suited to his purpose. It was exquisite, because unlike the ordinary Persian poetry, his sentiments were quickened directly by the natural phenomena, amidst which he lived day and night, and were therefore more realistic, true and simple. His poetry is a faithful representation, and true interpretation of facts observed at first hand in the midst of his poetic environment. The Persian idiom becomes so apt in his mouth that it acquires a sweetness, grace and meaning of its own as quite distinct from the conventional, perhaps soulless and merely ornamental use made of it in other parts of India. Expression was given to fundamental truths of ethics, philosophy, practical wisdom, religious dogma and even to the varied 'states' of a lover's mind, in unison and in separation, in eagerness and in expectancy, in hope and in fear. Political theories, economic and social relations are supported and established with apt illustrations, and fine allegories drawn direct from nature, revealing keen observation and deep study of the human mind. The dew drops on the verdant grass, the soft breeze, the sun and the moon, the revolving heavens, gigantic hills, the snow, the hailstorm, the rose and the jasmin, the torrents, the lakes, and the flowing waters, suggest to the highly sensitive mind of the poet morals and lessons which years of dull poring over books could never bring home. The Kashmīrī had a distinct advantage over the Hindustānī in this respect. For the latter, perhaps seldom, saw the natural phenomena that were ever present to the mind of the former. The Kashmīrī's line of argument may not, at times, be quite logical, but there can be no gainsaying the fact that it appeals and wins over the heart. His illustrations may not always coincide with his propositions, but they are alive with felicitous terms and strike a responsive chord. These features of Kashmīr's Persian poetry are most prominent

in the compositions of Ghanī, of Sālim, of Muhsin Fānī and of Mīrzā Mujrim and several others. Some critics, however, find Kashmīrī poetry not as full of emotion as that of 'Urfī or Nazīrī. But all Kashmīrī poetry is not yet printed.

Before substantiating what has already been said by actual reference to the Kashmīrī poet's work, one must not ignore the critical question of the value of Kashmīrī poetry taken as a whole. Is it worthy of the attention, not of those who are ready to appreciate all kinds of Persian poetry, but of those who, with the assistance of their literary taste, and in the light of their critical sense, award places in the scale of merit ?

"In poetry," as Matthew Arnold, in his essay entitled *The Study of Poetry** says, "the distinction between excellent and inferior, sound and unsound or only half-sound, true and untrue or only half-true, is of paramount importance." He recommends that we should "keep clear and sound our judgments about poetry," keep ourselves free from fallacious estimates and praises of that which is not the best. If it were claimed that all Kashmīrī poetry is excellent, we should be in appreciable danger of failing to keep our judgments clear and sound. We make no such large claim for it. Even in Ghanī, there are verses and *ghazals* (odes or lyrics) which often fall short of a high standard. In fact, Ghanī himself admits it when he says :

شعر اگر اِعجاز باشد بے بلند و پست نیست
در یدِ بیضا همه انگشتها یکدست نیست

But it can be claimed that, side by side with much that falls short, there is much that has "a power of forming, sustaining and delighting us," that which cannot fail to give pleasure to the most austere critic, that even in the less excellent compositions there are lines which ring true, that even in faulty pieces a quiet thought is often exquisitely conveyed, an image of feeling convincingly rendered.

There is another way of judging poetry, as it were, another test. Let us again turn to Matthew Arnold for reference. He says : "There can be no more useful help for discovering what poetry belongs to the class of the truly excellent, and can therefore do us most good, than to have always in one's mind lines and expressions of the great masters, and to apply them as a touchstone to other poetry." "Of course," he continues, "we are not to require this other poetry to resemble them ; it may be very dissimilar. But if

Essays in Criticism (Second Series) by Matthew Arnold, Macmillan, London, 1915, p.5.

we have any tact, we shall find them, when we have lodged them well in our minds an infallible touchstone for detecting the presence or absence of high poetic quality, and also the degree of this quality, in all other poetry, which we may place beside them. "Short passages, even single lines, will serve our turn quite sufficiently." (Pp. 16-17).

Now let us place Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī *Sā'ib* of Isfahān in Īrān, side by side with Mullā Tāhīr *Ghanī* of Kashmīr. Our choice of Sā'ib, it is to be hoped, is not unreasonable, as both were contemporaries. And, as to the excellence of Sā'ib's poetry we have the testimony of two keen, learned critics, one of the West and the other of the East, both men of profound learning, the verdict of whose judgment can hardly be questioned. I mean the late Professor E. G. Browne, and the late Maulānā Shiblī Nu'mānī. Says Professor Browne[1]: "I find Sā'ib especially attractive, both on account of his simplicity of style, and his skill in the figures, entitled *Husn-i-Ta'līl* or "poetical aetiology," and *Irsāl-ul-Masal* or "proverbial commission." Nearly forty years ago (in 1885), I read through the Persian portion of that volume of the great bilingual 'anthology' entitled *Kharābāt*, which deals with the lyrical verse of the Arabs, Turks, and Persians, both odes and isolated verses, and copied into a note-book, which now lies before me, those which pleased me most, irrespective of authorship; and, though many of the 443 fragments and isolated verses which I selected are anonymous, more than one-tenth of the total (45) are by Sā'ib."

Maulānā Shiblī[2] considers Sā'ib "the last great Persian poet, superior in originality to Qāānī, the greatest and most famous of the moderns." Abū Tālib in his *Khulāsat-ul-Afkār* remarks that Sa'dī was the originator of *ghazal* though *ghazal* existed before Sa'dī—to which Bābā Fighānī gave a new colour, but that Sā'ib was the founder of a new school. In addition to these weighty opinions, we have to remember that Shāh 'Abbās II of Īrān made Sā'ib his poet-laureate.

Now, it will be interesting to note that, according to Mīr Husain Dūst of Sambhal, Morādābād, when Sā'ib met Ghanī, and the latter presented him with his selected verses, the following couplet of Ghanī "sent him into

1. *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, 1500-1924, pages 164-165.
2. *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, volume III, page 189.

ecstasy," and Sā'ib is said to have remarked that "the whole of his *Divān* or collection of odes, could have been bartered away for this single couplet of Ghanī":—

حُسنِ سبزے بخطِ سبز مرا کرد اسیر

دام هم رنگِ زمین بُود گرفتار شُدم

[The green glow (of beauty) by means of the green (just shooting) down captivated me;

The colour of the net being the same as that of the ground, I was enmeshed.]

Maulānā Āzād Bilgrāmī* says that Mīrzā Sā'ib adds an insertion (*tazmīn*) to the words of Ghanī:—

این جوابِ آن غزل صائب که میگوید غنی

یاد ایّامی که دیگِ شوقِ ما سرپُوش داشت

On one occasion, the note-book of Sā'ib had the following second hemistich while the first one had been erased by him—

که از لباسِ تو بُوی کباب می آید

A friend of Sā'ib asked Ghanī to suggest the first hemistich, whereupon the latter readily replied:

کُدام سُوخته جان، دست زد بدامانت

که از لباسِ تُو، بُوی کباب می آید

This friend showed the couplet to Sā'ib, who is said to have remarked that he (Sā'ib) should have written a whole *Dīvān* with only the first hemistiches himself, and asked Ghanī to add insertions thereon. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, on one occasion, said Sā'ib wrote—

سیه چُوری بدستِ آن نگارِ نازنین دیدم

به شاخِ صندلی پیچیده مارِ عنبرین دیدم

whereupon Ghanī re-wrote the same:

سیه چُوری بدستِ آن نگارے به شاخِ صندلی پیچیده مارے

Sarv-i-Āzād, published at Hydarābād, Deccan, in 1913, page 103.

At the use of the *chūrī* one is reminded of the only quatrain or *rubā'i* of the Emperor Akbar[1] quoted by Maulavī Muhammad Husain Āzād :—

می ناز که دل خون شده از دوری او
من یار غمم ز دست مهجوری او
در آینهٔ چرخ نه قوس قزح است
عکس است نمایان شده از چوری او

As for the basis of Professor Browne's estimate of Sā'ib's skill in "proverbial commission," mentioned above, the fact is that Ghanī has as much skill in the use of this figure of speech as Sā'ib, or any other Persian poet. Ghulām Qādir *Girāmi*, the late court poet of H. E. H. the Nizām of Hydarābād, while praising a poet says :

چنان تمثیل را داده رواجی که از فکر غنی گیرد خراجی

The reader can compare our selections of Ghanī's couplets with those of his own choice from Sā'ib, and see that Ghanī has as much excellence as Sā'ib and, in some respects, far excels him. The reader would further appreciate Ghanī all the better, as his mother-tongue is not Persian, while Sā'ib was born to the language. Sā'ib is said to have made a selection for his own بیاض (personal note-book) of two hundred and twenty verses from Ghanī's *Dīvān*. Abū Tālib *Kalīm*, the poet-laureate of Shāh Jahān, and Hājī Jān Muhammad *Qudsī* were great admirers of Ghanī, as also Tāhir Wahīd.[2]

No single city, in India, at any rate, has produced such a large number of poets in the Persian language as Srīnagar. In the long list of Kashmīr poets there are some whose pre-eminence has been recognized. The absolute pre-eminence of Ghanī, it may be heresy to say, has been perhaps too generally assumed, and his praise so assiduously sung as to suggest that Kashmīr had produced but one poet. No one would venture to pluck a leaf from his laurels ; it will be green while the Persian language lasts. But it ought to be remembered that Ghanī is something more than a single original poet. He is a school, a generation of poets.

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1. *The Darbār-i-Akbarī*, Lahore, 1910, p. 126.
2. *The Bānkīpur Catalogue* of Persian Manuscripts, Calcutta, 1912, Vol. III, p. 136.

Ghanī, however, was not without his satirist who, jealous of his fame, says :

شاعرِ ما مُغنّی بے سر !

یارِ آو کیست ؟ خانمان بر دُوش !

کار آو چیست ؟ آسیا بانی !

The Three Periods of Persian Poetry in Kashmir.

Persian poetry in Kashmīr is conveniently divided into the (*i*) pre-Mughul, (*ii*) Mughul and Afghān, and (*iii*) post-Mughul and Afghān periods. In the first period, about 17 poets are considered very prominent by a critic, though certainly their number must have been very much greater. In the second period, about 197, and in the third about 33 may be classed as distinguished. In the first period, Persian poetry is a direct imitation from Īrānian scholars who came straightway to Kashmīr. In the second period, there is Indo-Kashmīr mixing with Persian on account of the presence of people from Delhī, Āgra and Qandahār and Kābul. In the third period, local idiom, similes and metaphors from Kashmīrī influence Persian poetry produced indigenously. Within these three periods the poets, noticed in the following pages, do not appear in chronological order but in the order of their importance or their appeal.

Let us now take a rapid survey of some of the random couplets of the poets we have mentioned above, as it is hardly possible for us to give full *ghazals* in the short space of a section of *Kashīr*.

بر تواضعهای دُشمن تکیه کردن ابلهیست

پاے بُوسِ سیل از پا افگند دیوار را

عشق بر یک فرش بنشاند گدا و شاه را

سیل یکسان می کُند پست و بلندِ راه را

کاسهٔ خُود پُر مکن زنهار از خوانِ کسی

داغ از اِحسانِ خُورشید است بر دل ماه را

—غنی

The torrents are the usual phenomena of the Valley of Kashmīr. Ghanī, in the first couplet, impresses on his reader the common experience that the assumed humility of the foe is the more to be dreaded, as the turbulent torrent which by analogy, as it were, kisses the feet of the wall, actually tends to pull it down. In the second, he likens love to a torrent, and also by analogy teaches that love affects the rich and the poor alike. In the third, he refers to the spots of the moon due to the borrowed light of the sun, and draws the moral that a man should avoid being eternally dependent on another. Note how the sight of a torrent suggests to Ghanī truths of fundamental importance.

دلم بہ سایۂ گُل می‌کشد چُو گِل سالم

سرشتہ اند بہ آب و ہوای کشمیرم .

—سالم

[My heart, Sālim, is attracted like the dust to the shadow of the rose,
My (clay) has been kneaded with the air and water of Kashmīr.]

دِل کہ صاحب دیدہ شُد، لبریزِ نُورِحق شود

قطرۂ را، چُون صدف، پیمانۂ دریا کُنید

—سالم

[The heart that is gifted with true vision becomes overfilled with the light of Truth;
Make that drop (of Truth) like the oyster which transforms the drop into a pearl.]

[Note.—Mr. Victor G. Kiernan, M.A. (Cantab.), formerly of the Aitchison Chiefs' College, Lāhore, kindly rendered 45 of the following couplets into English rhyme which are not, therefore, literal.]

ندارد در ہوائی‌گرم، لُطفی آتشِ صہبا

ہلالِ عید دانم، گر رگِ ابرے شود پیدا

—غنی

[When hot winds hem us in, the fires
Of crimson wine are overcast;
Each cloud-streak is as welcome as
The crescent moon that ends the Fast.]

دستِ اربابِ کرم چُون کیسۂ مُفلس تہیست

معنئی این نُکتہ حل شُد از کفِ دریا مرا

—فانی

[The giver's hands grow empty
Like the pockets of the poor.
I saw this when I watched the wave
Showering with spray the shore.]

گوشه گیر از انقلابِ روزگار آسوده باش
شورشِ دریا ببین چون موج بر ساحل بیا

—سالم

[Shunning time's revolutions, take your ease ;
Like, as the wave lies, close under the shore,
And watch from there the loud tumultuous seas.]

نصیبی نیست از اهلِ کرم برگشته بختان را
که هرگز پُر نسازد کاسهٔ گرداب را دریا

—غنی

[The giver cannot mend
The ill-starred man's ill luck—
The river never fills
The whirlpool's hollow cup.]

تا بهر صورت تواند، حُسنِ خود را جلوه داد
رنگهائی مختلف، از جامهٔ ایجاد بست

—فانی

[God, to reveal Himself, has hung
Creation with the colours
Of a million rainbows.]

نفسها صدمهٔ سیلابِ مرگ و تن بدان قائم
حصارِ ما، چو ساحل، تکیه بر آبِ روان دارد

—سالم

[Each breath we draw into this mortal frame
Is one more wave of the swift tide of death ;
Upon which current stands our fortress, like
The crumbling bank above the gnawing stream.]

بُوَد در اضطراب از اهلِ عالم هرکه کامل شُد
طپیدن، درمیانِ جُمله اعضا، قسمت دِل شُد

—غنی

[The quivering heart uneasily
Over the body's organs reigns;
The world, with all its doings, pains
Him most who lives most perfectly.]

Section I.

Poets during the period of the Sultans and the Padshahs or the Shah Miris and the Chaks of Kashmir [1324 A.C. to 1586 A.C.]

This period should begin with the name of Mullā Ahmad. As, however, we have already mentioned him under Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, we shall pass on to others. Qāzī Hamīd, Sayyid Muhammad Amīn Mantiqī Baihaqī *Uwais*, or *Wais*, Mullā Nāmī *senior*, Mullā Nāmī *junior*, Muhammad Amīn *Mustaghnī*, Husain Shāh Chak, Yūsuf Shāh Chak, Bābā Dā'ūd *Khākī*, Mullā Ahmadī, Mullā Mihrī, and Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* are the more important names of this period. We shall begin with couplets from *Wais* who flourished under Baḍ Shāh and was killed in a skirmish in 889 A.H.= 1484 A.C., in Sultān Hasan Shāh's reign.

آزمودم جهان و اهلِ جهان آنچه هستند آشکار و نهان
همه در بندِ خویشتن مشغول همه درکارِ خویشتن حیران
نے ترحم بحالِ غمزدهٔ نے تکلم بلطف و با احسان
جمله در قصدِ خونِ یک دگر اند اوفتاده چو موش در انبان
کارِ شان نے بغیر کذّابی یارِ شان نے بخلق جز بهتان
در میانِ شان هر آنکه کهترتر سرورِ عصر و اعظمِ دوران
نکنند التفاتِ رنجورے ور دمِ عیسوی بود دم شان
هرکرا گرمئی بسر بینند بر قدومش کنند سر قربان
گر بود گاوِ سامری او را می بدانند موسیٔ عمران
کس نگوید که این خران تا کے جان دهند از براے یک لب نان
بعد ازین وبس ترکِ گفت و شنود کنجِ کوه و عبادتِ معبود

Muhammad Amīn *Mustaghnī* passed his days in the time of 'Alī Shāh Chak.

من خنده نه ام بطبع عاشقِ ناساز یا گریه که بر روے روم چون غمّاز
یا ناله که سر بگوشِ بیگانه نهم من دردِ دلم خلوتئی محرمِ راز
برهمن ! گردِ تو گردم، رهِ کفرم بنما که ز ایمانِ خودم شرم بسے می آید

Mullā Nāmī *senior* was a poet who belonged to the court of Husain Shāh Chak.

هرگز دلم بغیرِ تو مائل نمی شود در دیده نقشِ روے تو زایل نمی شود

از دُوریت چه باک که من بعد ظاهراً اَصلا میان ما و تو حایل نمی شود

دستم بریده باد، چه کار ایدم بگو؟ در گردنِ بُتان چُو حایل نمی شود

Shaikh Dā'ūd or Bābā Dā'ūd *Khāki* comes of a Ganāī family. The word *Ganāī* comes from *gan* meaning a pen, and the writer is, therefore, called the *ganāī* as he uses the pen. The title of *Ganāi* is believed to have been conferred, in Kashmīr, on Bābā 'Usmān Ūchchap by Baḍ Shāh, at whose burial the Sultān is said to have been present. Shaikh Dā'ūd or Bābā Dā'ūd was born in 928 A.H. or 1521 A.C.—the year when, in Europe, the Diet at Worms excommunicated Luther. Dā'ūd's father was Shaikh Hasan Ganāī a well-known *khattāt* or scribe. Bābā Dā'ūd studied under Mullā Basīr Khandabhawnī and 'Allāma Raziyy-ud-Dīn. Later, he became the tutor of Sultān Nāzuk Shāh's son. He gave up service and became a *murīd* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm. On account of trouble during the last days of Chak rule, he went with Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* to seek Akbar's help. The Bābā died on return from Akbar at Islāmābād (Anantnāg) in 994 A.H.=1585 A.C., and was interred in the enclosure of Bābā Rīshī Sāhib there. Some years later, however, his remains were brought to the *ziyārat* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm in Srīnagar for their final resting place near the Bābā's spiritual guide. *Khākī* was the *takhallus* or poetic name of Bābā Dā'ūd who has written quite a number of books—*Vird-ul-Murīdīn*, *Qasida-i-Lāmiyya*, *Qasida-i-Jalāliyya*, *Qasida-i-Ghusliyya* and *Qasida-i-Zarūriyya*, *Dastūr-us-Sālikīn*, *Majma'-ul-Fawā'id*. The Bābā's poetry consists of religious and mystical themes.

مُرتضےٰ را دیدم و پُرسیدم از وے حالِ رَفض

گُفت بیشک هست در سّبِ مُسلمانان وبال

—قصیدهٔ لامیّه

گه بمسجد روم، گاه بمیخانه شوم
من بیچاره تُرا می طلبم از هر سُو
نتوانم که شمارم کرم و نعمتِ تُو
گر زبانم شود اندر تنِ من از هر مُو
خاکیا پیر شُدی از طلبِ یار هنُوز
از گُلستانِ وصالش نشمیدی بُو

—غزلیاتِ خاکی

We have already written in detail about Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* in an earlier part of this Chapter (see pages 358—365). A few of his couplets are presented here—

ز ضُعفِ تن عجب حالیست بیمارِ محبّت را
که نتواند کشید از ناتوانی بارِ صحت را

[Sick and worn with love—
Health is too great a burden :
He cannot lift it.]

بر رُخ فگند چاشتگه آن مه نقاب را
پیش از زوال، شام رسید آفتاب را

[When morning came, she veiled a face
As lovely as the moon.
Twilight, it seemed, had seized the sun,
Not waiting even till noon.]

از تُوتیا مپُرس از ان خاکِ در بپُرس
خاصّیّتش ز مردُمِ صاحب نظر بپُرس

[Ask not collyrium, if you will
Make bright and clear your eyes :
Ask only for the dust that lies
About his door. To tell
Its virtue, ask the wise.]

هم ز دِل دُزدید صبر و هم دلِ دیوانه را
یارِ من با خانه می دُزدد متاعِ خانه را

[All patience from my heart my love first stole,
And then my heart's infatuated whole—
Bold thief! he stole the house itself,
Besides the silver from the shelf.]

خالت از مکر بر آن گوشهٔ ابرو بنشست
هر کجا گوشه نشینی ست درو مکرے هست

[The mole that near your eyebrow lurks
Is waiting to ensnare our feet;
Whoever lurks in corners so,
Is always fullest of deceit.]

پناه آر صرفی بحفظِ خدا ازین جو فروشانِ گندم نما

[Seek shelter under God, O Sarfī,
Against those who show wheat, and sell oats, *i.e.* cheats.]

Section II.
Poets during the period of Mughul and Afghan Rule in Kashmir.
[1586 A.C. to 1819 A.C.]

1. *Mazharī.*

Abu'l Fazl says (*The Ā'in*, vol. I, page 584) that Mazharī wrote poetry from his early youth, and lived long in 'Irāq. Mazharī travelled a good deal over Īrān, Khurāsān, and Hindustān, and saw the poets of his age. In Irān he was with Muhtasham Kāshī and Wahshī. After his return to India, Mazharī was employed by Akbar as Mīr Bahrī or Superintendent of the Ḍal and other lakes and waterways which employment he held in 1004 A.H.=1595 A.C. Mazharī turned Shī'a. As his father was a Sunnī, they separated from each other. Mazharī is said to have written six thousand couplets. He died in 1018 A.H.=1609 A.C., though Pīr Hasan Shāh says in 1026 A.H.=1617 A.C. Mazharī is buried in the Malkhah graveyard in Srīnagar. All *Tazkiras* praise his poems. Some of his verses are:

چه حالت است ندانم جمالِ سلمیٰ را
که بیش دیدنش افزون کند تمنیٰ را

[I do not know what secret,
In Salmā's beauty lurks;
The longer you behold it,
The more its magic works.]

فدای آئینه گردم که دلستانِ مرا

درُون خانه گُلگشتِ بُوستان دارد

[I admire the looking-glass, which reflects my sweetheart promenading on a flower-bed, although he is inside his house. This simile will be understood if we state that the eyes of the beloved are like narcissus flowers—crocus-like or almond-shaped,—the chin is like an apple, the black hair like hyacinth,—in fact, his whole face resembles a garden, rather he is a garden personified.]

ببست دیدهٔ مجنُون، ز خویش و بیگانه

چه آشنا نگهی بُود چشمِ لیلیٰ را

[What lovely look lay in Laylā's eyes
That shut Majnūn's eyes to friends and strangers.
An English equivalent may be—
What passion lay in Cleopatra's eyes
To close to friend and stranger Antony's ?]

اِقبالِ حُسن کارِ تُرا پیش بُرده است

ورنه صلاحِ کار ندانستهٔ که چیست

[Good fortune gave you beauty, and your face
Has prospered your affairs for you, my dear ;
Without that capital you would have been
A sorry steward of your life, I fear.]

هر کسی که بچشمِ ما سُبک شُد بر خاطرِ آسمان گران است

[He who is pleasing to our eye,
Is to the heart of heaven distasteful.]

لالهٔ طُورم، نه همچُوں غُنچه گُلبُن زاده ام

شُعله جاے بخیه بر چاکِ گریبان میزنم

[I am a tulip of Sināī, and not like the bud born of the rose.
To my torn collar, I apply the (needle of my) flame to stitching it.

In this connexion, I was rather struck when I came across the following: "Electronic heating makes it possible to sew together not only pieces of cloth, but cloth to rubber or wood, metal to rubber, and so on."—*The Bombay Chronicle Weekly*, Sunday, 20th July, 1947 page 23, col. 4, bottom. How prophetic of Mazharī to have said this in the 16th century, A.C. !]

دُنبالهٔ در خاطرِ خُودرای خُودم بی زحمت ره ابلهٔ پای خُودم

صد پرده درم، ز خُود نیایم بیرون صد مرحله پیمایم و بر جای خودم

[I follow where my obstinate heart leads,
Grow footsore even when the way's not rough ;
Tear down a hundred veils, but not that of my own Self ;
Travel a hundred stages, still am with my own Self.]

مظهر، به جهان، چو بی نصیبان میباش
وز گل بنوای عندلیبان میباش
با دیدنی از خوبئی عالم میساز
مهمانِ نظاره، چون غریبان، میباش

[Be with the luckless, Mazhar, in this world,
The nightingale whose voice implores the rose ;
Content to grasp earth's beauty with your eyes,
As strangers watch, mere guests, a spectacle.]

Mazharī composed the following chronogram on the death of Akbar, *viz.*, 1414—400=1014 A.H. = 1605 A.C.

بادشه اکبر که پنجاه و دو سال عدلِ او ظلمِ زحل سیماے سوخت
مظهر از "صاحبقران" تاریخ یافت گفت زین حسرت دلِ چغتاے سوخت

2. *Mullā Muhsin Fānī.*

The life and works of Mullā Muhsin *Fānī* have been treated on pages 365—373 in this Chapter. Here a few couplets of his are given :

خود شناس ار نیست کس فانی نباشد حق شناس
آشنائی با خدا نبود ز خود بیگانه را

[He to whom are dark
The secrets of the Self, Fānī !
To himself is strange,
A stranger is to God.]

This is an explanation of—

مَن عَرفَ نفسَهٗ فقد عَرفَ ربّهٗ

[One who knows his own self, knows God too.]

دیدن بچشمِ دل همه عالم چه مشکل است
آئینهٔ که داشت سکندر همین دِل است

[To view the whole world by the mind's clear light
Is not so hard ; the magic mirror where
Sikandar saw all happenings far and near,
Was only this, the spirit's crystal sight.]

جُز خیالِ چشمِ مستت، در دلِ اندیشه نیست
هیچکس را بادهٔ خُوشتر ازین در شیشه نیست

[Only the image
Of your eyes drunk with passion
Exists in my heart.
None can keep a richer wine
In his flask, than this of mine.]

فانی سلوکِ راه چُو پَرکار می کُنم
یک پاے ما بگردش و یک پاے درگِل است

[Fānī, thy heavenward march is but gyration,
Like what the compass on the paper draws ;
For one foot moves, the other keeps its station.]

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3. *Mullā Tāhir Ghanī Ashāī.*

The full name of Ghanī is Mullā Muhammad Tāhir *Ghanī*. He belonged to the Ashā'ī clan which has been the subject of varied views. Sir Walter Lawrence says that Ashā'īs are Mughuls (p. 309). Pīr Hasan Shāh's view is that this clan migrated from a village named Ishāwar in Khurāsān. This same view seems to have prevailed with Mr. Matīn-uz-Zamān Khān the author of the census report of 1911 (*vide* part I, page 205, footnote) who spells the village Eshāwar. Despite consulting detailed atlases, scholars of Persian and wideawake travellers to Īrān, I find no clue to the existence of this village in Khurāsān, Īrān. Either it is far too small and far too insignificant, or Pīr Hasan Shāh is mistaken. Hājī Mukhtār Shāh Ashā'ī, however, says in his *Risāla Dar Fann-i-Shālbāfī* (p. 1) that the progenitor of the 'Ashā'īs came from Bukhārā with Shāh Hamadān. Another view is that this progenitor was called *'Ashā'ī* by Shāh Hamadān whose *'ishā* (night) prayers he attended secretly to avoid ostracism by some of his critics. Under the circumstances, this explanation is probable. But the spelling in vogue is اشائی (Ashā'ī,) and not عشائی ('Ashā'ī.)

Some say Ghanī was born about 1040 A.H.=1630 A.C.—the third year of the accession of Shāh Jahān. But this date is not acceptable to those who assume that Ghanī died at an advanced age and not at 39, and, as proof, cite Ghanī's own couplets like the following :—

ز پیری چُنان گشته ام ناتوان که دندان بُجنبد بجاے زبان

ریخت دندان ز دهن، رفت جوانی برباد آه ازین ژاله که در مزرع بختم افتاد

ز پیری ریخت دندانم، ندادم تن بیادِ حق
ببازی آخر این تسبیح چون اطفال گُم کردم

مُوے سر کردم سفید امّا خیالت در سر است
اخگرِ پنهان تہِ این تُودۂ خاکستر است

Like that of the astronomer-poet of Īrān, 'Umar Khayyām, Ghanī's date of birth must be pronounced to be uncertain. Not much is known about Ghanī's family. Most of his educational career was spent under Mullā Muhsin *Fānī*. The choice by Ghanī of his pen-name, accidentally it might be though, is remarkably significant, as it reveals the particular incidents connected with his life. The numerical value of the three letters, composing his name, when put together, gives the year, 1060 A.H. (1650 A.C.), in which according to Sarkhush, Ghanī commenced writing poetry. He was twenty then. But it is not improbable that he commenced writing poetry earlier. The etymological meaning of these letters, put in a nutshell, represents his attitude towards pleasure and wealth, and the pomp and show of mundane dignity. Ghanī appears to have used *Tāhir* as his pen-name in his earlier poems. The name, Tāhir, it is said, was given to him by his father who owed spiritual allegiance to Khwāja Tāhir Rafīq Ashāī mentioned in Chapter III of *Kashīr*, page 113.

Ghanī's travels abroad are in dispute. But from what he himself says, it appears that he did go out of Kashmīr.

کرد است هوای هند دِلگیر مرا اے بخت رسان بباغِ کشمیر مرا

It redounds to the great credit of Ghanī that he never sought the company of the rich, or those placed in exalted positions. His own mind was to him a kingdom in which he found all joy. He was in the habit of putting the padlock on the door of his cottage supposed to be in Rajaurī Kadal near the *ziyārat* of Sayyid Hasan Balādūrī (Balāzurī ?) when he was in it, and taking it off when he was out. When asked the reason of this strange action on his part, he replied that he was the only wealth in the cottage which needed a padlock. When he was out, the need for the padlock did not exist. And so the door was always open in his absence. [The photo of this hut faces page 362]. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has put this little episode in beautiful verse :

غنی آں سخن گوئے بلبل صفیر نوا سنجِ کشمیر مینو نظیر
چو اندر سرا بود در بستہ داشت چو رفت از سرا، تختہ را وا گذاشت
یکے گفت اے شاعرِ دل رسے عجب دارد از کارِ تو ہر کسے
بپاسخ چہ خوش گفت مردِ فقیر فقیرو بہ اِقلیمِ معنی امیر
زمن آنچہ دیدند یاراں رواست دریں خانہ جز من متاعی کجاست
غنی تا نشیند بہ کاشانہ اش متاعے گرانے است در خانہ اش
چوں آں محفل افروز در خانہ نیست تہی تر ازیں ہیچ کاشانہ نیست

Ghanī lived during the governorship of Zafar Khān *hsan*. Nawwāb Wahīd Zamān Tāhir *Wahīd* was a great admirer of his.*

But Mullā Tāhir Ghanī throughout his life never waited on a prince, nor wrote a single *qasīda* (eulogy) in praise of any nobleman or king. His *Divān*, consists of *ghazals* and *rubā'īyyāts* and *qasīdas* (not in praise of any nobleman, etc.). It is said that he wrote about 100,000 verses. His *Dīvān*, copied in 1102 A.H.=1690 A.C., was printed at the Mustafā'ī Press, Lucknow, in 1261 A.H.=1845 A.C. It was arranged by Muhammad 'Alī *Māhir*, originally a Hindu brought up by Mīrzā Ja'far *Mu'ammā'ī*, and probably re-edited by Ghanī's pupil, Muslim *Mujrim* with the help of another pupil named Lāla Malik *Shahīd*, senior to *Mujrim*. It is a fragment of about 2,000 of what Ghanī actually composed. And hence the *Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā* of 'Alī Qulī *Vālih* Dāghistānī of Isfahān, composed in 1161 A.H.=1748 A.C., in Muhammad Shāh's reign, 82 years after Ghanī's death, and the *Majma'-un-Nafā'is* of Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān *Ārzū*, completed in 1164 A.H.=1750 A.C., say that Ghanī left about twenty thousand verses.

**The Bānkīpore Catalogue*—Volume III, Persian Poetry, pages 136-139.

The *Dīvān* begins *qasīdas* with—

سوزِ داغِ دلِ ما دفع نه شد از مرهم گرمئی شمع ز کافور نمی گردد کم

and *ghazals* with—

جنونے گو که از قیدِ خرد بیرون کشم پا را

کنم زنجیرِ پاے خویشتن دامانِ صحرا را

and *rubā'īyyāt* with—

چون نیست در افتاد گیئم کس را شک

برخاسته از چه رو بجنگم هر یک

دعوای برابری ندارم بکسی

بر خاک چرا برابرم کرد فلک

A poem entitled the *Jang-nāma* describing the war between Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr and his elder brother Dārā Shukūh is attributed to Ghanī in the *Catalogue* of manuscripts in the library of the University of Bombay prepared in 1935 A.C. by Khān Bahādur 'Abdul Qādir Sarfarāz (page 208). This *Jāng-nāma* begins with—

توی آن جهان آفرین پادشاه که از حضرتت جسته شاهان پناه

خدایا همه ملکِ عالم ترا است جهان پادشاهی مسلّم ترا است

The *takhallus* of the poet occurs in the couplet below :—

غنی چون بوصف آن جهان بر ترست بمقصود باز آمدن بهتر است

On looking into this MS. (No. 74) I feel the style is different from the usual style of Ghanī, and the praise showered on Shāh Jahān could not be expected from Ghanī who would call on no noble even, much less seek the elaborate ceremonial of an audience with His Majesty the Emperor of India. Possibly it is some other "Ghanī" and not Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī* Ashā'ī of Kashmīr.

Ghanī appears to have possessed an extraordinary fertility of brain, and an uncommon vividness of imagination. The accounts of poetical encounters show that he met the exigencies of the occasion with a wonderfully prompt utterance. The austere Nawwāb Siddīq Hasan Khān of Bhopāl in his *Tazkira-i-Sham'-i-Anjuman* says that "Ghanī had a high-soaring intellect, and in the space

of a few years, he acquired a high place in the art of poetry writing, and ultimately began to dive deep into the ocean of poetry, and brought forth pearls that were worth buying with the cash of life." Ghanī had a brother whose name was Muhammad Zamān *Nāfi'* who was a well-known man of letters in his day. Tāhir Nasrābādī states on a reliable authority that the emperor of India wrote to Saif Khān, governor of Kashmīr, to send Ghanī to the imperial throne. Being requested by Saif Khān, the poet instructed the governor to report that Ghanī was insane. Saif Khān objected to this. The poet, all of a sudden, tore his collar, marched off, and died three days* after. The death of Ghanī took place in 1079 A.H.=1668 A.C. Muhammad 'Alī *Māhir's* chronogram is—

تهی چون کرد بزم شیخ را گردید تاریخش
که آگاهی سوے دارِ بقا از دارِ فانی شد

The date of the death is also expressed by حی غنیا. Ghanī lies buried in Gurgāṛī Mahalla (old Qutb-ud-Dīnpōr), Zaina Kadal, Srīnagar, though the actual grave is today unidentified as yet.

[For notices on Ghanī's life the reader may refer to—(1) Tāhir Nasrābādī *Tazkira*, folio 265b (2) *Yad-i-Baizā*, folio 170a (3) *Riyāz-ush-Shu'rā*, folio 28th (4) *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Vol. II, folio 344b (5) Rieu, Or. 300, Vol. II, p. 692 (6) Ethé *Catalogue*, 1127 (7) *The Bānkīpore Catalogue*, Vol. III, No. 334, pages 136-139 (8) *Amal-i-Sālih*, folio 705 (9) *Sarkhush*, folio 95 (10) *Mirāt-ul-Khayāl*, folio 101, and (11) *The Oudh Catalogue*, pp. 113, 151 and 410].

The age of Ghanī was the bloom of Persian poetry in Kashmīr. Under its Mughul satraps, who were themselves men of great literary eminence, and who encouraged poetry and fine arts, Persian poetry found a second home in Srīnagar.

The reader may now enjoy some couplets from Ghanī—

غنی از دولتِ دُنیا نگردد عیبِ کس زائل
که زر نتواند از رُوی محک بُردن سیاهی را

[The world's wealth, Ghanī, cannot blot one's fault;
For all gold's scratchings, still the touchstone's black.]

نیست شُهرت طلب آنکس که کمالے دارد
هرگز انگشت نُما بدر نباشد چو هلال

**The Bānkīpore Catalogue*, Volume III, page 137.

[The man made perfect seeks
No glory and no singer;
The new moon, not the full,
Reaches with crescent finger.]

هرکه پابندِ وطن شُد می کشد آزارها
پای گُل اندر چمن، دایم پُر است از خارها

[He who clings to his birthplace will know no freedom from troubles;
While the rose clings to her stem, thorn-pricks are close to her flesh.]

فیضِ سخن به مردِ سخنگُو نمی رسد
از نافه، بُوی مُشک به آهو نمی رسد

[Not for itself the musk-deer bears
Its musk: not for himself
The poet for his harvest cares.]

ز شعرِ من شُده پُوشیده فضل و دانشِ من
چُو میوهٔ که بماند بزیرِ برگ نهان

[Under my verses
Wisdom and knowledge
Hide like the ripe fruit
Under its leafage.]

در مُکرر بستنِ مضمُونِ رنگین لُطف نیست
کم دهد رنگ، ار کسی بندد حِنای بسته را

[A thought once dressed in sparkling rhyme,
Why versify a second time?
Twice over used, the brightest henna
Will dwindle to a pale sienna.]

سنگین دل است هرکه بظاهر مُلائم است
پنهان درونِ پنبه نگر پنبه دانه را

[Silk tongues hide cold hearts;
Inside the fleecy cotton—
See! the cotton-seed.]

بی نیازی از سخن هرگز نباشد گُوش را
سیرچشمی حاصل از نعمت نشُد سرپُوش را

[The ear is never fed up with poetry
As the dish-cover is ever there to overlay the dish.]

دل به اِستدلال بستم، ماندم از مقصُود دُور

نردبان کردم تصور راهِ ناهموار را

[I vowed my mind to Reason, and she led me
Not where I would ; for rugged was the road :
I fancied it a ladder stretched to God.]

جان بلب از ضُعف نتواند رسید

من بزُورِ ناتوانی زنده ام

[My strength is gone, and even my ghost
Too weak to reach my lips and flee ;
Only this weight of weakness keeps
Firm-bound to life my misery.]

سعی بهرِ راحتِ همسایگان کردن خُوش است

بشنود گُوش از برای خوابِ چشم افسانها

[It is virtue to try
And give comfort to neighbours—
Ear, listening to stories,
Brings slumber to Eye.]

نمی باشد مُتخالف، قول و فعلِ راستان باهم

که گُفتارِ قلم باشد، ز رفتارِ قلم پیدا

[Deeds from words cannot vary in the lives of righteous men,
More than the letters written by the motions of the pen.]

تا توانی عاشقِ معشُوقِ هر جائی مشو

می کُند خُورشید سر گردان گُلِ خُورشید را

[Give to no fickle paramour
Your love, or you will come to harm ;
The sunflower, through the inconstant sun,
Lives in perpetual alarm.]

عاشقان را جُنبشِ مژگانِ چشمِ یار کُشت

عالمی را اِضطرابِ نبضِ این بیمار کُشت

[The quivering lashes of her eyes have killed
Her lovers ; the contagion of her fevered
And languorous eyes, a world of graves has filled.]

مُوے میانِ تُو شُدہ کرالہ پَن

کرد جُدا کاسۂ سرہا ز تن

[Your waist, as slender as a hair,
Might serve the potter for the string
That from the wet wheels hurrying
Sets free the moulded earthenware.]

It is noteworthy that this very couplet is said to have drawn Sā'ib from Īrān to Kashmīr to meet Ghanī.

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4. *Hājī Aslam Sālim.*

Hājī Aslam *Sālim* was the son of Abdāl Baṭ who had embraced Islam. Aslam was the pupil of Mullā Muhsin Fānī. In his youth, he was in India in the service of Prince A'zam Shāh, after whose defeat at the hands of Prince Mua'zzam, he returned to Kashmīr. His manunscript *Dīvān* of about 700 pages is in the Panjāb University Library, and consists mostly of odes and quatrains but no *qasīdahs.*

عُمر وحشت زدہ آہوی بیابانی ہست

رُوز و شب نرگسِ شہلای گُلستانی ہست

[Life—in a boundless
Desert, a frightened
Deer . . . . a narcissus
Black-and-white
Scenting a garden—
Day and night.]

ماہ در ہالہ، بفکرِ تُو، فرو رفتہ ببین

کہ سری مست در آغوشِ گریبانی ہست

[Sunk in her halo, lost in thy love, the moon—
A trance-filled head sunk on the robe's soft collar.]

در شباب و شیب، چشمِ دل ز غفلت وا نشُد

گردشِ ایّام گُوئی جُنبشِ گہوارہ بُود

[In youth, in age, this spirit never rubbed
Its eyes from languid slumber's mockings;
Time's rumbling revolutions were to it
No more than drowsy cradle-rockings.]

شناور تکیه بر دریا کُند تا دست و پا دارد
عمل شرط است و می باید توکّل بر خُدا کردن

[The swimmer, while his limbs are strong,
Trusts himself to the river;
So he who makes his day's work long,
May trust the Heavenly Giver.]

اجل دیوانه وضع و عُمر مستِ جلوه‌ٔ می ترسم
صدای پاے رهرو شیر را از خواب بردارد

[Death, the mad beast, is sleeping: Life,
The gay coquette, goes dancing, tripping.
Her jingling feet will wake
Him and his claws one day.]

---

5. *Aujī Kashmīrī.*

Aujī Kashmīrī was the son of Maulānā Nāmī Kashmīrī, and commenced to write verse at a very early age. When he was a young man, he was offered service by Mīrzā Ja'far Āsaf Khān, the governor of Kashmīr, which he accepted. This service did him considerable good, as association with Āsaf Khān gave him opportunities to improve himself, which Aujī fully utilized. On Āsaf Khān's reversion to India, Aujī was patronized by successive governors. He was not fond of travelling, but once went as far as Lāhore, and soon returned to his native land. 'Abdun-Nabī Khān Qazwīnī, the author of the *Mai-khāna*, compiled in 1028 A.H. = 1618 A.C., writes that, on one occasion when he was at Ajmer with Maulānā Muhammad Sūfī also called Muhammad Māzandarānī, the author of an anthology called the *But-khāna*, a gentleman from Kashmīr came in. The talk drifted on to Aujī's poetry. That gentleman read the following couplet from the *Sāqī-nāma* of Aujī—

مرا دامنِ خویش زنجیر شُد مرا دست در آستین پیر شُد

whereupon Maulānā Muhammad Sūfī went into raptures, and remarked that, if he had heard of that couplet before, he would never have written his own *Sāqī-nāma*, Qazwīnī further adds that he saw Aujī in Kashmīr when he was about fifty-five, and found him paralytic, using opium, and that his poetry had lost its earlier charm. Probably Aujī was a Shī'a.

He wrote three thousand couplets, and finished his *Sāqī-nāma* when he was in the service of Mīrzā Ja'far Āsaf Khān. The following couplets are from his *Sāqī-nāma* :—

مرا شیشه بر دُوش و بارانِ سنگ نه یارای رفتن نه پای درنگ
مرا دامنِ خویشی زنجیر شُد مرا دست در آستین پیر شُد
بیا ساقی آن راوقِ تاک را ضیا بخشِ خُورشیدِ اِدراک را
بده تا بدانم که آن نُوش لب چرا می گُریزد ز من بی سبب
نسیمِ سحر، خاطر انگیز شُد ز سیمائے گُل آتشم تیز شُد

6. *Fitratī.*

Fitratī was the pupil of Mullā Zihnī Kashmīrī and enjoyed association with Mullā Nadīmī, Mullā Fasīhī and lived in the time of Akbar. On one occasion Fitratī got twelve thousand rupees as a reward for the two following couplets from the Emperor :—

قسمت نِگر که در خُورِ هر جوهری عطا ست
آئینه با سِکندر و با اکبر آفتاب
او کرد گر معائنهٔ خُود ز آئنه
این میکند مُشاهَدهٔ حق در آفتاب

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7. *Furūghī.*

Furūghī was the contemporary of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr. Furūghī's two *masnavīs* on Shāh-jahānābād and Bāgh-i-Hayāt Bakhsh of that city of Shāh Jahān brought him a reward of twelve thousand rupees and employment on twelve rupees a day under that emperor.

تعالی الله چه شهر است این که از شان
گُذشته هر بِناے آو بکیوان
جهان را بِه ز خُود گر یاد باشد
همین شاهِ جهان آباد باشد

جگر از غیرتش خُون شُد یمن را
عقیقِ اُو گواه است این سخن را
ز خُوبیهاے اُو هر گه کُند یاد
رود صد دجله اشک از چشمِ بغداد
شکوهِ آسمان دارد زمینش
جهان انگُشتر آمد اُو نگینش

باغِ حیات بخش

اے چشمِ بهار از تُو روشن خاطر بتصوّرِ تُو گُلشن
راحت دهِ رُوحِ فیضِ عامت زان گشت حیات بخش نامت
نهرے که میانِ تُو روان است عالم همه جسم، اُو روان است
زان نهر که هست در کنارت آمد ابے بروُی کارت

After the death of Shāh Jahān, Furūghī entered the service of 'Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr and won many a reward. Furūghī died in 1077 A.H. =1666 A.C.

لمعات

گر دلت ارزو کند آن گهرِ یگانه را
رقص کُنان بآب دهِ همچُو حباب خانه را
لاله را هم با چمن دل صاف نیست
ما دلِ یارانِ عالم دیده ایم
اے که در رفتن شتابِ تیر دارد عُمرِ تُو
چُون کمان بهرِ که میسازی مُنقّش خانه را

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8. *Najmī.*

Najmī was the pupil of Qāsim Kāhī. In 988 A.H.= 1580 A.C., he left Kashmīr for Māvarā-un-Nahr (Transoxiana). Here he entered the service of Sultān Isfandyār

bin Sultān Khusrav bin Yār Muhammad bin Sultān Jānī Beg. He was given a robe of honour and made a *Khān* of two hundred *tankas* for the *Qasīda* to the Sultān in which Najmī says :—

چو بازِ صبح بر آمد ز جانبِ خاور
نواخت طبلِ زراندوز بازدارِ سحر
ز آشیانِ جهان کرد زاغِ شب پرواز
عقابِ چرخ ز بیضا نمود بیضهٔ زر
بصنع ایزدِ بیچون چو بیضهٔ قُقنُس
هُمای روز بر آورد سر ز خاکستر

خزانهٔ عامره - صفحه ۴۳۵

9. *Mullā Sāti'.*

According to the annalist Khalīl Marjānpurī, 'Abdul Hakīm known as Mullā Sāti' was the son of Mullā Ghālib. When his muse burst, he took guidance from Lāla Malik *Shahīd*. Later, at *Shahīd's* instance, he gained in the company of Mīrzā Dārāb *Jūyā*. He went with the army of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur to Peshāwar and profited by association with Muhāmmad Sa'īd *Ashraf*, a noted poet of the day. He kept up his poetic progress under Bahādur Shāh, and reached his climax under Farrukh Siyar when, on Nawwāb Samsām-ud-Daula's introduction, he won rewards. On Farrukh Siyar's murder Mullā Sāti' returned to Kashmīr.

مُفتم نه ز جامِ عشق مستی دادند کاین نیستیم بنقدِ هستی دادند
سرمایه هر آنچه بُود دادم از دست ارزان نه متاعِ تنگدستی دادند

10. *Mullā Muhammad Taufīq.*

Mullā Muhammad Taufīq belonged to the family of Judoha, and resided in the vicinity of the Jāmi' Mosque, Srīnagar. He was a pupil of Mullā Sāti' and became a well-known poet of his time. Taufīq is regarded by some as next only to Ghanī. At any rate, in the time of Sukh Jīwan Mal, governor during early Afghān rule, he occupied the foremost position among the poets of the day

(pp. 310-11). In addition to his *Dīvān*, he has written treatises entitled *Shaibī*, *Sarafa*, *Bahr-i-Tavīl*, etc.

می سزد فتنهٔ دوران شُدنت اے کافر

کہ تُرا پُشتیبانی است چُو کاکُل بر سر

[Well may you trouble all a world,
Perverter of men's faith !—with hair
So lustrous, so amorously curled.]

بینی و چشم و دُو آبروی تُو ای گُل اندام

شاخِ بادام و دُو بادام و دو برگِ بادام

[Oh thou having a flower-like body, thy nose, and eyes and thy eyebrows are—a branch of the almond tree—two almonds and a couple of almond leaves.]

11. *Khwāja Habībullāh Hubbī.*

Khwāja Habīb *Hubbī* of Nau-shahr, Srīnagar, is a poet of no inconsiderable merit. He was born in 963 A.H.=1555 A.C. in the time of Sultān 'Alī Shāh Chak. His father came of a Ganāī family and was a salt merchant by profession. Hubbī was placed under the tutelage of Mullā Hasan Āfāqī, under whom he studied Persian and Arabic. He, then, completed his advanced studies under Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī*. Afterwards he became a disciple of Mīr Muhammad Khalīfa. Khwāja Hubbī was passionately devoted to music. He died in 1027 A.H.=1617 A.C. in the month of Zu'l-Hijja in an epidemic. Hubbī was the author of *Tanbīh-ul-Qulūb*, and *Rāhat-ul-Qulūb*, treatises on mysticism. He also wrote the life of his teacher Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* entitled *Maqāmāt-i-Īshān* in 1011 A.H.=1602 A.C. Hubbī was regarded as a saint. Jahāngīr, on one occasion, went to Khwāja Habīb's place when he found him engaged in *Samā'* (music of the mystics). Hubbī's *Dīvān* is a specimen of fine poetry, written in simple style and short metre, replete with fine ideas finely put, and shows the originality and freshness of his imaginative mind. He was a master in the art of composing chronograms of the Prophet, his Caliphs, and other notables of Islam.

اے کہ بہشتِ برین بے تُو عذابم عذاب
آتشِ دوزخ ہمہ با تُو گُلابم گُلاب
گرمئ شوقت چہ کرد، نرمئ ذوقت چہ کرد
سینہ کبابم کباب، دیدہ پُر آبم پر آب
حُبّی بے چارہ بین، اشک فشان بر زمین
کردہ زراعت چُنین، زُو است شراب و کباب

12. *'Abdullāh Mizahī Farībī.*

Mīr 'Abdullāh Mizahī had for his *nom de plume* Farībī. He was called Mizahī as he had eyes twinkling, almost constantly when talking. 'Abdun Nabī Khān Qazvīnī says that he saw, in manuscript, his verses which, however, were not then arranged in the form of a *Dīvān*, when he met him in Kashmīr. Farībī also was averse to travelling. 'Abdun Nabī quotes the following couplet as his :—

تاری از زُلفِ تُو با شانہ نیامد بیرون
کہ بہ آن صد دلِ دیوانہ نیامد بیرون

13. *Bābā Nasīb-ud-Dīn Ghāzī.*

Abu'l Fuqarā' Bābā Nasīb-ud-Dīn or Nasīr-ud-Dīn *Ghāzī* was the son of Shaikh Mīr Husain Rāzī, and was the *murīd* of Bābā Dāūd *Khākī*. *Ghāzī* was born in 977 A.H.= 1569 A.C., and died in 1047 A.H.=1637 A.C. at Bījbihāra where his grave stands to this day as a *ziyārat*. Scholars are indebted to him for publishing, for the first time, the account of the life of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī under the title of *Nūr-nāma* in Persian. Hitherto Nūr-ud-Dīn's life was in Sanskrit in the Çārada character.

[There is a manuscript of the *Rīshī-nāma* or the *Darwīsh-nāma*, called the *Tazkira-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Kashmīr*, by "Nasīb-i-Kashmīr" in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl, Calcutta. It is a rare hagiological work dealing with the Muslim saints of Kashmīr who lived in the Valley during the 8th to 10th centuries A.H.=14th to 16th centuries A.C. Besides material for the study of Sūfīism in Kashmīr "there is much information with regard to the general style of life in medieval India and specially concerning local folk-lore." The language is Persian strongly influenced by "Kashmīrī syntax." The manuscript contains a long preface dealing with the glorification of the first four Caliphs of Islam and general ethical discussions in a Sūfic strain. The first biography is that of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī. Then follow those of the disciples of the Shaikh as also the life of

Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, Nasīb's own *pīr*, and of several of his disciples. The narrative has "more of miracles" but "very few exact dates." There are many poetical quotations in old Kashmīrī, some of them ascribed to Lalla. Shāh Muhammad is the name of the copyist who transcribed it in the 11th century A.H.=17th century A.C. The copy is defective at the beginning and does not contain the title. There are also many lacunas in the middle. Many pages are rendered illegible by bad repairs.—[Waldimir Ivanow's *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengāl, 1924, pp. 108-9*].

Below the reader will find Nasīb's couplets in Persian—

چه بندی دل درین دُنیا که رُوزے چند مهمانی
که ناگاه مرگ پیش آید خوری آن دم پشیمانی

نیاری یاد رُوزی آنکه وقتِ مرگ در پیش است
چه مغرُوری درین دُنیا مگر مُردن نمی دانی

یکے اندیشه کُن بِنگر، کیان بُودند درین دُنیا
کُجا رفتند یارانے که بُودند مُونسِ جانی

14. *Mullā Zihnī.*

Mullā Zihnī Kashmīrī was also a poet of note. 'Abdun-Nabī Khān Qazvīnī in his *Mai-khāna* remarks that, when Qazvīnī saw Zihnī in Kashmīr, the latter had written four thousand couplets, but had not arranged his *Dīvān*. Zihnī was respected for his piety. He is noted for his verses in praise of the Four Caliphs of the Prophet. Bābā Nasīb-ud-Dīn Ghāzī, the saintly poet of Kashmīr, encouraged him. Qazvīnī has selected the following couplets from Zihnī's *Sāqī-nāma :*

شرابے که مست است از جُزو و کل چه اصل و چه فرع و چه خار و چه گُل
شرابے که گُل بر دماند ز سنگ کشد آبِ حیوان ز کامِ نهنگ
شرابے کُزو شُد دِل غمزده چُو وادیٔ ایمن تجلّی کده
دماغ از شمیمش بهارے شود به یادش دُرون لاله زارے شود

15. *Mīrzā Akmal-ud-Dīn Kāmil* or *Akmal.*

Mīrzā Akmal-ud-Dīn Beg Khān *Akmal* Badakhshī comes of a very well-known family. His grandfather Muhammad Qulī Khān migrated from Tāshqand to Badakhshān and then moved down to Delhi. Muhammad Qulī Khān rose to the position of governor of Kashmīr from

999 to 1010 A.H.=1590 to 1601 A.C., during the reign of Akbar. He died in Srīnagar, and is buried in Mahalla Sangīn Darwāza, outside the wall of the fort. M. Qulī Khān's son was Mīrzā 'Ādil Beg Khān and he settled down in Srīnagar. 'Ādil was esteemed in Shāh Jahān's time. The youngest of 'Ādil's sons—Beg Khān—was born in 1054 A.H.=1644 A.C. Shāh Jahān was, then, in Kashmīr, and he named the baby Kāmil Beg Khān. The Mīrzā's education was entrusted to 'Allāma Abu'l Fath Kallū Qallāshpūrī. *Akmal* wrote *Bahr-ul-'Irfān* of 80,000 couplets after the *masnavī* of Maulānā Rūm. This is in manuscript yet. The chief feature of Akmal's poetry is that his examples, similes, metaphors, stories and references are all Kashmīrī and purely indigenous like that of the *Akanandan* and others. 1131 A.H.=1718 A.C. is the date of *Akmal's* death at the age of 77.

کُفر و اِسلام را بجنگ انداخت خُود بر آن جنگ شُد تماشائی

خُود شود مُدعی که دین این است خُود دِهد کُفر را توانائی

اکمل الدّین یقین همین دارد مذهبش وحدت است و یکتائی

Mīr 'Abdur Rasūl *Istighnā* of Kashmīr, who died during 'Ālamgīr's reign, is mentioned in the *Safīna-i-Khushgū* compiled in A.H. 1137—1147=A.C. 1724—1734 by Bindraban *Khushgū*. The *Kulliyāt* of Ismā'īl *Bīnish*, mentioned in the *Riyāz-ush-Shua'rā* and the *Ātash-kadah* is noted by Rieu, in his *Catalogue*, Vol. II, pp. 695-6.

16. *Mirzā Muhtasham Khān Fidā.*

Mīrzā Muhtasham Khān *Fidā* was the son of an official of rank, Mīrzā Matānat Khān. The letters composing *Mīrzā Muhtasham* (1138 A.H.=1725 A.C.) constitute the date of his birth. After finishing his education, Muhtasham went to Hindustān in the prime of his youth. Mu'īn-ul-Mulk ibn Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, the governor of Lāhore, was struck with his intelligence and offered him employment, which the Mīrzā accepted. On the death of Mu'īn-ul-Mulk, Muhtasham returned to Kashmīr, and entered the service of Hājī Karīmdād Khān, the Afghān governor of Kashmīr. Muhtasham died in 1197 A.H.=1782 A.C. He was the *murīd* (disciple) of Mīyān Gul Muhammad Kanggāl, a spiritual leader of the time.

صنما ' براهِ مسجد مگُذر پئی تماشا

شِکنند شیخ و صُوفی ' همه توبهٔ نصُوحی

[Sweetheart, you think it fun to stroll
Before the mosque : don't play such tricks !
Or Shaikh and Sūfī will forget
Their austere vows, and crane their necks.]

انرا که دل و جانش با همچُو تُوی باشد

در خانه تُوی همدم' در راه تُوئی همراهی

[Whoever in Thy keeping has reposed
His heart and soul, finds Thee at home a guest,
And on the way a fellow-wayfarer.]

از بزمِ حیات بادشاهان رفتند—در چشم زدن

نرگس چشمان و خُوش نگاهان رفتند—چُون گُل ز چمن

[Kings, in the twinkling of an eye,
Have gone from amid
The assembly of life.
Narcissus-eyes and radiant looks
Have vanished as flowers
Depart from the garden.]

The Mīrzā's son, Nūr-ud-Dīn *Nūr*, was a poet likewise, but died in early youth in an epidemic. He was noted for *Badīha-gū'ī* or improvisation.

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17. *Khwāja Rafī'*.

Khwāja Rafī' *Rāfi'* Māntjū or Māntjī was the pupil of Mullā 'Abdul Hakīm *Sāti'* of Kashmīr, and lived with Nawwāb Samsām-ud-Daula, the successor of Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān as the Premier of Farrukh Siyar, the Emperor of India. The *Khizāna-i-'Āmira* says :—

رافع از شُعراء کشامره و صاحبِ افکارِ نادره است - نواب صمصام الدوله خانِ

دوران او را برین بیت هزار روپیه صله بخشید —

کفم چُو کاسهٔ گرداب همچنان خالی است

بان مُحیطِ کرم گرچه اشنا شُده ام

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Rafī' returned to Kashmīr and was employed by Sukh Jīwan Mal, the Afghān governor, as a court-poet, and died in 1177 A.H.=1763 A.C.

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18. *Mullā Ashraf Dairī.*

Mullā Ashraf Dairī *Bulbul* was born in 1093 A.H.=1682 A.C., the year of the Rye House Plot, in the village Ashmandar, near Mitrīgām, in the Pulwāma Tahsīl. His father was Mullā Dā'ūd. Bulbul died in the neighbouring village of Dairī in 1170 A.H.=1756 A.C., when the musician Mozart was born, or four years after the end of Mughul rule in Kashmīr. He is the *Nizāmī* of Kashmīr in respect of his *Khamsa* which consists of—(*i*) *Hīmāl Nāgrāi*, (*ii*) *Hasht Asrār*, (*iii*) *Mihr-o-Māh*, (*iv*) *Hasht Tamhīd*, (*v*) *Rizā-nāma*.

حمد

رسانندهٔ روزیِ مور و مار به قدرت، نه با آلهٔ دستکار

نعت

یتیمے که بے درس، قرآن بخواند خطِ نسخ بر صحفِ دیرینه راند

نعت

گشادند از لب زبانِ سکوت که سبحان حیّ الذی لا یموت

تمهید

اگرچه نظامی بسے رنج برد ز گنجینهٔ معنوی گنج برد

من از روحِ او یاریئے خواستم سخن را بمعنی بیاراستم

دو چیز است اندر جهان پایدار سخا و سخن نکتهٔ آبدار

خاتمه

چو ابیاتِ این نامه کردم شمار خرد گفت با من بگو ده هزار

This last couplet is from *Bulbul's Rizā-nāma* which consists of 10,000 couplets.

19. *'Abdul Wahhāb Shā'iq.*

'Abdul Wahhāb *Shā'iq* was a resident of Srīnagar. After his early education, he went out on his travels in pursuit of further studies. When he returned, he set up as a teacher in a small village called Dachhna, near Banḍapōr on the Wular, in order to lead a retired life of quiet and contentment. When Rājā Sukh Jīwan Mal called for poets to compose the *Shāh-nāma of Kashmīr*, Mullā Shā'iq came to Srīnagar. On a rupee a couplet he was engaged on the versified history of Kashmīr which, on the tragedy of Sukh Jīwan Mal, was left incomplete. This history is in manuscript, and consists of 60,000 couplets as already stated at the outset of this section. As Kāmil copies Rūmī, Shā'iq shows Firdausī's style in his composition. Shā'iq died in 1182 A.H.=1768 A.C.

میانِ اهلِ دُنیا مردِ مُفلس خوار میگردد
الف چُون درمیانِ زر در آید زار میگردد

اعتمادِ هستئی موهُوم کردن ابلهیست
چُون گُذارد کسی قدم بالائے ظِل پُل در آب

Section III.

Poets during the period of Sikh and Dogra Rule in Kashmir [1819 A.C. to 1926 A.C.]

1. *Mullā Bahā-ud-Dīn Bahā.*

Mullā Bahā-ud-Dīn Mattu *Bahā* comes of a noted Kashmīrī *'ulamā'* family. Mullā Maqsūd, Maulavī Muhammad Anwar, Mullā Nūr-ullāh, Akhund Mullā 'Abdul Haqq, Muftī Hidāyatullāh are some of the well-known names of this great Mattu family. Bahā-ud-Dīn was born in 1180 A.H.=1766 A.C., a year after the death of Mīr Ja'far of Bengāl. Bahā studied under Mullā Mahmūd Balkhī. After studies, he was absorbed in *tasawwuf*, and avoided mixing with the rich and lived by teaching. He is the author of a *Khamsa* comprising—(1) *Rishi-nāma* having 4,000 couplets, (2) *Sultāni* 3,300 couplets, (3) *Ghausiyya*, 5,500 couplets, (4) *Naqshbandiyya*, 4,600 couplets, (5) *Chishtiyya*, 3,000 couplets. Bahāud-Dīn died in 1248 A.H.=1832 A.C. in the year of the Sher Singhī famine, and is buried in the family graveyard in the Patwānī Masjid Mahalla.

شروع کتابِ غوثیه

اے بهاء دفترِ دگر سر کُن رُو سُوے طبلهاے اذفر کُن

لشکر آوردهٔ، تو شاه بیار اختر آوردهٔ، تو ماه بیار

کیست آن شاه، شاهِ جیلانی قُطبِ اقطاب غوثِ صمدانی

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2. *Mullā Hamīdullāh.*

Mullā Hamīdullāh *Hamid*, the son of Maulavī Himāyatullāh, attracts our attention as the author of the *Chāi-nāma* in response to Zuhūrī's *Sāqi-nāma*.

ظُهوری مگر چاے نادیده بُود ازین وصف، در رز بپیچیده بُود

بِده ساقیا چاے تاخیر چیست بِده تلخ گر شکّر و شیر نیست

اگر جم ازین خُم شُدے جُرعه کش غزالی شُدے نبضِ منشاریش

ببینی که چُون دیگ بَق بَق زند تُو گُوئی که منصُور اَنالحق زند

اِشاره بُود در کلامِ خُدا کُلوا سُوے نان، واشرَبوا سُوے چا

[Zuhūrī probably never knew of tea, that is why he was absorbed in the wine.

Give me tea, O Sāqī, and let there be no delay;
Let me have it bitter, if milk and sugar are not to hand.
Had Jamshīd taken a draught from this pot,
His slow-beating pulse would have run like a deer.
Didst thou notice the boiling kettle of tea cries *baqq baqq*.
Verily thou wouldst say it is Mansūr who is shouting *Ana'l Haqq*.]

This stanza may appeal to the English reader if rendered humorously as follows:—

[Flaccus, I fancy, never heard of tea;
Falernian was his notion of a spree.
Bring, Ganymede! the steaming tray: make haste!
No milk or sugar? Never mind the taste!
If Charles the Fifth had quaffed this fragrant pot,
His slow pulse would have gone a brisker trot.
Just hear the kettle bubbling 'plop, plop, plop'—
Like some impostor bawling: 'I'm the Pope!']

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3. *Mīrzā Mujrim.*

Among the latter day poets of Kashmīr, Mīrzā Mahdī *Mujrim* is very well known. The late Sir Muhammad Iqbāl preferred him to Ghanī in certain respects on account of his forceful expression. *Mujrim* was, at first, a Shi'ā, but

afterwards became a Sunnī, and was a constant visitor to the shrine of Sultān-ul-'Ārifīn Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm on the Harī-parbat in Srīnagar. *Mujrim's* date of death is 1273 A.H.=1856 A.C., a year before the Indian Revolt.

الٰهی ساز روشن از کرم شمع زبانم را
به انوارِ قبولیّت مُنوّر کُن بیانم را
بفکرِ شعر مُویم شُد سفید، ای خاک بر رُویم
ازین گِل پاک کُن سر چشمهٔ طبع روانم را

بیا مُجرم از کرده بیزار شو
ز حد رفت خوابِ تُو، بیدار شو

فدا سازم دل و جان آن جفا سازِ ستمگر را
ادا و ناز، چشمِ نیم بازِ غمزه پرور را
بگُلشن چُون روم در خاطرم آید سراپایش
نمی بینم گُل و نسرین و شمشاد و صنُوبر را

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4. *Khwāja Hasan Shi'rī.*

Khwāja Abū Muhammad Hasan *Shi'rī* comes of the family of 'Ināyatullāh Khān, governor of Kashmīr under the Mughul Emperor Muhammad Shāh. *Shi'rī's* father was Khwāja Sadr-ud-Dīn. *Shi'rī* was born in 1223 A.H.=1808 A.C. The chronogram of this Hijrī date is—نهالِ باغِ اِقبال *Shi'rī* died in 1298 A.H.=1880 A.C. in Srīnagar. The chronogram of his death was composed by himself thus—

جُست تاریخِ فوتِ خُود شِعری شُد نِدا رحمتِ خُدا آمد

Shi'rī migrated from Kashmīr to the Punjāb during Māhārājā Khaṛak Singh's rule to set up as a shawl merchant. From Amritsar *Shi'rī* moved to Delhi, where he had poetical contests with Mīrzā Asadullāh Khān *Ghālib*. From Delhi he travelled to Calcutta by way of Benāres. The

title *Fakhr-ush-Shu'ra Āftāb-i-Hind* came from the Sultān of Turkey to whom he addressed a *Qasīda*.

نقش یمن است بر نگینم شعریٰ و سُهیل خُوشه چینم

نامم به زمین حسن عیان است شعری لقبم ز آسمان است

نُکته پرداز اگر هست، فقیر است امروز

پیش ازین عهد شنیدم که غنی هم بُود است

— مثنوی لعل و گوهر

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5. *Mīrzā Mahdī.*

Mīrzā Mahdī *Mahdī* passed his life as a teacher in Srīnagar, being a resident of Mahalla Shahiliteng, near Habba Kadal. He was subject to fits of madness, and on this account he had to give up the tuition of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh. Mahdī was a very learned scholar of Persian. His poetry has more of *qasīda* and *hajw*, praise and blame, or eulogy and censure, than anything else. His couplets are scattered and not properly arranged. Kashmīr courtiers respected him for his learning. *Gharīq-i-āb*, 1313 A.H.=1895 A.C., is the date of his death by drowning in the Jhelum near Amīrā Kadal, Srīnagar. On the dismissal of Dīwān Lachhman Dās, governor of Kashmīr, with whom he associated, Mahdī cried:

از جاے چُو برجستی و خستی جگرِ ما

بستی کمرِ خویش، شکستی کمرِ ما

On seeing the fall of the petals of the almond flower, Mahdī said :—

ز طمطراقِ بهار و ز برگ ریزیِ گُل

شُد است فرشِ زمین آسمانِ اختر دار

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6. *Sir Muhammad Iqbāl.*

If we were to notice the poets of Kashmīr who were born outside Kashmīr, we should have to give the place of highest honour to the late Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, but he is too well known and his death only too recent to need any detailed mention here. In his *Shikwa* he says :—

نغمه هندی هے مگر لے تو حجازی هے مری

But it would not be untrue to say that, though his نغمہ represents the happiest blending of Eastern and Western thought, his لے is the choicest expression of Kashmīrī genius. He himself says in his *Payām-i-Mashriq* [page 214, 2nd edition]:—

تنم گُلے ز خیابانِ جنّتِ کشمیر

دل از حریمِ حجاز و نوا ز شیراز است

which has been quoted below his photo at the dedication of *Kashir* to him. The two chronograms by two Kashmīrī poets on Iqbāl's death are :—

"علّامہ شاعرِ مشرق"

—خواجہ محمد امین دارابودارابؔ - سرینگر - کشمیر

آہ اِقبال! آفتابِ آسمانِ شاعری

—پیر زادہ غُلام احمد مہجورؔ - مِتری گام - کشمیر

But men of the calibre of Iqbāl are not an everyday phenomena. It is in centuries that such worthies are given to the world. Hakīm Sanā'ī accordingly says : —

عُمرها باید کہ تا یک کُودکے از رُوے طبع

عالمے گردد نِکو یا شاعرے شیرین سُخن

قرنها باید کہ تا از پُشتِ آدم نُطفۂ

بُوالوفا می کُرد گردد یا شود ویسِ قرن

سالها باید کہ تا یک سنگِ اصلی ز آفتاب

لعل گردد در بدخشان یا عقیق اندر یمن

صِدق و اِخلاص و دُرستی باید و عُمرِ دراز

تا قرینِ حق شود صاحبقرانے در قرن

Iqbāl has also said :

ہزارون سال نرگس اپنی بے نُوری پہ روتی ہے

بڑی مُشکل سے ہوتا ہے چمن میں دیدہ ور پیدا

—بانگِ درا

and he, sometime before his death, as it were, corroborates Sanā'ī in this line :

سر آمد روزگارِ این فقیرے دگر داناے راز آید کہ ناید

II.—By Kashmiri Pandits.

According to the *Bahār-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmīr*, the book dealing with Kashmīrī Pandit poets, Kashmīrī Pandits had acquired proficiency in Persian during the reign of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn *Qutb* (781 A.H.=1379 A.C. to 796 A.H.= 1393 A.C.), the contemporary of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī. This is just about a few years before the invasion of India by Amīr Tīmūr in 1398 A.C. But the *Ta'rikh-i-Baihaqi* (Volume II, Calcutta, p. 503) talks of Tilak, the son of a barber, "having studied in Kashmīr, and coming to Qāzī Abu'l Hasan of Shīrāz, and knowing eloquent Persian". Tilak flourished at Mahmūd's court as an interpreter of Hindi and Persian. This happened two centuries before Tīmūr. It would be a serious omission if *Kashīr* took no notice of the great contribution made to Persian poetry by the Pandits of the Valley, who can proudly point to Pandit Nārāyan Kaul *'Ājiz*, Chandra Bhān *Brahman*, Lachchman Rām *Surūr*, Nārāyan Dās *Zamīr*, Bhawānīdās Kāchru *Nīkū*, Rāj Kaul 'Arz Begī *Dairī* (from dair, the place of idols), Shankar Jeo Akhūn *Girāmī*, Tābah Rām *Turkī* and others as great intellectual worthies of their motherland. What Musalmān can beat Rāi Khwāja Pandit Chandra Bhān *Brahman* who flourished under Shāh Jahān, Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr and Dārā Shukūh, and wrote :—

مسجد

شہنشاہِ زمانہ مسجدے ساخت کہ گوئی بر زمین طرحِ نو انداخت

ز رفعت آسمان یک پایۂ او مہ و خورشید زیرِ سایۂ او

رواقش قبلۂ اہلِ یقین است تو گوئی مسجدِ اقصیٰ ہمین است

فضایش سجدہ گاہِ خاص و عام است ہمانا مسجدِ بیت الحرام است

فلک گردد بہ گردِ استانش

بود خیلِ ملائک پاسبانش

—خواجہ برہمن

Brahman's couplets were copied by Sā'ib in his *Bayāz* or note-book, which is indeed a great compliment to him. Brahman is mystic in his poetry.

Would not any Muslim therefore, say—

نشان از پنڈتِ کشمیر میدارد فضیلتها

[Chandra Bhān lived in the Naulakha quarter of Lāhore. He was the son of Dharamdās and a pupil of 'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm of Siālkōt (see pp. 377-8). Chandra Bhān had three brothers. One of them, Udaya Bhān, entered the service of 'Āqil Khān whom Shāh Jahān visited at times. It was through 'Āqil Khān that Chandra Bhān, whose *takhallus* was Brāhman, was introduced to the Emperor. In Shāh Jahān's service, Chandra Bhān's duty was attendance on the Emperor's journeys and recording daily occurrences. The post is described as that of the *Waqā'i-'Navīs-i-Huzūr*. He was given an elephant on which he used to ride as he talked to Shāh Jahān on the way. On 9th April, 1556 A.C., Chandra Bhān was honoured with the title of *Rāi*. Later on, he was on the staff of Dārā Shukūh and then served Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr.

In one of his letters in the *Ruqa'āt-i-Brahman*, Chandra Bhān asks his son Tej Bahādur to read the *Akhlāq-i-Nāsirī*, *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī* and the *Kulliyyāt-i-Sa'dī*.

Rieu (*Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 398) is wrong in recording his death in A.H. 1073=A.C. 1662, as Chandra Bhān was alive till at least six years after the accession of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, *viz.*, A.H. 1075=A.C. 1664.—Dr. Iqbāl Husain, *Islamic Culture*, April 1945, p. 117. Chandra Bhān wrote Urdu *ghazal* in the pre-Valī style in Northern India.]

The Kāyasth of Hindustān has a considerable contribution to Persian to his credit, but he cannot compete with the Kashmīrī Pandit in respect of the advantage of environment with which fortune favoured the latter for Persian poetry. The Kāyasths have not, perhaps, produced as many poets in Persian as the Pandits of the Valley and outside.

Pandit Bhawānīdās Kāchru *Nīkū* and Pandit Rāj Kaul 'Arz Begī, *Dairī*, are poets of eminence who have left a mark on Persian literature in Kashmīr. The one flourished during Afghān rule and the other in the reign of Ranbīr Singh. Extracts from *Nikū's* work were included in Persian texts prescribed for pupils of Persian. Īrānians, entering Kashmīr would love to delight themselves by meeting *Dairī*. The *Bahr-i-Tawīl* of *Nīkū* is a classic. That the Kashmīrī Pandits had made Persian their own, perhaps as Tāgore, Surendranāth Banerjea and

Sarojinī Naidu and others have made English their own medium of expression, was demonstrated by a strong protest when the late Mahārājā Pratāp Singh changed the channel of official correspondence from Persian to Urdu. There had been a tradition in some families that, on the marriage of a Kashmīrī Pandit youth, he, or someone on his behalf, had to prove to the assembly the bridegroom's fitness to marry by composing a *sihrā*, or the nuptial poem, in Persian on the occasion, and it was obligatory that the reply should also be in fine Persian verse from the side of the bride.

Proficiency in Persian Paid the Pandit.

Under the Shāh Mīrī Sultāns, the Chak Pādshāhs, the Mughuls, the Afghāns, the Sikhs and the early Dogrās, the Kashmīrī Pandit had risen to high posts in State service, and high rank in the social scale on account of his proficiency in Persian. Therefore, he would not let it go without toil and tears during Mahārājā Pratāp's period. The *Gulāb-nāma* can rank, though not with Wassāf and Zuhūrī, but with any really fine piece of Persian literature. An average type of Munshī Fāzil or one holding the title of Honours in Persian, or a Master of Art in that language, will not find it easy to run through the pages of the *Gulāb-nāma* of Dīwān Kripā Rām. Extracts from some of the poetical works of Kashmīrī Pandits will give the reader an idea of the beauty of thought and expression, and the level of achievement of the Pandit of Kashmīr in Persian poetry. He distinguished himself in Sanskrit and won the proud title of *Pandit* in the early history of India. He made a name in Persian in mediaeval India. He is not behind others in English in modern India. He has thus won laurels in all the three allied Āryan languages of the world at different times in the cultural development of India. No doubt, it was most interesting to me to hear from a leading member of the Dar family of Srīnagar that Bīrbal Dar consulted the *Dīvān-i-Hāfiz* on his way to Lāhore to meet Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh against the Afghān governor Sardar 'Azīm Khān and felt assured of success when he read the couplet ending—

بشهر خود روم و شهریار خود باشم

[To my own city shall I go and be myself a ruler!]

Extracts from the Persian poetry of a few Kashmiri Pandits.†

[NOTE.—As these extracts have been specially selected for the beauty of their delicate expression in Persian, it is not easy to reproduce that beauty in translation, and no English rendering is consequently presented as has been the case in the text, too, on such occasions.]

آں خدائے کہ خود بہ یکتائے خالقِ مومن است و ترسائے
چہ بہ مسجد چہ خانقاہ و چہ دیر نورِ پاکش بہ جلوہ آرائے
کفر و دیں را بہم در اندازد ہر یکے را ہروِ بخود رائے
گہ بہ مسجد شرف دہد ز سجود کفر را گہ دہد توانائے
دیدۂ معرفت چو گردد باز خود تماشا و خود تماشائے
طالبا رستگاریت ہوشست ساز کارے کہ ساز گارائے

پنڈت بیربل کاچرو وارستہ

Corrigenda:—Read ئی instead of ئے at the end of every couplet. Insert *mad* on the last word to read ائی

مدِ بسم اللہ بنگر بر سرِ دیوانِ ما ہست ایں طغرا شبیہ ابروئے جانانِ ما
آب و آتش توشۂ راہِ فنائے عاشق است شمع سوزد ز آہِ گرم و دیدۂ گریانِ ما

پنڈت زندہ رام موبد واجد

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†Selected from the *Tazkira Shu'arāi Kashmīrī Panditān* known as the *Ba hār-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmīr* by Pandit Brij Kishn Kaul *Bīkhabar* and Pandit Jagmohan Nāth Raina *Shauq*. Two volumes. Indian Press Limited, Allāhābād, U.P., 1931.

تاریخ ترمیم مندر بیرو از پنڈت بیربل کاچرو، وارستہ

ساخت جبرئیل از سرِ صدق و صفا — مندرِ پر نور بیرو جانفزا
خواستم از درگہِ خاصِ اکال — سموتِ ترمیمِ ایں عالی بنا
دادہ زیبِ تختۂ باش زمیں — ہاتفے فرمود با تاجِ طلا

صد شیشۂ شراب بہ بزمِ طرب شکست — دلہا ز دستِ محتسبِ بے ادب شکست
زلفِ تو گشتہ است گرفتارِ پیچ و تاب — از سرکشی چرا دلِ من بے ادب شکست
ایں دل کہ نازکیش فزوں تر ز شیشہ بود — سنگِ جفائے یار برنگِ عجب شکست
دامانِ صبح پر ز گلِ فیضِ ایزد است — اے دل در آستینِ تو دستِ طلب شکست
مستِ نگاہِ نرگسِ مخمورِ او ضمیر — در بزم کاسہ بر سرِ بنت العنب شکست

شد چمن میکدۂ ناز مگر داد ضمیر — غنچہ را درسِ تبسم لبِ میخوارِ کسے

دل بلائیست کہ من می دانم — مہ لقائیست کہ من می دانم
چاک پیراہن آں آفتِ جاں — دلکشائیست کہ من می دانم

پنڈت نرائن داس اوکھل دہلوی ضمیر

ہر پارۂ دل بسینہ جداگانہ سوختیم — جشن است و صد چراغ بیک خانہ سوختیم
نے آشنائے ما شدہ گلچیں نہ باغباں — زیں باغ ہمچو سبزۂ بیگانہ سوختیم

پنڈت بھوانی داس کاچرو نیکو

مُناجات

خُدایا نیامد زمن پُوزشے — نہ شُد گرم ہنگامۂ سُوزشے
زمہرِ تو بر سینہ داغے نہ سُوخت — دلم را بہ بالیں چراغے بسوخت
زچشمم نیامد گُہر ریزئیے — چُو شبنم نہ کردم سحر خیزئیے
بہ گُلزارِ عُمرم بہارے نماند — بہ دستم جُز از خارخارے نماند
سرم پا نہ گردیدہ در راہِ تُو — نہ شُد روئے من سُوئے درگاہِ تو
زدستم نیامد چُو ابرِ گُہر — نہ اشکے نہ آہے نہ سُوزِ جگر
بہ کارت نہ پرداختم ساعتے — نہ کردم بکف تُحفۂ طاعتے
شُدم گرمِ عصیاں بگُفت و شنُود — سیہ کاری از من برآورد دُود
ہمہ خرمنِ عُمر برباد رفت — مرا توشۂ راہ از یاد رفت
عقُوبت مکن، اِنفعالم بس است — مرا طعنۂ آں زعالم بس است
بہ پیشِ کہ نالم زعصیانِ خویش — پشیمانِ خویشم پشیمانِ خویش
خُدایا توئی خلق را چارہ ساز — نداری بہ نازِ کسے را نیاز
بہ درگاہِ تو نا امیدی کُجاست — گر اُمید بیتاب دارد بجاست
کریما نگر اِنکسارِ مرا — بہ بخشائے احوالِ زارِ مرا

زخُمخانۂ فیض در اِنتظار
بدہ یک دو ساغر کہ چشم است چار

پنڈت تابہ رام، تُرکی

In the second hemistich of the second couplet from above, read بسُوخت for نہ سُوخت

برداشتی ز چهرهٔ گلگوں نقاب را
بے پرده ساختی بخدا آفتاب را

گر زگسش نه کرد فسونهاے سامری — در چشم ما که بست بگوئید خواب را؟
فرّخ حیات نقش بر آب ست هوشدار — چشمے گشا به عبرت و بنگر حباب را

پنڈت راجه کاک در. فرّخ

از کبک نامه مصنّفه پنڈت ٹیکا رام جیو آخون

چو کبکِ صبح نورانی بصد ناز — ز کوهِ چرخ کرده خنده آغاز
سیاهی بلبل آسا پر زد از باغ — حواصل سر کشید از بیضهٔ زاغ
برون زد طوطیٔ گردونِ بیتاب — ز خورشید و شفق نورے و سرخاب
چه نورے شاهبازِ پر تو انداز — زد از خطِ شعاعی بالِ پرواز

Among poets outside Kashmīr who have made a mark in the literary world of India, Dayā Shankar *Nasīm*, Ratan Nāth *Sarshār*, Brij Nārāyan *Chakbast* and Brij Mohan Datātrya *Kaifī* hold very high position.

This section would fittingly be closed by a prayer from Pandit Dīnā Nāth *Mast* who voices the innermost feelings of every patriotic Kashmīrī—

تمنّا ہے وطن کو پھر عروج و اوج پر دیکھوں — ستارہ اس کا رخشاں صورتِ شمس و قمر دیکھوں
کنیز آسا رہے گہوارہ جنبانِ وطن راحت — کھڑی ہو شادمانی ہاتھ باندھے میں جدھر دیکھوں

Medicine in Kashmir

All the different systems of medicine among the various races of mankind from the Indus to the Atlantic, says Dr. T. A. Wise, in his *Commentary of the Hindu System of Medicine*, have a common source, being originally derived from the family of Hippocrates, who first explained the nature and treatment of disease, and reduced to principles the various phenomena of the human body. Indian scholars, however, believe Charaka to have been a contemporary or ahead of the Greek founder of medicine. The Greek philosophers were assisted by the Egyptian sages, who appear to have obtained much of their knowledge from some mysterious nation of the East. Egypt, after having had her institutions destroyed by the sword of the conqueror, became the seat of Greek learning, which was afterwards transferred to the East. Under the fostering care of the Caliphs of Baghdād, who were inspired by the words of the Prophet :—"Science is twofold, the science of religion and the science of organisms: Theology and Medicine,"—medicine was cultivated with diligence and success. It received still further additions from the East, and, continues Dr. Wise, thus improved, it was conveyed by the Muslim conquerors into Spain where it flourished for a long time, and produced a long roll of illustrious surgeons and physicians. From Spain, it was communicated to other parts of Europe, where it has exercised the genius of many great men with so much advantage to suffering humanity.

Among the sacred records of the Hindus, there is a system of medicine, prepared at a very early period, that appears to form, says Wise, no part of medical science, and is not supposed to have enlightened the other nations of the earth : a system for which the Hindus claim an antiquity far beyond the period to which the history of the heroic age is supposed to extend. "Insulated in their position and residing in a rich and fruitful country, the Hindus appear to have been satisfied with the knowledge and power which they had acquired at a very early period and, affectionately attached to their own country, they retained for ages, their own opinions and practices, amidst various revolutions." The system is known as the Āyurvedic or the 'first born.' Etymologically, it means the knowledge of life, from *Āyur* life, and *Vēd* knowledge. In the time of Buddha, Indian medicine is said to have received the greatest support and

stimulus, but surgery was allowed to languish, for Buddha and his followers would not permit the dissection of animals. It is noteworthy that *Punjrāpōls* (animal hospitals) owe their origin to Buddha or rather Açoka, the Constantine of Buddhism. The physicians in India continued to be more or less encouraged by the ruling chiefs in several parts of the country. But, with the advent of Islam in India, Āyurvedic medicine seems to have received a setback, even as in modern times both the Indian and the Greek or Yūnānī systems of medicine received a setback on the introduction of the European system, when native medicine came to be discarded in favour of ready made preparations imported from Europe. This naturally overshadowed Indian pharmacy. The *Hakīm* supplanted the *Vaid*. There were introduced into India, said the late Sir Bhagvat Singh Jee, M. D., Mahārājā of Gondal,[1] new drugs from Arabia, Īrān and Afghānistān. Opium, for instance, appears to be a native of Western Asia. It was imported into India from Arabia, and "is believed to have been favoured on account of the prohibition of wine among the Muslims." Some other drugs which were introduced into India during Muslim rule were:— "*Ālu*[2] used in bilious affections and fevers; *Bādyān*,[3] an Īrānian drug, the oil of which is applied to the joints in rheumatism; *Banafsha*,[4] or violet flower, employed in bilious affections and constipation; *Gāozabān*[5] (Macrotomia Benthami) used in diseases of the tongue and throat, fever, leprosy, hypochondriasis and syphilis; *Gul-i-Dā'ūdī* (Chrysanthemum indicum or coronarium) prescribed as a demulcent in gonorrhœa; *Kahrubā* (amber or Oriental anime) used as anti-spasmodic and stimulant; *Kharjura*[6] nutritive used as a dessert."[7]

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1. *A Short History of Aryan Medical Science*, 1896, page 126.
2. *'Ālu Bukhāra* or *Ālucha* is prune or dried plum.
3. Dill seed.
4. Banafsha is found everywhere in Kashmīr in moist and shady woods over 5,000 feet above the sea level. The flowers are used as a cooling agent and diaphoretic. The Sanskrit word *Vanas-pushpa* 'the wild-flower or the flower of the forest' indicates the possible Indian origin of *banafsha* though the Sanskrit word, it is pointed out, does not specifically mean *banafsha* but any flower of the forest. At any rate, the use of the drug for the above ailments is Īrānian, according to the author of *A Short History of Aryan Medical Science*.
5. Gāozabān grows above 10,000 feet extensively in Gurēz, Kashmīr.
6. Probably *khajūr* (from Sanskrit, *kharjura*, meaning a date).
7. *A Short History of Aryan Medical Science*, 1896, page 127.

The hakīms were extraordinarily quick and intelligent. They made use of some of the best and most effective Indian drugs, and incorporated them in their works. Among the important works written by hakīms may be mentioned *Alfāz-ul-Adviyah* by Nūr-ud-Dīn Muhammed 'Abdullāh Shīrāzī, personal physician to the Emperor Shāh Jahān. This work gives the names and properties of drugs sold in Indian bāzārs. The *Ma'dan-ush-Shifā-i-Sikandar Shāhī*[1] and the *Tuhfat-ul-Mu'minīn* by Muhammad Mu'min are well-known works. Muhammad Akbar Arzānī, court physician to Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr wrote the *Qarābādīn-i-Qādirī*.

Kashmīr seems to have enjoyed a great reputation as the home of Āyurvedic medicine. Dṛḍhavala, one of its ancient physicians, revised the great work of Charaka, known as *Agniveça Smhitā*. Charaka was the court physician of Kanishka. "But whether this Charaka is identical with Charak-āchārya, the redactor of *Agniveça Samhitā*, is a difficult problem in history," wrote Dr. G. N. Mukerjee, M.D., the author of the *History of Indian Medicine*, to me in a letter, "and still awaits solution." Dr. Mukerjee was good enough to give me his notes on two Āyurvedic physicians who, according to him, flourished during Muslim rule, namely, Naraharī Pandit, the celebrated author of *Rājnaighantu* and Madanānga Sūrī, the Jain physician. There is a difference of opinion about the exact identity of Naraharī Pandit, as he is claimed as a Dakhanī Brāhman by some scholars. The Pandit is said to have flourished during the reigns of Siṁhadeva and Shāh Mīr. Naraharī is also known as Narasiṁha, and was the son of Īçvara Sūrī, a Brahman of Kashmīr. Naraharī is the author of the *Nirghaṇṭrāja*, which is a dictionary of *materia medica*. Madanānga Sūrī was the other physician. He was a Jain priest who flourished in 1387 A.C. His work *Rasāyana Prakaraṇa* treats of pharmaceutical preparations and uses of mineral and metallic substances.

I have come across a manuscript entitled the *Shifā'-ul-Maraz* by Shihāb-ud-Dīn ibn 'Abdul Karīm, now in possession of a hakīm[2] in Srīnagar. It is dated 790 A.H.=1388 A.C., as the following lines at the end of the MS. shew :

1. *The Ma'dan-ush-Shifā-i-Sikandar Shāhī* or the *Tibb-i-Sikandarī* is the treatise on Indian medicine by Miyān Bhuvah or Bhūvah son of Khavās Khān and one of the greatest Amīrs of the reign of Sikandar Shāh Lodī (894 to 923 A.H., or 1488 to 1517 A.C.). It was written in 918 A.H.= 1512 A.C. Miyān Bhuvah died in 925 A.H.=1519 A.C.

2. Sayyid Muhammad Shāh Musavī ibn Sayyid Haidar Shāh Munawwarābādī, Habba Kadal, Srīnagar.

بفضلِ خُداوند و سعیِ شِهاب مُرتّب شُد ابوابِ هٰذا لکتاب

ز هفتصد زیاده نود سال بُود دهم رُوز از ماهِ شوّال بُود

which means that this book was written in Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn's reign, 182 folios of this MS. are in Persian verse, 34 in Punjābī, and 35-56 in Persian prose. It describes diseases, gives symptoms, and prescribes remedies in Persian verse. It is, however, not easy to vouch for the genuineness of the manuscripts.

Under Baḍ Shāh.

According to Abu'l Fazl,* Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn often personally administered medicinal remedies. Firishta says that for the encouragement of the study of medicine, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had employed Çrīyabhaṭṭa, an eminent physician who enjoyed the special favour of the Sultān. Çrīyabhaṭṭa was a resident of Nau-shahr, wherein stood the royal palaces of Baḍ Shāh. The locality where his house existed is still known as Çrīyabhaṭṭun-*Wān* or *Dukān* (Çryīabhaṭṭa's dispensary or establishment). The ruins of this Wān are pointed at in Mahalla Haval, Sangīn Darwāza, Srīnagar, to this day.

In Dr. Charles Rieu's *Catalogue*, Vol. II, page 470*b*, the *Kifāyah-i-Mujāhidiyya* is noticed. Of this MS. the author is stated to be Mansūr bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Yūsuf bin Ilyās. The work has been lithographed, with the title *Kifāya-i-Mansūrī* in Lucknow, A.H. 1290=A.C. 1873. In the preface, the author dedicates the manual to a sovereign to whose court he had been attracted by the widespread fame of his justice and liberty. The proper name of this sovereign in the lithographed edition is:— مجاهد السلطنة والدین سلطان زین العابدین Dr. Rieu thinks that Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn of Kashmīr is meant here, since Baḍ Shāh was the contemporary of Mīrzā Pīr Muhammad, second son of Mīrzā Jahāngīr, the eldest son of Tīmūr. Baḍ Shāh's conquest of Tibet and the Punjāb is also mentioned, and on that account he is called Sikandar-i-Sānī, or Alexander II.

Under the Mughuls.

Following this, there is another interval, till we come to the Mughul period. Khwāja 'Abdullāh Ghāzī, a native of Kashmīr, acquired medical knowledge under Hakīm Dānish-

**The Ā'īn-i-Akbarī,* volume II, page 288.

mand Khān of Delhī. Khwāja 'Abdullāh, after completion of his medical studies, distinguished himself as a great diagnostician, wrote books on medicine, and had several old medical manuscripts re-copied for general public use. His annotations of the *Mūjiz*, the *Aqsarāī* and the *Qānūn*, well-known books on medicine, were used by students of the art of healing. Bābā Majnūn Narvarī, a resident of Mahalla Narvar, near the 'Īdgāh in Srīnagar, studied medicine from Khwāja 'Abdullāh Ghāzī, after having had his general education under Mullā Abu'l Qāsim ibn Akhund Mullā Jamal-ud-Dīn of Siālkōt. He gave free consultation, free medicine and free tuition to all who came to him. Bābā Majnūn was the son of Bābā Muhammad Hājī, and the grandson of Shaikh Mas'ūd Narvarī, who was one of the well-known *mashā'ikh* (spiritual leaders) of his age. Hakīm Muhammad Sharīf Ganāī, and Hakīm 'Abdur Rahīm Ashā'ī took pride in being his pupils. Bābā Majnūn died in 1060 A.H.=1650 A.C.

Hakīm 'Abdul Qādir Ganāī, who wrote a commentary on the *Tibb-i-Nabawī*, was also a pupil of Bābā Majnūn, and had his residence in Mahalla Jamālaṭṭa, near Naukadal, Srīnagar. Hakīm 'Ināyatullāh Ganāī, who began his practice in Kashmīr during the last days of Aurangzīb, was the son of Hakīm Muhammad Sharīf Ganāī. He was a great *nabbāz*, pulse expert, and had friendly relations with Ja'far Khān, the governor of Kashmīr. 'Ināyatullāh died in 1125 A.H.=1712–13 A.C. during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. He was also a student of astronomy and astrology.

Under the Afghāns.

Perhaps the best known hakīm of the Afghān period was Muhammad Jawād. There is a curious tradition which says that he happened to meet a Pandit, who had painted the *tilak* or vermilion mark on his forehead in the morning, which had not dried up even though it was nearly noon. The hakīm directed the Pandit to return home at once, telling him that he was wanted there immediately. Strange to say, it is added, the Pandit died of heart failure on arriving home. This tradition is cited as a proof of the hakīm's ability to diagnose serious cases at sight.

Under the Sikhs.

Hakīm Muhammad Jawād's son, Hakīm Muhammad 'Azīm, rose to the position of the chief physician of Mahārāja

Ranjīt Singh at Lāhore. The hakīm was a great scholar of Arabic and a poet. Like his father, there is a curious tradition about him also. It is said that, while going in a boat, he saw a man bathing at a *ghāt* on the river, and perceived that he was suffering from a certain disease of which the man himself seemed quite ignorant. The hakīm stopped his boat, and warned the man that he would have serious trouble if he did not immediately rub fresh cow-dung on his body, and then sit in the sun till the cow-dung dried up completely, and fell off his body. The man obeyed the hakīm, and when the dried cow-dung fell off his body, it was found full of lice.

Hakīm 'Alī Naqī was a well-known Shī'a physician, who was equally popular both with the Shī'as and the Sunnīs of his time on account of his skill. He died in 1198 A.H.= 1783 A.C. He is said to have cured a patient suffering from double pneumonia, who had been given up as hopeless by an English doctor. Hakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn Rainawārī belonged to Pāmpar. His family was a family of physicians, and had produced several noted hakīms. Mullā 'Abdul Quddūs was Nūr-ud-Dīn's teacher. The grandfather of the poet Mu'min of Delhī, Hakīm Nāmdār Khān, and his brother Hakīm Kāmdār Khān migrated from Kashmīr, and were appointed royal physicians at the court of Delhī.

Hakīm Dīndār Shāh was appointed as his personal physician by Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, the governor of Kashmīr under the Sikhs, on account of his skill in the healing art. His two sons, Maqbūl Shāh and Mustafā Shāh, were popular hakīms of their time.

Under the Dogrās.

Coming to Dogrā rule, we find that the most respected and the most learned hakīm was Muhammad Bāqir, chief hakīm to Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh. He had the title of *Afsar-ul-Atibbā.*' He had charge of the translation bureau established by the Mahārājā for the translation of Tibb-i-Ūnānī from Arabic and Latin into Persian and Dogrī. It is related of him that he once cured a paralytic patient by applying living wasps to the parts of his body that suffered from paralysis. In this connexion, it will not be without interest to state that mosquito bites for infecting patients with malaria as part of the treatment for general paralysis in the insane were tried in September 1927 in several cases at the London County Mental Hospital at Horton. A very large majority of patients recovered. Strange though these

stories about hakīms are, they serve to show that these physicians of Kashmīr were credited with great ingenuity to diagnose, and ability to cure, disease.

[Information in the above three sections was collected for the author by the late Khān Bahādur Āghā Sayyid Husain, Ṭhākur, Home Member, Jammu and Kashmīr State.]

It appears that the course of instruction of a hakīm during Muslim rule was the same as in Indo-Pākistān. Students of medicine studied the texts from learned scholars of Arabic, and acquired practical knowledge under the guidance of well-known hakīms. In modern terminology, we may say theory came in by way of lectures from scholars, and practice by way of attendance at the clinics of practising hakīms. The hakīm's residential quarters were used for the preparation of medicine, and neighbouring houses were utilized for patients who required continuous attention from the hakīm. This is not unlike the custom of old Ūnānī hakīms in Lāhore, Delhī and Lucknow.

Now a word about the condition of Ūnānī medicine in Kashmīr during the last century. In Srīnagar and other larger towns, Kashmīrīs usually resorted to hakīms, many of whom, says Lawrence, were men of considerable ability and experience, and were said to number 300, in 1895, in Kashmīr. As a rule, the profession is hereditary. Mrs. Hervey wrote in 1853 that the hakīms still adhered to the system essentially belonging to Galen and Hippocrates, and they certainly still classified diseases as 'hot' and 'cold,' 'moist' and 'dry,' distinguishing remedies in the same manner.* 'Hot' and 'cold' still continues. The hakīms, according to Lawrence, have a considerable knowledge of herbs, and their herb-collectors are shepherds, who spend the summer on the high mountains where the most valued plants are found. The visiting fee of the hakīms is a very small one, though he makes some money, like his Indian prototype, by compounding medicine. He, however, does not practise surgery. *Chūb-i-Chīn*, a kind of root brought from China, and administered locally, used to be the hakīm's sovereign remedy for a number of ailments ! A funny description of the patient who tries the Chūb-i-Chīn for blood purification will be found in Baron Schönberg's *Travels*, Volume II, pages 129-30.

**The Adventures of a Lady*, 1853, volume I, page 255.

What Lawrence wrote over fifty years ago about herbs being collected by shepherds for the hakīms of those days has undergone a great change. Herbs are now no longer left to the shepherds alone. A regular industry is being set up for the preparation of drugs in Kashmīr which has herbal resources of a vast variety and description. Indeed there is no other area of similar size in India which can claim to be the repository of such different and important medicinal plants used for the amelioration of human suffering, says Sir R. N. Chopra.[1] "Nearly three-fourths of the drugs used in the pharmacopœas of the world grow there in a state of nature, and the standard of their quality is excellent." The conspicuous advantage which the West Himālyan ranges of Kashmīr possess over the East Himālyan ranges and other parts of India is that they are not affected by incessant downpours of rain. Therefore, climatic as also edaphic and altitudinal variations of the Valley help her in such growth.

The root of the *koṭh*, old form *kustha*, a plant 5′ to 7′ high, grown at an elevation of eight to twelve thousand feet, is an important medicine having many properties, 'tonic, aromatic and stimulant.'[2] It is used as an ingredient in a stimulating mixture for cholera, and is applied in cases of toothache and rheumatism. It is useful in cough, fever, dyspepsia and skin diseases. In Kashmīr it is used for purifying water in wells, and also as a preservative of woollen fabrics. At the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta,[3] *kōṭh* or *kuṭh* has been found as a specific for asthma. Kuṭh is called *Kashmīrjā* by the ancients meaning Kashmīr-born, as it is found exclusively in this country, and is a source of large income to the State. The root of the *koṭh* or *chūb-i-koṭh* finds its way to China *via* Calcutta as a return for *Chūb-i-Chīn*, and *via* Bombay through the Red Sea for Europe and America. In 1837 nearly 7,000 maunds of kuṭh were exported from Calcutta to China. The *Hand* (dandelion root), common everywhere in meadows throughout the

1. *Jammu and Kashmir Information*, November-December, 1944, page 5, under the heading "Drug Research Laboratories in Jammu and Kashmir," by Brevet Colonel Sir R. N. Chopra, Kt., C.I.E., I.M.S. (Retired), M.A., M.D., Sc. D. (Cantab), F.R.C.P. (London), Director, Drug Research Laboratories. See also the issue for March 1947, pp. 16-26.

2. *Forest Products of Jammu and Kashmir*, compiled by the late S. N. Kaul, M.F., Conservator of Forests, Kashmīr, Pratāp Steam Press, Srīnagar, 1928.

3. *Ibid.*, page viii.

Valley, is useful in dyspepsia, chronic hepatic affection and jaundice, and is much used in liver complaints. Green leaves are boiled and eaten with great relish as a vegetable. Large quantities of leaves are collected early in the spring and dried up for winter use. These are specially given to mothers for some days just after child-birth. In Holland the extract of dandelion is a common remedy for intermittent fevers, and ague so prevalent in that marshy country. In Germany the roots are cut into pieces, roasted and used as a substitute for coffee. A kind of beer is obtained by fermenting the plant in Canada.*

The reader interested in the forest products of accepted usefulness for purposes of medicine may refer to the late Pandit S. N. Kaul's book, *Forest Products of Jammu and Kashmir.*

According to a press note published in the *Hamdard* of Srīnagar on Wednesday, 4th September, 1946, the Government of His Highness Mahārājā Sir Harī Singh was reported to have entered into a contract with Messrs. Tātā Company Limited of Bombay in establishing a pharmacy in the Valley, of which probably the existing State Drug Laboratory at Srīnagar would be the nucleus. As a result, it is expected that by exploiting, for this purpose, the herbs, shrubs, plants, flowers, fruits, etc., found in the Valley, Kashmīr may become a leading centre of pharmaceutical industry.

**Forest Products of Jammu and Kashmir*, pages 34-45.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

[*Addenda to Page 414*]

'Abdul Ahad "Azad"

[*This note is based on information collected by Mīrzā Ghulām Hasan Beg 'Ārif, M.Sc. (Alig.), Assistant Director of Sericulture, Srīnagar, from the late 'Abdul Ahad* Āzād *himself.*]

'Abdul Ahad *Āzād* was born of poor parents in a village called Rāngar, situated in Tahsīl Baḍgām, Kashmīr, in 1960 Bikramī= 1903 A.C. =1321 A.H. His father belonged to a Ḍār family of a pure Kashmīrī descent. His father was a follower of Sayyid Jamā'at 'Alī Shāh of 'Alīpur Sayyidān, Punjāb. A good Sūfī himself, Āzād's father wished his son to follow in his footsteps.

'Abdul Ahad was brought up, like other village lads, and was taught the Qur'ān and a few books in Persian. Urdu he studied later, but acquired no knowledge of English. His brother, 'Abdul 'Alī, started *a maktab* in 1973 Bikramī=1915 A. C., where 'Abdul Ahad studied Urdu and Persian. His proficiency in Urdu is due solely to his own application.

'Abdul Ahad was much influenced by his father's mysticism in his early youth. He would sing songs and recite verses from the *Mathnavī* of Maulānā Rūm, and the father would also sing with the son. Influenced thus, Āzād began composing verses at the early age of 15.

His penname, till 1988 Bikramī=1931 A.C.=1350 A.H., was either *Ahad*, or *Jānbāz*. In that year he was transferred to the middle school at Trāl, further up Avantipōr.

At Trā 'Abdul Ahad visited the shrine of Shāh Hamadān. It is there that, for the first time, he adopted *Āzād* as his permanent penname.

Āzād got his early compositions corrected by Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad *Mahjūr*, and followed him for years in writing *ghazals* only. For some years past, he deviated from *Mahjūr's* path, and devoted himself to other spheres of poetry. *Āzād* translates his feelings into words, without caring whether singers and musicians like them or not. He spurns the very idea of passionate poetry now.

Āzād is a progressive poet. Mosques and temples bear the brunt of his fury. He would smash all idols of religion, which do not stand for unity of, and service to, humanity. Pride of birth and belief in fate have hampered the progress of nations. *Āzād* condemns both these, and wishes young men to go ahead by dint of merit.

Āzād does not spare even God from criticism. Satan complains of injustice at His hand. Be it a *ghazal* or a poem on any subject, *Āzād* cannot restrain himself from bringing in the theme of suffering humanity, even in his "Ābshār."

Āzād has versatility. His researches in Kashmīrī literature are valuable. Even for petty information about old poets in Kashmīrī, *Āzād* has had to go long distances into the interior of the Valley. A poorly paid school teacher as he was, his literary trips involved a lot of expense. Unaided and unsupported, *Āzād* had to draw upon his own meagre income. Very often, hardly laid up pennies, and sometime his small rare travelling allowances were used in going about in search of forgotten and moth-eaten literary pieces.

Āzād continued his poetic and critical pursuits enthusiastically. But recent news from Srīnagar says he died in the State Hospital there in 1948 at the comparatively young age of 45. And so a life of great promise is suddenly cut short. It is, therefore, rather early in the day to evaluate his work. But he had, no doubt, in him the makings of a great poet of Kashmīr.

'Abdul Ahad *Āzād* was a good critic of Kashmīrī poetry. He wrote some volumes in Urdu on many old Kashmīrī poets. Some extracts out of these have been printed in local Urdu papers, but have not appeared in book form. I am grateful to him for helping me in choosing Kashmīrī couplets from his manuscripts.

[*Addenda to page 414.*]

KHWAJA MUHAMMAD ISMA'IL NAMI.

The late Khwāja Muhammad Ismā'īl *Nāmī* stands out among the present-day Kashmīrī poets as the reputed author of two well-known works : the *Maghāzi'n-Nabī* and *Shīrīn Khusrav* in the Kashmīrī language. A strong literary tradition persisted in his family. His father and grandfather were well-known *Munshīs*. He moved about the frontier districts of Kashmīr with his father. This and other journeys gave him a fund of experiences which were reflected in the abundance of imagery in his poems. He was a scholar of Persian and Urdu. His poetic merit was recognized during his own time.

The Maghāzi'n-Nabī is a biography of the Prophet though the name connotes the *Prophet's Struggles*, as Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* wrote before him in Persian (*see* page 364). Many a passage of this poem is pathetic; for instance, the Prophet's march to Medina, and the death of his foster-mother are on the lips of village minstrels in the countryside of Kashmīr.

The Shīrīn Khusrav is a powerful poem in Kashmīrī. With inimitable poetic skill *Nāmī* describes the gay and happy life of Khusrav as a prince, how gradually the canker of love saps his happiness, and how complex circumstances gradually produced the great tragedy of the two lovers.

[*Addenda to the top paragraph of page 398.*]

A resident of long-standing in Srīnagar gives the approximate proportion of words from other languages used in Kashmīrī as follows :—Persian 40, Arabic 10, Samskrt 25, Hindi 15, and Tibetan (Dardic) 10.—*Kashmir* by Dr. Satya Kirti Atri, B.A., M.B.B.S., 1st edition, page 32.

[*Addenda to page 417.*]

It is interesting to observe, as Sir George Grierson points out, that in spite of the influence of Samskrt, modern Kashmīrī has abandoned Indian metres. The metres used are all Īrānian, and may be called the heroic metre of the language, employed even in Hindu epics like the *Rāmāvatāra-charita*, called the *Bahr-i-Hazaj*.—*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II, page 250.

Note.

As the Index was completed before the foregoing paragraphs of this Appendix to Chapter VIII were inserted in "Kashīr," *the names occuring in them do not appear in the Index to Volume II.*

CHAPTER IX

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN KASHMĪR UNDER MUSLIM RULE

Introductory—Architecture including the Wooden Architecture of Kashmir p. 505 Bridges p. 521. Sculpture p. 522. Gardens p. 524 Music p. 546. Painting p. 555 Calligraphy p. 557. Industries p. 560. Shawls p. 561. Embroidery p. 564. The Gaṇṭa p. 569. Carpets p. 571. Silk p. 572. Paper p. 576. Papier mache p 577. Book-binding p. 579. Jewellery p. 581. Silver-work p. 583. Copper-work p. 584. Enamels p. 585. Woodwork p. 585. The Khatam-band p. 586. Boat-making, the House-boat and the Hanji p. 586. Mat-making, etc. p. 589. The Kangri p. 589. Leather p. 591. Furs p. 592. Arms p 592. Transport of Arts and Crafts in Kashmir p. 593.

Within about ninety years after the death of Muhammad in 632 A.C., the followers of his religion, in the slightly modified words of Dr. Vincent A. Smith,* reigned over Arabia, Īrān, Syria, Western Turkistān, Sind, Egypt, North Africa, and Southern Spain, the marvellously rapid extension of Muslim power having been rendered possible by the barbarism and weakness of the subjugated kingdoms in Asia, Africa and Europe. The first contact with Islam, as MM. Le Bon and Henri Saladin observe, was stimulating to what remained alive of the older forms of civilization. Muslim armies, recruited in Īrān, Syria and Egypt, carried crowds of skilled craftsmen, who introduced everywhere the arts of Asia, and modified the various local forms of arts so as to suit the needs of the new faith, and satisfy the luxurious tastes of magnificent courts. The Arabs, although possessing little art of their own, points out Smith, succeeded in impressing upon the local styles, which they utilized for Muslim purposes, a general character of uniformity, which is now recognized as a feature of Muslim art. The genius of Islamic art lies in the manner in which the process of assimilation was accomplished.

**A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, page 391.

Kashmīr was not affected immediately. It was left for the days when the glories of Samarqand and Bukhārā were sung all over the Muslim world, and the arts and crafts of those places penetrated every corner of Central Asia—that Kashmīr received the most powerful impact from the beneficent forces of Islam, and came into almost direct contact with the stage of culture Muslims had then evolved. And the slumbering genius of the people of the Happy Valley was awakened to a degree that excited the admiration of the world, particularly when Zain-ul-'Ābidīn gave a new life to the arts and crafts of the land.

Different Phases of Kashmīr Art.

The arts and crafts of Kashmīr—like the arts of any people—are a profound expression of the emotional life of the Kashmīrīs. Their study has been far too much neglected up to the present time. For, it is obvious that changes during the many centuries of the history of Kashmīr—the constant development, the ups and downs in their standards of life, the various religious movements that swept across the Valley, and all the hopes, successes, failures and frustrations of the various periods—must, somehow, be reflected in their art.

So much may be stated with some certainty that Buddhism, with its teaching of loving-kindness and gentleness, is clearly reflected in the soft, romantic terra-cotta sculpture that once adorned the monastery of King Lalitāditya at Bārāmūla or in the early works at the monastery at Hārvan. A gradual decline, a tendency to repetition and lack of originality can be traced in the 10th-12th century Hindu works, whereas the earliest Muslim buildings testify to a revival of strength, of simple force, of a renewal of artistic endeavour in a different field.

The creative urge of the Kashmīrī varied thus at different periods. The tendency to over-decorate, to elaborate too much, to cover every inch with ornamental devices is always a test of late periods, when good taste fails and simplicity is gone. The simple nobility of the pillared hall of the Jāmi' Masjid, on the other hand, stands as a proof of elemental strength: for early periods know what late periods forget, that is, that too much decoration, too much ornamentation affects the structural appearance, and directs the eye to the small detail, instead of allowing it to take in the tectonic whole.

Both shawls and carpets manifest, as it were, the allegorical language of the passions and the virtues of the people of Kashmīr. Some of the productions tell the story of the lives of famous personages, others depict historical episodes, poetic fantasies or religious and philosophic themes. All these emanated from the mind of the designer, or the *naqqāsh*, whose free-hand drawing was astonishingly accurate. He was inspired by Nature, which was his tutor. Since art in human society is social expression, the *naqqāsh* did not merely let out his individual mood or idiosyncrasy, but he elaborated, with loving aesthetic precision, in the very universal language of art, what he felt worthy of reproduction in his environment, and to this went a wealth of care and imagination. Though patronized by the ruler, and encouraged by the nobility of the time, the true artist worked "under the pressure of his own creative urge." The *naqqāsh* did not express "the diluted average but the concentrated aspiration" of the society in which he lived, moved and had his being. A masterpiece of Kashmīrī carpets once so charmed Ranjīt Singh that he involuntarily rolled himself on it in great joy. The Īrānian masterpiece, the most celebrated Ardabīl* Mosque Carpet, made in 942 A.H. or 1536 A.C. by the artist Maqsūd of Kāshān for the Ardabīl Mosque, and worth $12,500 and now owned by the South Kensington Museum in London, was reproduced in Kashmīr in 1902.

***Ardabil**, now having a population of 10,000, is a town in the Soviet Republic of Āzarbāījān. In the 16th century A.C., it became, for a time, the capital of the whole of Īrān under the newly founded dynasty of the Safawids—the most famous and glorious native dynasty of Īrān since the introduction of Islam—before they removed first to Tabrīz and afterwards to Isfahān. It was in Ardabīl that the Turkish *condottiere*, Nādir, was crowned king of Īrān in 1736, after the death of the last Safawid.

The most remarkable monument of the town is the mausoleum of Shaikh Safī-ud-Dīn Is-hāq, the founder of the Dervish order of Safawīs, in the chief mosque which became an object of general veneration soon after his death. The floor of the interior is covered with ancient carpets.

The famous library of Shaikh Safī, once the greatest in all Īrān, was removed to Leningrad in 1827 A.C., and became a part of the then Imperial Library of that city.

What reputation Kashmīr acquired in arts and crafts by its impact with Islam, we shall discuss in the following pages. Let us begin with the queen of arts, namely, architecture, or to be more accurate, what is more commonly known as the wooden architecture of Kashmīr. It may be noted that we shall, in this Chapter, treat of such arts and crafts as were either directly introduced during, or flourished in the course of, Muslim rule in Kashmīr, or are, at present, practised chiefly by Muslims in the Valley. "The Kashmiries fabricate the best writing paper of the East, which was formerly an article of extensive traffic as were its lacquer-ware, cutlery, and sugars; and the quality of these manufactures clearly evinces that, were the inhabitants governed by wise and liberal princes, there are few attainments of art which they would not acquire." Thus wrote George Forster in his *Journey* (page 22) in 1783 A.C., when Kashmīr was under Afghān rule.

The Muslim genius took the fullest advantage of the closely housed existence necessitated by the long, severe winters of high altitude that stimulates industries in the home. With a few exceptions, the products naturally are articles of small bulk and large value, adapted to costly mountain transportation. Carved wood, willow baskets, artistic metal-work in silver and copper, carpets, *gabbas*, shawls, *pashmīna*, papier-mâché and embroidery are therefore typical, and are classed as Kashmīr's noted cottage industries. They are an integral part of the national economy of Kashmīr and have persisted even in the face of competition of large-scale machine production. The economies of small, integrated units involving but a small capital equipment lead to reduction or elimination of a variety of overhead charges incident to large industries. These small units make use of local raw material and indigenous labour in producing goods incorporating artistic skill in varying patterns, entail a large amount of personal care and supervision and cater generally for quite a moderate market. They have withstood the onslaught of business cycles better than large-scale concerns. The artisans have undergone vicissitudes of fortune, but have, nevertheless, shown flexibility to meet squarely changes in fashion and demand. The interest of cottage industries, it may be noted in passing, is not necessarily antagonistic to that of large industries like the Karan Singh Woollen Mills, Srīnagar. Both could really be complementary to each other, and

thus the industrial resources of the Valley could also develop to the maximum extent for the good of the people as a whole.

It would not be inappropriate, here, to seek reference to conditions in an advanced land. Where large factories in industrial England in 1946 are seen running on up-to-date lines, side by side with them, there are found units, in this same year, which stick to comparatively older methods, and produce quality goods on a small scale as remarked by my friend and neighbour, Mr. Morārjī Jādavjī Vaidya, B. Com. (Bom.), Secretary, Millowners' Association, Vaidya Mansion, Cuffe Parade, Bombay, after his recent (1947) visit to England. A very interesting instance is that of the branch of the Ford Factory of Detroit, U.S.A., installed in Dogenham near London, and the Rolls Royce Factory of Derby. At the Ford Factory, near London, assembly lines run into ten miles and things are done automatically, a machine, for example, bores 91 holes simultaneously. In the Rolls Royce Factory there are small stands with wheels on which engines are mounted, and each engine is attended to separately by a group of workers. Parts are tested individually and fitted according to the individual skill of the worker. Consequently the Rolls Royce car is, for the Britisher, something to be proud of. Not so the Ford car. To give another instance, steel factories in Sheffield turn out ordinary as well as stainless steel. A few hundred yards from an up-to-date factory, there, Joseph Rodgers still works in the good old way, like his grandfather did years ago, by attending to the fashioning of every knife and fork. Despite mechanical developments fostered by the stress of the World War No. II, craftmanship still has its value in present-day England. Mass production in large factories, therefore, should not do much harm to our cottage industries, only if they showed craftsmanship and efficiency coupled with rational adaptability to changing conditions. It is true, however, that scope for cottage industries does become limited as compared with large-scale factories, but there will always be quite a number of people to appreciate art and craft, and that of Kashmīr, in particular, for its intrinsic value and the tradition and prestige behind it. Probably the cottage industry will use simple machinery, and thus continue to maintain its position. o

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Architecture

Muslim architecture in Kashmīr must be pronounced as rather disappointing in comparison with the grand edifices of Hindu rule like the temples at Mārtāṇḍ, Avantīpōr, Parihasapōr, Paṭan, Tāpar, etc. Even for an ordinary hill fort on the Harī-parbat, Akbar had to import a large number of masons from India, as one can see from the inscription on the Kāthī Darwāza (gate) of the fort. The art of masonry seems to have died long before the death of Hindu rule in the Valley: but the wooden architecture of Kashmīr, that commands our admiration to this day, originated, in its present form, with, or rather was popularized by, the Muslims,

as Buddhists, too, had a wooden style of their own, or perhaps there was some prototype anterior to the advent of Buddhism. The temple was meant for the individual and the mosque for the masses, which, as it were, meant the "democratization" of worship. And it appears that the Hindu Kashmīrī mason of old had his re-birth in the Muslim carpenter of latter-day rule. Muslim architecture in Kashmīr, broadly speaking, as Mr. W. H. Nicholls[1] says, falls under three heads, the pre-Mughul masonry style, the wooden style, and the pure Mughul style. Of the first, the two most notable examples are the tomb of Sultān Sikandar's Queen or Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's mother, and the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Madanī, both in Srīnagar.

The Tomb of Sultān Sikandar's Queen.

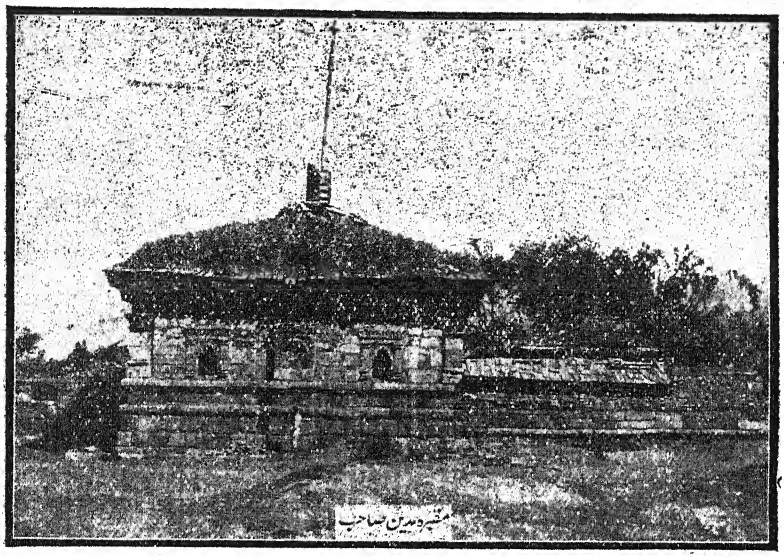
The structure of the tomb of Sultān Sikandar's Queen is said to have been raised on the plinth of a Buddhist or Brāhmanical temple. Its general appearance, so far as its central dome with four cupolas around it is concerned, marks it out as the forerunner of the style of architecture in India which, later on, developed into the Tāj Mahall at Āgra. The principal features of this tomb are "the glazed and moulded blue bricks, which are studded, at intervals, in the exterior walls, the semi-circular brick projections on the drum of the main dome, and the moulded brick string courses and sunk panels on the drums of the cupolas." Age has brought decay to the tomb. But the building was partly renovated in 1944-45 by the Government of Mahārājā Harī Singh.

Sayyid Muhammad Madanī's Tomb.

The tomb of Madanī is a small building in Mahalla Adalāt Masjid, below Shazgiripōr, and a quarter of a mile above Nau Shahr towards the city. It is quite neglected and very dilapidated. Yet it possesses, says Mr. Nicholls,[2] a feature of extraordinary value and interest in its coloured tilework, fragments of which are still found on its walls. This tilework is made in squares with various brilliant colours in contact with each other on the same piece of tile. But its great interest lies in the subject of a strange beast, which is represented in the southern half of the spandrel of the great archway in the east façade. From this, it is evident that

1. *Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report*, 1906-7, p. 161.
2. *Ibid.*, page 162.

tilework was used on masonry buildings in Kashmīr before Mughul days, though Sir John Marshall considers this tilework to be a later restoration of the Mughul period



The Tomb of Madyan Sāhib, the envoy to the Court of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

The tomb was built about 1444 A.C., in the reign of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. Jahāngīr bears testimony to the remains of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's other buildings, which were still to be seen in Kashmīr during that emperor's visits. Sir John Marshall in his Note, written in 1908 on archæological work in Kashmīr, says: "Mr. Nicholls seems to have been curiously misled in regard to the figure in the spandrel outside; it is certainly not a Chinese dragon, but plainly a centaur with drawn bow, the yellow body being draped in green." Sir John remarks: "The whole place has been shockingly neglected and is now a mass of dirt and rubbish" (page 34). "The tilework is very valuable—one of the most valuable antiquities which Kashmīr possesses, and it is pathetic to see it trampled on and defaced or destroyed by the villagers. There are only three monuments that I know of in India where such tiles can be found" (page 35). The example of the Hydarābād State, in preserving her ancient monuments at Ellora and Ajanta, where lakhs upon lakhs have been spent in rehabilitating old and dim frescoes, is, therefore, in contrast, worthy of very great praise.

The Wooden Architecture of Kashmir

The wooden architecture of Kashmīr presents a very distinctive style of which not much is known to the outside world. Fergusson, the historian of Indian architecture, was of the opinion that the wooden architecture of Kashmīr was deserving of full investigation. Cunningham and Cole, in their accounts of the antiquities of Kashmīr, dealt almost exclusively with Hindu and Buddhist monuments, and left the wooden style practically unnoticed.

The latest in the field is Mr. Percy Brown,* who says: "The type of architecture associated principally with the Islamic domination of Kashmīr is that constructed almost entirely of wood, and which assumed a singularly distinctive form" (page 82). "This typical wooden architecture of Kashmīr takes the form of either a mosque or a tomb" (page 83).

"The similarity of this form of Kashmīr architecture to the timber construction of the mountainous countries," points out Percy Brown, "cannot be overlooked, particularly its likeness to that of Scandinavia, and also to the regions of the Alps. In the wooden churches (Stavekirke) of Norway of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, there are the sloping roofs rising in tiers so as to form a kind of pyramid, with gables and overhanging eaves, each surface waterproofed with layers of birch-bark, every feature of which has the counterpart in the wooden shrines or *Ziarats* of Kashmīr. Then the chalets of the Austrian Tyrol with projecting upper stories, balconies with carved railings and casement windows bear a familiar resemblance to the old houses of Srinagar. But these analogies of style in such widely separated countries are obviously not due to any common origin, they have been brought about by each people having to cope with similar climatic conditions, and being provided with the same class of materials for this purpose" (page 83).

"The mosque of Shāh Hamadān in Srīnagar is an example of the wooden architecture of the country," adds Percy Brown. "Standing on the right bank of the Jhelum river on an irregular masonry foundation composed of ancient temple materials, this building with its surroundings and background of distant, snowy mountains presents an enchanting spectacle. On the day of a festival with a gaily

**Indian Architecture* (The Islamic Period) by Percy Brown, Tāraporevāla Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay, 1943.

coloured crowd clustered about its water-front and the picturesque cantilever bridge in the slow-flowing river is a sight to be remembered" (page 83).

This wooden style, as already stated, owed its origin to Muslims. One ingenious suggestion is that mass conversions to Islam necessitated the hasty construction of buildings for public worship on a much larger scale than had been required by Hindu ritual.[1] Wood was abundant and could be easily worked. And this explains its substitution for stone. The fashion, having once set in, continued to spread. Moreover, cold stone temples were not used so frequently by Hindus as was the warm wooden structure by the Muslims, who had to say prayers five times a day. The consistent use of Saracenic detail, and the application of the style to Muslim tombs and mosques, and not to Hindu structures, is, in itself, a proof as to who originally introduced it or, at any rate, gave it its distinctive breadth and spaciousness. And in the words of Sir John Marshall, the well-finished timber work of the walls with its pleasing diaper of headers and stretchers, the magnificent pillars of deodār in the larger halls, and the delicate open work traceries of window screens and balustrades, skilfully put together out of innumerable small pieces of wood, all help to enhance the charm and accentuate the stylishness of this architecture. As a protection against the heavy rain and snows of Kashmīr, continues Sir John, the use of birch bark nailed in multiple layers above the roofs and overspread, in turn, with turf and flowers, could hardly have been improved upon ; and the planting of irises and tulips on the roofs was a singularly happy inspiration, not only because of their own intrinsic beauty, but because their tenacious roots gave added strength to the fabric of the roof covering.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's Palaces.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn made a palace, all of wood,[2] in Zainanagar called Nau Shahr. Mīrzā Haidar,[3] in his *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, describes the *Zaina-lānk* or the Lake Palace on the Wular and the *Rājdān* in Nau Shahr in the following words :—

"Sultān Zāin-ul-'Ābidīn erected a palace in the middle of the Wular lake. First of all, he emptied a quantity of

1. "The Architecture of Kashmīr" by S. Growse, I.C.S., *Selections from the Calcutta Review*, Volume I, February-May 1894, containing articles from July 1870 to April 1872, page 407.
2. *Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report*, 1906-7, p. 165.
3. The English Translation by Elias and Ross, 1895, p. 428.

stones into the lake, and on those constructed a foundation or floor of closely-fitting stones meaning two hundred square *gaz* (yards) in extent, and ten *gaz* in height. Hereupon, he built a charming palace, and planted pleasant groves of trees, so that there can be but few more agreeable places in the world." It is to the discredit of the Archaeological Department of the State that no effort should have been made to rescue this palace from utter ruin. The Mosque near it, standing but forty years ago, is also gradually falling down uncared for by this Department. Mīrzā Haidar then refers to Baḍ Shāh's Rājdān: "He then built himself a palace (named after him, Zaina Dab) in his town of Nau Shahr which in the dialect of Kashmīr is called *Rājdān* (The Seat of Government). It has twelve storeys some of which contain fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The whole of this lofty structure is built of wood. Among the vast Kiosks of the world are :—in Tabrīz, the Hasht Bihisht Kiosk of Sultān Ya'qūb; in Herāt, the Bāgh-i-Khān, the Bāgh-i-Safīd, and the Bāgh-i-Shahr; and in Samarqand, the Kūk Sarāy and the Āq Sarāy, the Bāgh-i-Dilkushā, and the Bāgh-i-Buldī. Though the *Rājdān* is more lofty and contains more rooms than all these, yet it has not their elegance and style. It is, nevertheless, a more wonderful structure."

Çrīvara (J. C. Dutt's *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 138) gives the following description of this palace: "In Shrī Jainanagar, a new lofty palace was built in the year 15 on the Devagaha; the king built a new palace near it of bricks and wood in the year 40; and the top of the palace was adorned by a bright and beauteous golden dome like a lotus thrown down by the renowned Indra. Men were employed at the gate of the palace, serving in various ways according to the directions of the king. The king left his capital and lived here till the end of his life. The swans in the lakes of this palace drew near the singers as they sang, attracted by the sweetness of their voice, and seemed to praise their song by their twitter. It was here that the king, now that his foes had been quelled, enjoyed, like Indra, the pleasant songs of the singers all day long. Within his palace was the audience hall, adorned with the three-cornered throne, and wide spacious walls lined with glass; and here were many columns of victory in the palace, and here the breezes blew pleasantly in the morning."

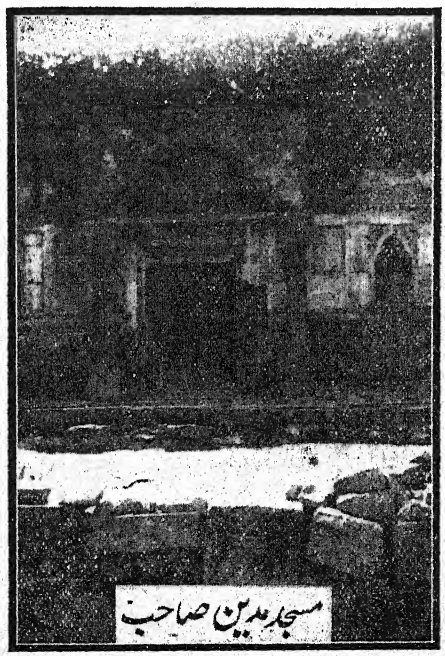
Mīrzā Haidar,* in another place, in somewhat florid style, adds:—"In the town, there are many lofty buildings con-

*Page 425—English Translation by Elias and Ross.

structed of fresh-cut pine. Most of these are, at least, five storeys high; each storey contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The beauty of their exterior defies description, and all who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration."

Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn also built a three-storeyed house on a small island in the Ḍal, called Suna (golden) Lānk. The house tumbled down in an earthquake. Jahāngīr built a cottage here, but that too has vanished. The Suna Lānk can be seen from the Nasīm Bāgh, and lies in the centre of the Ḍal. It was raised by the Sultān in 1421 A.C., in order to give shelter to boats in distress. Ropa (silver) Lānk or the Chār Chinār on the Isle of Chinārs, opposite the Nasīm Bāgh, was built by Sultān Hasan Shāh in the Ḍal. Nūr Jahān took a fancy to it during her stay in after years. Bernier in 1663, Forster in 1786, Moorcroft and his companions in 1823, Jacquemont in 1831, Wolff in 1832, and Hügel, Henderson and Vigne in 1835, have their names inscribed here as testimony to their visits to the Valley in these years.

The Mosque of Madanī or Madyan Ṣāhib.



The Mosque of Madyan Sāhib or Sayyid Muhammad Madanī, the envoy to the court of Baḍ Shāh. It is situated in Mahalla Madyan, Zaḍibal, Srīnagar, and was built in 848 A.H. (1444 A.C.).

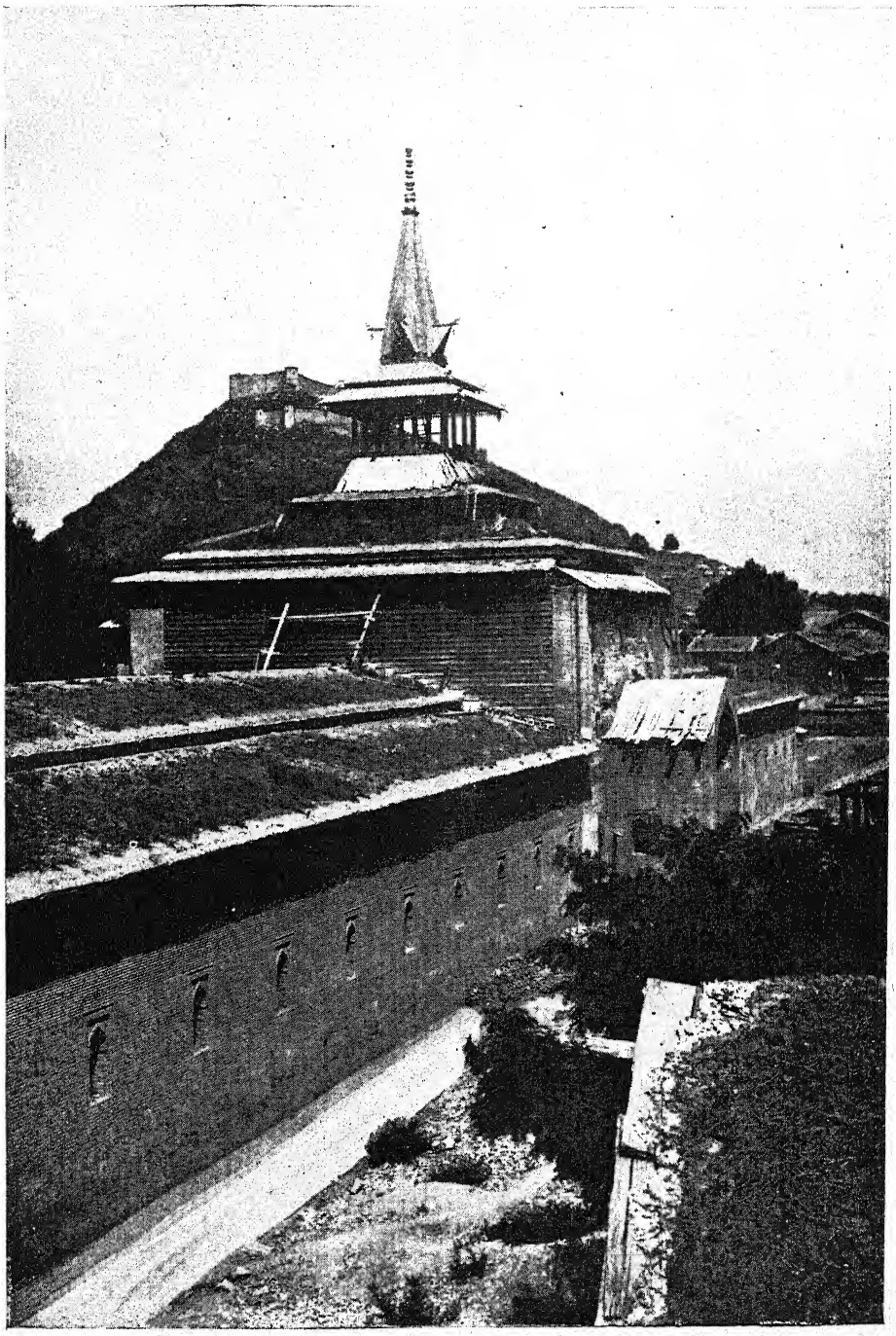
An early genuine example of the wooden style in Srīnagar is the mosque of Madanī or Madyan Sāhib, close to his tomb, built about 1444 A.C. Sayyid Muhammad Madanī first came as an envoy from Madīna during the reign of Sikandar.

The Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar.

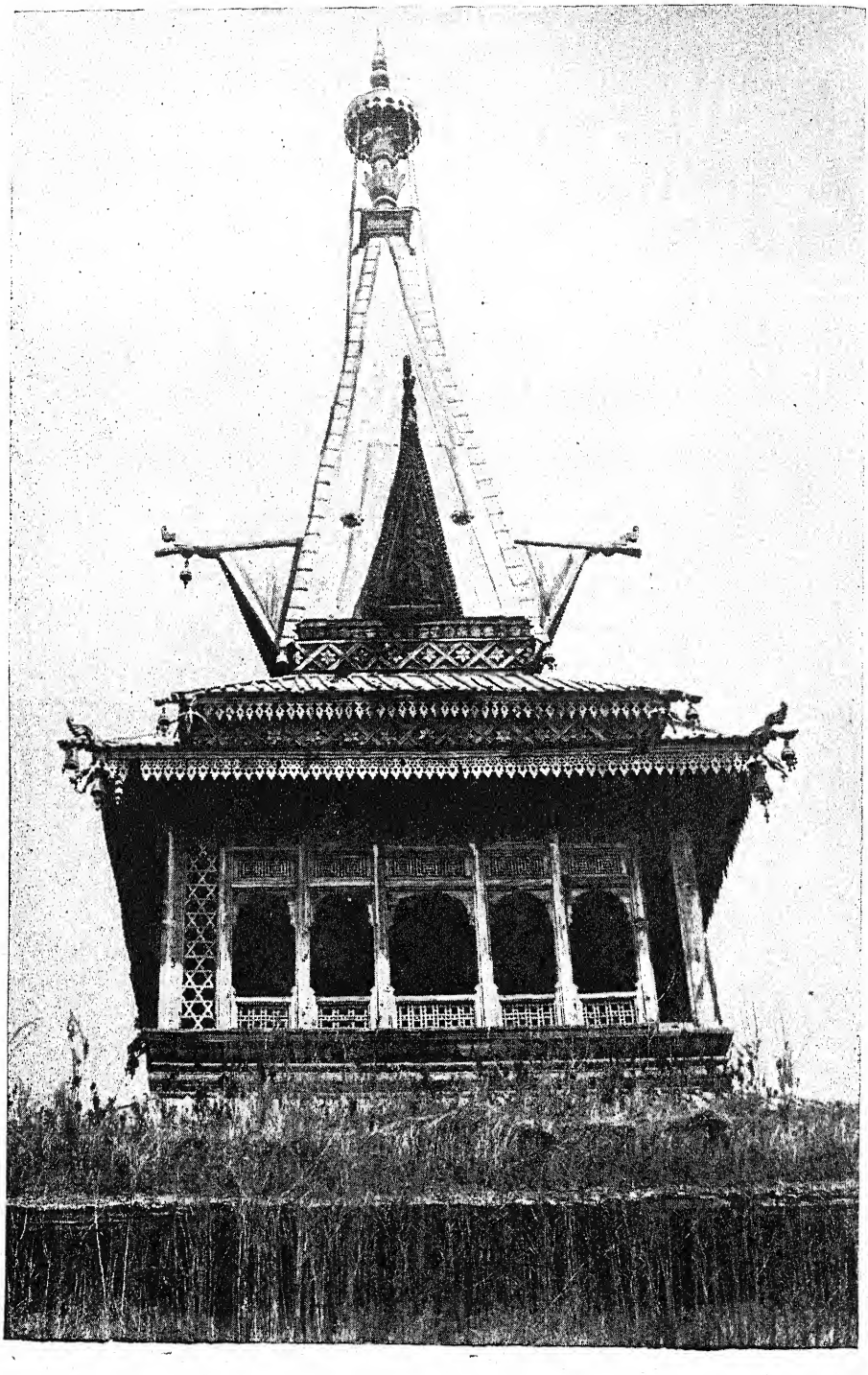
The Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar, another instance of the wooden style, has a history of its own. Lawrence says that, according to one account, the ground on which the mosque stands was sacred to the Buddhists, and men from Ladākh, in his days, spoke of it by its old name, Tsitsung Tsublak Kang.[1] The ground was holy to the Hindus subsequently as it had been to the Buddhists before. Apparently this is an error. From the Tibetan Notes of A.H. Franck,[2] the fact appears to be that the *masjid* in question is the one known as Boḍo Masjid and not the Jāmi' Masjid. "That it was formerly a Buddhist temple is shown by the fact that behind the whitewash on the walls the pictures of Buddhist saints are to be found. This Boḍo Masjid is "below the castle hill of Srīnagar." Today it is known as Boṭa Masjid. In Kashmīrī *Boṭa* means Lāmaic or Buddhistic, and is the same as Bhoṭṭa applying to Baltistān and Ladākh.

Verses on the door of the Jāmi' Masjid tell us that the mosque was originally built by Sultān Sikandar in 801 A.H.[3] =1398 A.C., and completed in 804 A.H.=1401 A.C., that it was rebuilt by Sultān Hasan Shāh, the grandson of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, and that it was finally so shaped by Ibrāhīm and Ahmad Māgre. In 909 A.H., the mosque was burnt down, then rebuilt. In 1029 A.H.=1620 A.C. it was again destroyed by fire during the time of Jahāngīr, just on the day of the 'Īd-i-Ramazān, when the Emperor, who was then in Kashmīr, himself took part in extinguishing the flames. Jahāngīr ordered its re-construction, which was carried out in 17 years, under the supervision of the historian Ra'īs-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik of Chāḍura. This the reader may have already read in the note on Malik Haidar Chāḍura on pages 257-9. In 1084 A.H.=1674 A.C., the mosque was burnt down during the reign of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr and rebuilt. That there might be no recurrence of fire, houses all around the mosque were pulled

1. *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 291-2. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 37, July 1898, pp. 192.-3. A suggested chronogram is جامع مسجد کشمیری *vide* Shaikh Maqbūl Husain Qidwāī's *Masjid-i-Jāmi,'* 1916, page 3.

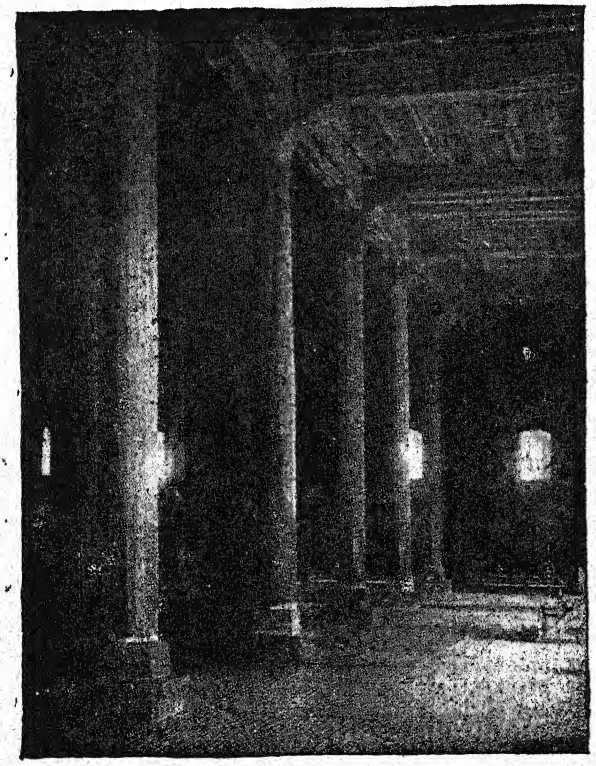


The Jāmi' Masjid, Srīnagar.



The Spire of the Jāmi' Masjid, Srīnagar.

down. During Afghān rule the mosque was twice repaired: once by Hājī Karīm-dād Khān in 1190 A.H., and the second time by Sardār Āzād Khān in 1203 A.H. In the time of the Sikhs, the mosque was closed under the orders of Dīwān Motī Rām in 1820 A.C., and remained so for twenty-five years until the time of Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, a governor under Sikh rule. It had fallen into disrepair, but thanks to the efforts of the late Shaikh Maqbūl Husain Qidwāī, formerly Revenue Minister of the State, it was restored by subscriptions raised among the *zamīndārs* of the Valley and on technical advice from the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. Sir John Marshall* gives credit for Jāmi' Masjid repairs to Colonel H.A.D. Fraser, then State engineer, and to Mr. Thad Avery, the contractor.



The Cloisters of the Jāmi' Masjid, Srīnagar.

The grandeur of the Jāmi' Masjid lies in its four cloisters, each about 120 yards in length, supported by pillars of

*Sir John Marshall's Note, dated 2nd June, 1922, filed in the Department of Archaeology, Srīnagar.

deodār wood of great height, and in its spacious quadrangle. "The effect of this winter forest of tall bare pines is unquestionably striking," wrote Mr. Growse in January 1892. And whatever beauty it possesses "is due not to art, but to the natural grandeur of the forest, which has been simply trimmed and transplanted from the mountain side to its present position."* "The lofty pillars in the propylons, the details of the spires, and the uniformity of the whole design prove that the builders knew what they were about from plinth to finial—that they were reproducing forms of which they were masters."

Sultān Sikandar had constructed a grand seminary to the north of the mosque, under the principalship of Qāzī Mīr Muhammad 'Alī Bukhārī.

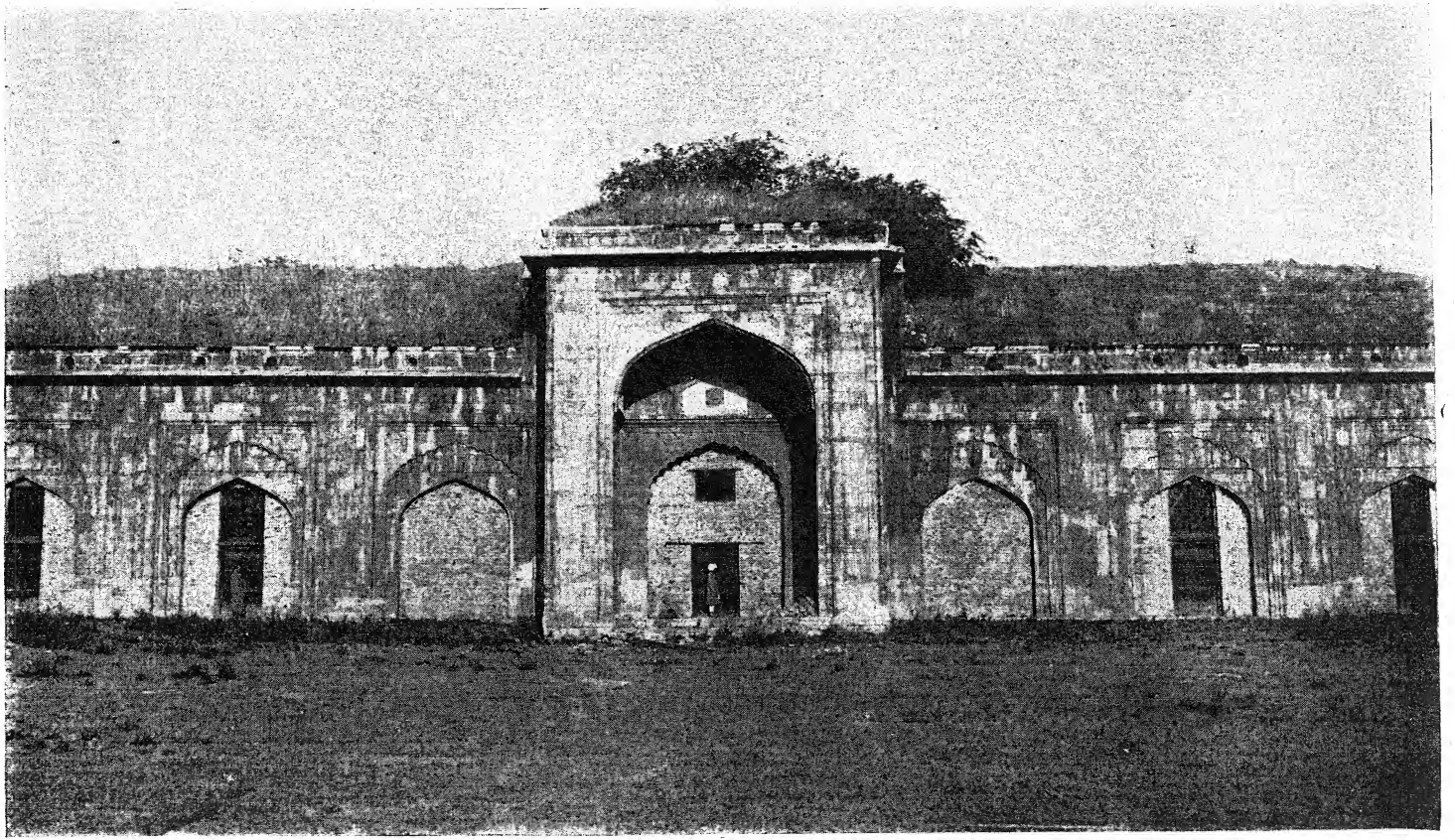
The Shāh Hamadān Mosque.

The heavy corbelled cornice at Shāh Hamadān's Mosque bears a strong resemblance to that of the mosque of Madanī. and a similar little mosque at Pāmpar, which go to confirm the view that the mosque of Shāh Hamadān is a true example of the style of wooden architecture of Kashmīr. Some travellers suggest that this wooden style indicates a Chinese origin, but, according to Mr. Nicholls, it would not be unreasonable to suspect that the wooden style of Kashmīr owes much of its character to influence from Ghaznī.

The Tomb of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī.

The tomb of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī, the patron-saint of Kashmīr, at Tsrār or Chrār, 20 miles from Srīnagar, is of the usual form, but is perhaps better proportioned and contains more elaborate carving than any other in the Valley. It is said to have been built, in its present form, in the reign of Akbar. The adjoining mosque is stated to have been constructed in the time of 'Atā Muhammad Khān, an Afghān governor, who had unusual esteem for the saint. The mosque consists of a large oblong building with a wing at either end. It is built of hewn timber, placed transversely and raised on a plinth of brick-work. The building looks as if it is double-storeyed. The centre chambers measure about 80 feet by 60 feet; the elevation is about 30 feet. The roof, which rises in tiers, is

Selections from the Calcutta Review, Vol. I, February-May, 1894, containing articles from July 1870 to April 1872, p. 407.



The Patthar or Shāhi Masjid of the Empress Nūr Jahān. Its construction was supervised by the historian and notable official Ra'is-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik of Chāḍura.

supported by four pillars of hewn timber each having been formed of the single trunk of a deodār tree. The interior is plain. The massive wood-work is neither stained nor varnished. The windows are filled with trellis-work.

The Jāmi' Masjid of Shupiyān.

The picturesque mosque at Shupiyān, about 29 miles south of Srīnagar, is interesting. Various influences can be discerned as in other Muslim buildings of the Valley. The general outline is not unlike that of a Chinese pagoda. Saracenic influence is noticeable in arches and cornices, windows and doors, which have rich lattice-worked panels. It was, however, being re-built in 1944-45 on the model of the Jāmi' Masjid, Srīnagar, at a cost of about eighty thousand rupees. The Khānqāh at Trāl, seven miles from Avantīpōr, is an example of the old style.

The Mughul Architecture of Kashmīr.

The Mughul style, as represented by buildings in Kashmīr, is practically the same as that of the buildings at Delhī and Āgra, with the difference that marble has not been employed in Kashmīr buildings on account of difficulties of transport. The Nau or Patthar Masjid or Masjid-i-Sangīn (the Stone Mosque, in contradistinction to the indigenous wooden mosque of the Valley), built by Nūr Jahān in 1622 A.C., now known also as the Shāhī Masjid, the mosque of Akhund Mullā Shāh, built later, and the large *bāradarī** in Shālāmār are, says Mr. Nicholls, unsurpassed in purity of style and perfection of detail by any buildings in Āgra or Delhī. The earliest Mughul building in Srīnagar is the outer wall round the Harī-parbat (Hāra-parvat), which was built by Akbar in 1596 A.C., as already noticed on page 248.

The Nau (New) or Patthar (Sangīn) or Shāhī (Royal) Masjid.

The façade of the Nau or Patthar or Shāhī Masjid consists of nine arches including the large central arched portico. "The arched openings are enclosed in shallow decorative cusped arches, which in their turn are enclosed in rectangular frames. The horizontal construction of these arches is remarkable. The half-attached "bedpost"

**Bārahdarī*, pronounced *bāradarī*, and literally "having twelve doors," is ordinarily a square or rectangular pavilion with three doorways on each of its four sides. It is generally a summer-house in a garden.

columns in the two outer angles of the jambs of the entrance are noteworthy. The plinth is surmounted by a lotus-leaf coping. The frieze between the projecting cornice and the eaves is decorated with a series of large lotus leaves, carved in relief, some of which have been pierced and thus made to serve the purpose of ventilation apertures. A flight of steps in each jamb of the entrance gives access to the roof which is sloping except in the centre where there was originally a dome, later dismantled by the Sikhs. The roof is supported internally on eighteen extraordinarily massive square columns having projections on two sides. The enclosure wall is built of brick masonry with a coat of lime plaster adorned by a range of shallow arched niches."[1]

There is a curious tradition about the Patthar Masjid. Being questioned about the cost of this mosque, Nūr Jahān is said to have pointed to her jewelled slippers and replied : " As much as that." The jest, on being reported to the 'Ulamā,' called forth the denunciation that it was not fit for religious use. Hence it is that the mosque was not popular for some time. It was practically closed during Sikh rule and also under Dogrā rule till recently. The construction of the Mujāhid Manzil, opposite the mosque, has led to its active use by Muslim congregations. A part of the western wall above the arch has given way, and will fall if neglected much longer by Kashmīr Archaeology.

The Parī Mahall.

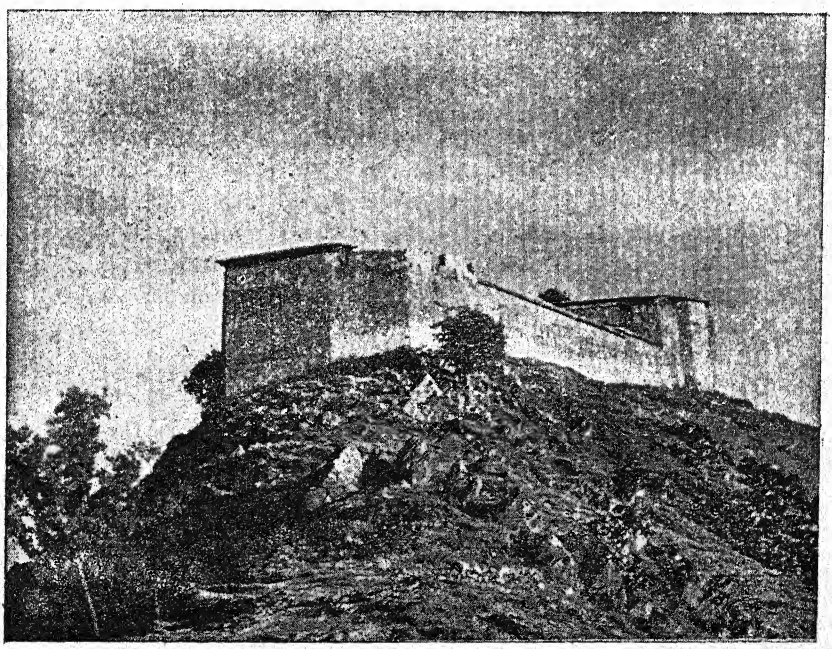
The ruined Parī Mahall (or Fairy Palace) also called Quñtilon, on a spur of the Zebanwan mountain, is a memorial of the Mughul love for letters. It was a residential school of Sūfiism built by Prince Dārā Shukūh at the instance of his tutor, Akhund Mullā Muhammad Shāh Badakhshānī, as already stated on pages 350-1 in Chapter VIII. Despite its dilapidated condition it is easy to determine its principal features, writes the author of the *Ancient Monuments of Kashmīr*.[2] It has six terraces. In the uppermost terrace are the ruins of two structures, a *bāradarī* facing the lake, and a water reservoir built against the mountain side. In the middle of the second terrace exactly in front of the *bāradarī* is a large tank built of bricks. The façade of the retaining wall is ornamented with a series of twenty-one arches including two of the side-stairs. The arches are

1. Pandit Rām Chandra Kāk's *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, page 80.
2. *Ibid.*, page 96.

built in descending order of height from the centre. Each of them is surrounded by a niche the height of which increases in proportion as it decreases in the height of the arch. The central arch is covered with a coat of fine painted plaster. A parapet wall screens this terrace. The third terrace is architecturally the most interesting. The entrance is arched in front and behind with a central domed chamber. It is covered with plaster. On either side of it are a series of spacious rooms. The fourth terrace has the ruins of a tank. In the fifth terrace the arcade is double, the upper row of arches faces a corridor running on both sides of the plinth of the *bāradarī*. The sixth terrace has a rectangular tank in the middle and octagonal bastions at the ends.

The Harī-parbat.

The fort of Harī-parbat is a commonplace structure. As at present, it was built by Sardar 'Atā Muhammad Khān, governor of Kashmīr during Afghān rule. Akbar's rampart enclosing the hill is nearly three miles in circumference. The Darshanī Bāgh or 'The Garden of Audience' was part of Akbar's palace at the foot of Harī-parbat. The following inscription carries the date of Akbar's construction :—



The Kūh-i-Mārān or the Harī-parbat Fort built by Sardār 'Atā Muhammad Khān, Governor of Kashmīr during Afghān rule. The lower wall known as

بنای قلعهٔ ناگر نگر کوت بحکم پادشاهِ داد گستر

کرور و ده لک از مخزن فرستاد دو صد اُستادِ هندی جمله چاکر

نه کرده هیچ کس بیگار آنجا تمامی یافتند از مخزنش زر

چهل چار از ظهورِ پادشاهی هزار و شش ز تاریخِ پیمبر

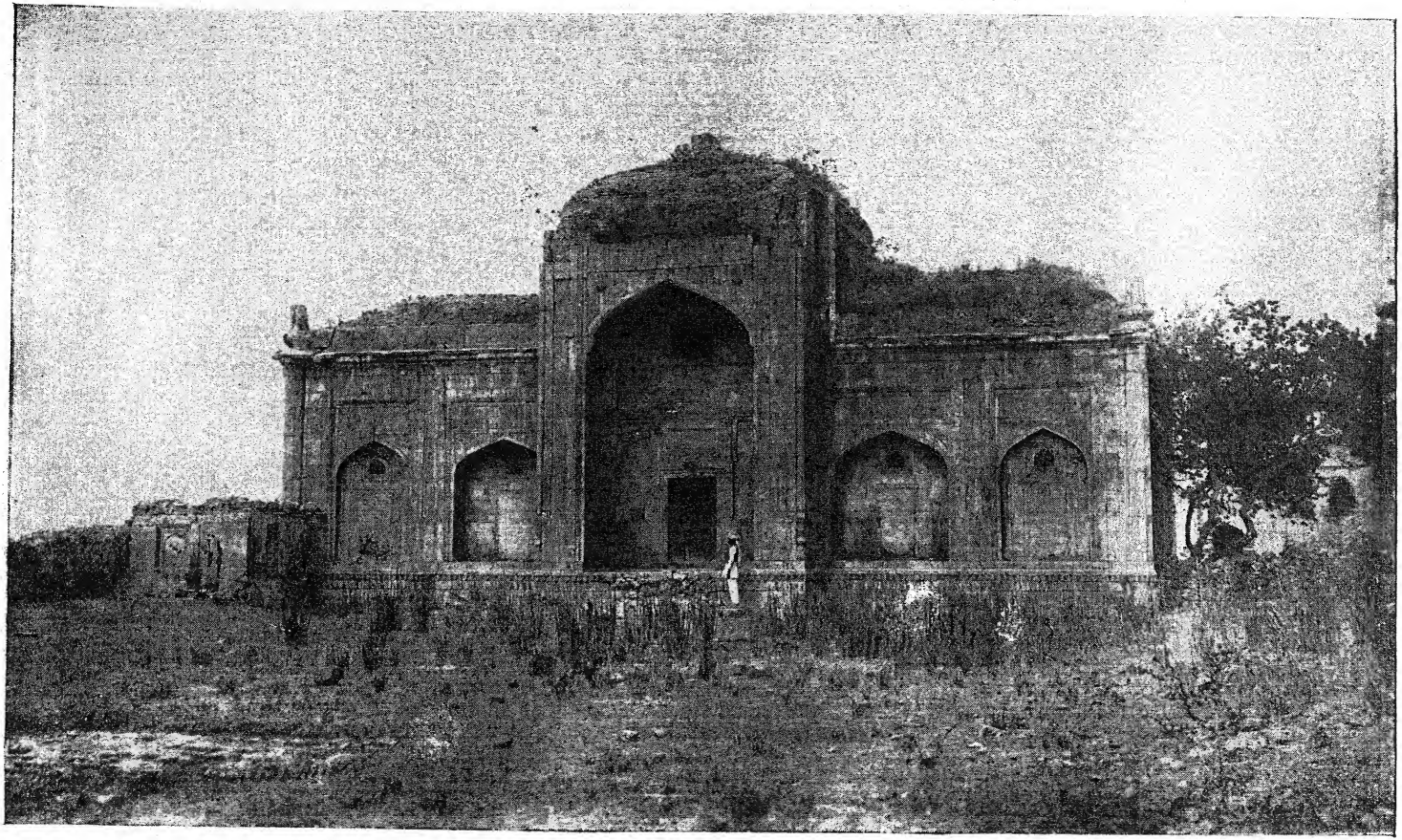
1006 *A.H.*=1597 *A.C.*

The Kāthī Darwāza and the Sangīn Darwāza are two of its gates.

"This morning" (*viz.*, 19th July, 1847), writes Lieutenant Taylor,* " I went to look at the Hurree Purbut Fort. Passed through the southern gate of the old exterior wall, which is now much dilapidated and in some places completely broken down. It runs or used to run, all round the foot of the hill on which the fort is situated and generally at a distance of about one hundred yards from the base. At present, it is worse than useless, being indefensible by the garrison, and affording considerable shelter to an attacking enemy. After passing through the gateway, the path leads away to the north-west, and after ascending for about a hundred yards, turns abruptly to the north-east, opposite the mosque of Akhoon Moolah Shāh, a massive building with a stone pentroof, a thing I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. The whole ascent by the pathway, from the foot of the hill to the walls of the fort, may amount to 500 yards, and at about 40 yards short of the summit there is a small detached boorj, in which a guard is situated . . . . . I passed through another massive gateway into the centre square, a parallelogram of about 40 yards in length by 15 in breadth. In this area, there is a large reservoir supplied by rain water and manual labour. Eighteen men are employed daily on this duty at the rate of 5 mussucks per man. There are two other reservoirs of the same fort, one in each of the lower divisions of the fort. . . . . The magazine is in the lower range of buildings on the northern side of the main square. There are only a few barrels of powder, some pigs of lead and loose shot in it now. . . . . The grain store is ill-placed, being in the lowest division of the fort, which might be cut

Lahore Political Diaries, 1847-49, Vol. VI, pages 62-63.

The Kāthī Darwāza, the principal entrance to the Harīparbat Fort, Srīnagar, built by Akbar.



The grey limestone Mosque of Akhund Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī, the spiritual tutor of Prince Dārā Shukūh, who built it on the Harīparbat or the Kūh-i-Mārān for the Mullā.

off from the main squares. The strength of the present garrison is properly 500 men, but 150 are at present on duty in the district. I should say that the fort would hold 3,000 men, but water would soon fail them. . . . . On the western side of the fort there is an exterior bastion unconnected with the fort and commanding the town."

The Mosque of Akhund Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī.

The nearby mosque of Akhund Mullā Shāh was built of a beautiful grey limestone by Dārā Shukūh in 1059 A.H. =1649 A.C., as also the *hammām.* The chronogram is:

یک جاے وضو آمد و یک جاے نماز

[Ablution in one place and prayer in another.]

The Dārā Mahall of Prince Dārā Shukūh on the Harī-parbat was glimmering in a flood of light in its own days in 1603 A.C. Mullā Wafā has a couplet on this Kūh-i-Mārān:

ندانم کوه ماران سبز چون شد که بے نسبت بود مار و زمرّد

[The reader may be interested to know that the Kūh-i-Mārān is also the name of a hill in Sarwān country in the Qallāt State of Balūchistān, the peak of which is 10,730 feet high.

Similarly, it may be of interest to note that Īrānīs call the grass-grown plateau, which is the site of the capital of Cyrus the Great, (who died in 529 B.C.), 'The Throne of Solomon.' The tomb of Cyrus is called by the Īrānīs 'The Mosque of Solomon's Mother,' on the portal of which childless women now hang amulets. A celebrated Buddhist relic in Farghāna in Turkistān, U.S.S.R., is also known as the Takht-i-Sulaimān.]

The summer-house of Jahāngīr at Vēr-nāg is now a heap of ruins, though the *bāradarī* at Achabal is in existence.

The Shrine at Hazrat-bal.

The Shrine at Hazrat-bal is beautifully situated on the shores of the Ḍal on the site of one of the early Mughul gardens known as Sādiq-ābād, built in Shāh Jahān's reign. Hazrat-bal is about 5 miles from Srīnagar, approachable both by the Ḍal and by road. The sanctity of Hazrat-bal is derived from the Prophet's hair brought to Bījāpur from Madīna by Sayyid 'Abdullāh in 1111 A.H. (1699 A.C.), during Mughul rule. Sayyid 'Abdullāh, who claimed to be an ex-Mutawallī of the Prophet's Tomb at Madīna, made it over for one lakh of rupees to Khwāja Nūr-ud-Dīn Ishbarī Kashmīrī, a merchant, who owned a factory at Delhī too.

The Khwāja brought it to Srīnagar. Hazrat-bal is naturally the most popular shrine in the Valley. The Nawwāb of Dacca, originally a Kashmīrī magnate, built a *hammām* and pilgrims' lodging. The frontispiece of *Kashīr* shows the Hazrat-bal. *Bal*, in Kashmīrī, means a place and is applied to a bank, or a landing place.

Mughul Rest-Houses.

"The rest-houses built by the Mughuls on their imperial route from the Punjāb to Kashmīr comprise two square courts placed side by side. The mural decoration of these edifices consists chiefly of panelled stucco plaster, with a beautifully painted and glazed surface. The best surviving example of this ornamentation is the exquisite little mosque on the *nālah* opposite the town of Bhimbar, about 150 miles from Srīnagar (*see* p. 251). The dado is divided into panels which have a dark-red background fringed with a border of flowers. The upper surface of the wall is decorated with cypresses, palm-trees and various kinds of conventional herbage. The general effect of this decoration is extremely pretty."—*The Kashmīr Archaeological Report* for 1920, page 3.

In the courtyard of the sarāi at Chingas (*see* p. 262), on the old Mughul route from the Punjāb to Kashmīr there is a sepulchre which is said to enshrine a part of the earthly remains of the Emperor Jahāngīr, like his own grandson Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's at Ahmadnagar. Tradition reports[1] that Jahāngīr breathed his last here on his return journey from Kashmīr. Nūr Jahān, fearing the too rapid decomposition of the corpse, had the entrails taken out and buried here. The tomb, which is an ordinary tumulus, has since become an "object of sanctity both to the Hindus and Muhammadans who ascribe many magical virtues to it." The visitor to the graves of Shāh Jahān and his Mumtāz Mahall in the Tāj at Āgra may have also noticed the same practice by villagers of the neighbourhood.

A curious memento of the Emperor Jahāngīr is a couple of gigantic stone elephants below the summit of the Hāthī-nāla pass. A stroke of lightning has shattered both of them. One is shorn of its rump and head, and the other of part of its head and the *mahāwat* or the keeper. It is probable that they were erected as memorials[2] to two

1. *The Kashmir Archaeological Report* for 1920, page 4.
2. *Ibid.*, page 4.

of the Emperor's favourite elephants who succumbed here to the extraordinary difficulties of the rugged mountain route.

Lawrence mentions in his *Valley* (page 161): "I have seen curious mosques built in a style, unlike the present, of wooden beams with stones between, mostly raised by Aurangzeb. He built religious edifices." It is not clear what Lawrence had in mind when he wrote this.

The Hammam or the Turkish Bath

The *hammām* or the Turkish bath has been a great institution in Kashmīr and was introduced by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt.[1] As Kalhaṇa in his first Tarang (line 40) mentions 'hot baths' or 'warm bath-houses' in Kashmīr, we can suppose that the present structure of the *hammām* may have been due to the Turkish bath of Mīrzā Haidar. The Turkish bath is really a misnomer, as the association with the Turks came after their conquest of Constantinople. The Greek-cum-Roman bath is the origin of the *hammām* of the entire Near East. Even today one can see an example in the ruins of these baths in Pompeii, Italy.

Bridges

Srīnagar has, at present, seven bridges across the Jhelum. "These bridges," wrote Baron Hügel in 1835 A.C., "were found already laid across the river by the Mohammadans which gives them an antiquity of at least 500 years. Since the dominion of the last Hindu sovereign, or more correctly, of the last queen of Kashmīr, Rani Kotadevi, which, according to the Ayin Akbari, terminated in 1364, the last partial restoration was undertaken by the governor Ali Mardan Khan, in the reign of the Emperor Jehangir (Shāh Jahān?)" (*Travels*, page 117). The number of these bridges, says Stein,[2] has remained unchanged for, at least, five hundred years. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn constructed the first[3] permanent bridge over the river named, after him, Zaina-kadal. *Kadal* in Kashmīrī means a bridge, as stated before. It was made of wood, and showed the same peculiar cantilever construction which is observed in Kashmīr bridges of our day, and has attracted the attention of all modern travellers. It is curious

1. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, page 160.
2. *Rājatraṅgiṇī*, English Translation, Volume 2, page 449.
3. *Ibid.*, page 449. Some say that 'Alī Kadal was the first bridge, built by 'Alī Shāh, the predecessor of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. Boat-bridges perhaps, may have been the means of intercommunication in earlier times.

that none of these bridges can be traced back beyond[1] the time of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. The explanation may be in the fact that stone architecture, in which the engineers of the Hindu period were so proficient, did not permit of the construction of bridges with sufficient span. For their Muslim successors, working chiefly in wood, it was easier to overcome this difficulty. Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes[2] thinks it probable that the system of cantilever bridges was invented in the heart of Asia. (See Dr. Elmslie's *Kashmiri Vocabulary* for the mode of making bridges in Kashmīr).

In Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's time, the waters of the Ḍal flowed into the Jhelum past the Haba Kadal. But the Sultān closed this channel, and forced the water into the Nāla-i-Mār which he spanned with seven bridges of masonry. He also raised a grand causeway from Andarkōṭ to Sopōr.

The bridges of Kashmīr, says Lawrence,[3] are cheap, effective, picturesque and, in their construction, ingenious. The secret of their stability may perhaps be attributed to the skeleton piers, offering little or no resistance to the large volume of water brought down at flood-time.

Sculpture

On account of the prohibition of images, sculpture in the sense in which it is ordinarily understood, does not find a place in the scheme of Muslim fine arts. It is true that the prohibition, though generally respected, has been occasionally disregarded. But that hardly calls for serious attention. In Muslim India, the examples of sculpture or of high relief are consequently very few, but decorative reliefs may be seen anywhere. The Arabic alphabet, in its various forms, as used for writing both in the Arabic and Persian scripts, is so well-adapted for ornamental purposes, that amlost every Muslim building of importance is freely adorned with texts from the Qur'ān or other inscriptions, arranged decoratively to form part of the architectural design.

Musālmān figure sculpture in the round, says Vincent A. Smith,[4] has slight artistic value and is interesting chiefly

1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, English Translation, Volume 2, page 449.
2. His paper entitled *The Heart of Asia and the Roof of the World*, read before the Royal Society of Arts Indian Section) reproduced by the Lahore *Muslim Outlook*, Sunday, 19th July, 1925.
3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, pages 37 and 38.
4. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1911 edition, page 428, also second edition, revised by K. de B. Codrington, 1930, page 192.

as a curiosity, but "Musalmān decorative sculpture in bas-relief applied to architecture may fairly claim on its merits to take at least equal rank with first-rate Italian work of the kind." The general absence of all human interest and expression in the infinitely varied patterns is, of course, a great drawback, but, continues Smith, if we are content to regard the work simply as surface decoration intended to please the eye, they cannot be beaten. Among the many varieties of Muslim decorative design, none is more agreeable than the best of those carved in relief on the Mughul buildings from the time of Akbar to that of Shāh Jahān, not to speak of the earliest examples under the Slaves and the Khaljīs.

As regard lattices, Smith is of the opinion that Muslim architects developed the art of designing and executing stone lattices to a degree of perfection unknown to other schools. Geometrical patterns, very pleasing to look at, are the most characteristic forms of lattice-work of Muslim workers. The artists used the lattice not only for windows, but also for the panels of doors and for screens or railings round tombs, with excellent effect. Specimens of the three types of carvings discussed above may be seen to this day in Kashmīr. Muhammad Murād and his younger brother Muhammad Muhsin wrote most of the inscriptions in gardens and other buildings during the days of the Mughuls. Lattice-work is still preserved in some of the Mughul gardens, and Kashmīr cemeteries testify to the Kashmīrī's sculptural skill in the preparation of tombstones, though the more ordinary ones are somewhat clumsy. The usual custom of having a *qalamdān*, or a pen-box, sculptured on top of men's cenotaphs, and a *takhtī*, or a slab, on those of women's is observed in Kashmīr also.

The central *mihrāb* (niche) of the Jāmi' Masjid, re-constructed in recent years, provided the present-day Kashmīrī sculptor with an opportunity for the display of his craftmanship in black stone, and the *mihrāb* is a work of great beauty, dignity and grace.

The Lapidary's Work

Under sculpture, we must not omit to mention the lapidary (hakkāk) of Srīnagar, who possesses very great skill in polishing precious stones and is also proficient as a seal-engraver. He imports all his more valuable stones such as agate, bloodstone, carnelian, cat's-eye, garnet, lapis-lazuli, onyx, opal, rock crystal, and turquoise from Badakhshān, Bukhārā, and Yārqand. There are,

however, certain local stones which are used for ornaments and buttons. These are soft and incapable of a high polish. Among the more common, Lawrence mentions Sang-i-Sulaimān black with white streaks, Sang-i-Mūsā (black colour), Billaur (bilaur or bulūr or crystal beryl), Sang-i-Sumāq (prophyry), Sang-i-Shālāmār (of green colour,) Sang-i-Ratel (chocolate colour), and Sang-i-Nādīd (of dark coffee colour). Besides these, a kind of jade which used to be employed for flint locks, is brought from the Wustarwan hill near Avantipōr, and from the same locality a kind of moss agate is procured. Cups and plates are made of a stone known as Sang-i-Nalchān. The stone is so soft that it can be cut like wood. It is a kind of soapstone, grey, yellow and green in colour. Sang-i-Dālam (Fuller-earth) is obtained from a place near Vēr-nāg, and is used by goldsmiths. Sang-i-Baswatrī is a yellow stone used in medicine.

Gardens

It has been aptly said that it is in its gardens that the history of a country finds a true and living reflection. "The gardens symbolize the artistic and cultural ideals of a nation more picturesquely and in more subtle manner than is ever possible in the case of its architectural movements." The Gardens of Kashmīr mirror the outlook and taste of their builders in a truly elegant style.

Flowers and plants have been admired and cultivated in India from very early times. There are many references to gardens in the old Buddhist literature and the Sanskrit plays. The sacred groves round the Buddhist shrines were probably among the earliest forms of gardening. But it was from the north, from Central Asia and Īrān, says Mrs. Stuart,[1] that the splendid garden traditions, as also the rose, or the *gulāb*, were introduced into India, and encouraged under the various Muslim conquerors, and later developed into a native style which culminated in the beautiful Kashmīr gardens built by Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān. "I may venture to class," says George Forster,[2] despite his being an Englishman, who takes pride in producing in England the finest roses of the world, "in the first rank of vegetable produce, the rose of Kashmire, which, for its brilliancy and delicacy of odour, has long been proverbial in the East; and its essential oil or ottar is held

1. Mrs. C. M. V. Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London, 1913, page 4.
2. *Journey*, Vol. II, page 17.

in universal estimation. The season, when the rose (the almond tree ?) first opens into blossom, is celebrated with much festivity by the Kashmirians, who resort in crowds to the adjacent gardens, and enter into scenes of gaiety and pleasure, rarely known among other Asiatic nations." And yet Aldous Huxley finds the gardens of Kashmīr disappointingly inferior to any of the more or less contemporary gardens of Italy!

The Turks in India, sometimes erroneously called Pathāns, showed themselves magnificent builders, as their massive forts and mosques still attest. Some of the grandest and most beautiful buildings in India belong to the period of their sovereignty, but their gardens have nearly all disappeared through neglect and decay. Wars and quarrels left little of the peace and leisure that garden-craft demands. Still the peaceful reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq (another variant of Tughluq is Taglik in U.S.S.R.) from 1351 to 1338 A.C., gave Delhī a hundred gardens which he built round his capital at Fīrūzābād. A couple of centuries later, Bābur built on the banks of the Jamuna, in Āgra, Mughul gardens traces of which exist to this day. As a matter of fact, Bābur did not erect a triumphal arch or other monument to his victory over Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat in 1526, but a large garden called the Kābul Bāgh, near the existing Kābul Masjid of Pānīpat.

In Īrān and Turkistān, the art of laying out irrigated gardens was, at that time, very fully developed, and had behind it an ancient history and long unbroken traditions. The writings of Persian poets, so full of evident delight in the flowers and gardens of their day, unmistakably show that the poetic imagery thus inspired was due to these fragrant gardens of the *bulbul* (the nightingale) and the rose. Intense appreciation of flowers seems to have been very general all over Central Asia, and may be traced to the two great influences which underlie all national arts—climate and religion. What is a paradise after all? Is it not a highly refined and luxurious garden?

The spirit of the garden-paradises of Europe* is said to be hidden in the flowers, the grass, the trees, but that of an Eastern garden lies in none of these: rather is it centred in the running water, the heart, from which its other beauties blossom forth. The poem overleaf, in Urdu, *The Queen of the Hillside,* illustrates this:

*Mrs. Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals,* page 10.

ملکۂ کُہسار

کوہساروں سے جو اِترائی ہُوئی آتی ہُوں مَیں
جنگلوں میں بستیوں میں ناچتی گاتی ہُوں مَیں

کوہ زادی ہُوں ہیں میرے پاسباں چیل و چنار
مہ جبیں ہُوں ملکۂ کوہسار کہلاتی ہُوں مَیں

آ کے برفانی پہاڑوں سے برہنہ سیم تن
شرم کے مارے پگل کر آب ہو جاتی ہُوں مَیں

میرے پہلو میں نہاں ہے اِک دلِ پُر اضطراب
اس کو اک گہوارۂ سنگیں میں بہلاتی ہُوں مَیں

دِل ہی دِل میں اِک خلش محسوس کرتی ہُوں ضرور
سنگریزوں سے برابر سر کو ٹکراتی ہُوں مَیں

ہے مری اُفتادگی میں سربلندی کا مقام
اوڑھ کر اِک چادرِ فوّارہ اِترائی ہُوں مَیں

ہارون میں نغمہ ریزی ہے میری فردوسِ گوش
مِل کے دہقاں زادیوں سے لوریاں گاتی ہُوں مَیں

گاؤں میں ہنگامہ ہائے زیر و بم میرے بلند
پستیوں میں جا کے پھر خاموش ہو جاتی ہُوں مَیں

محفل آرائی ہے میری باغِ شالامار میں
جوئباروں لالہ زاروں میں نظر آتی ہُوں مَیں

آ رہی ہُوں آبشاروں کا لئے تار و رباب
اپنے نغموں سے ہر اک محفل کو گرماتی ہُوں مَیں

چُومتی ہے ہر کلی رُخسار جُھک جُھک کر مرے
سبزۂ خوابیدہ سے آ کر لپٹ جاتی ہُوں مَیں

یہ جوانی ہے مری خالص فسونِ پیچ و خم
مست ناگن کی طرح دن رات بل کھاتی ہُوں مَیں

اِس جگہ اے ملکۂ ہندوستاں نُورِ جہاں
تیری صُحبت یاد آتی ہے تو گھبراتی ہُوں مَیں

ہاں! مہادیو سے نکل کر دشت پیمائی کے بعد
جھیل ڈل کے بیکراں پانی سے مِل جاتی ہُوں مَیں

جھاڑیوں میں سے گزر کر کشتِ دہقاں سینچ کر
باغِ آصف سے اُچھل کر ڈل میں کھو جاتی ہُوں مَیں

شیدا

[*Corrigenda to the above poem.*—Read کُہسار for کوھسار in the second line of the poem. Read مری instead of میری in the 7th line. Delete ۔ in ھاے in the 8th line. Delete ۔ and read ي in the second hemistich of the 9th line.]

Love of running water was very strong with the Muslim rulers of India. A love of such water is characteristic of

Muslim design, whether it be of royal, or of a more modest domestic interior, or of a formal garden around tomb or shrine. In this respect, Muslim taste is in sharp contrast with the Hindu preference for expanses of still water as exemplified by the tanks and wells in India built by Hindus. This fondness for ornamental water is one of the most pleasing conventions in Saracenic architecture in garden planning. A Muslim garden-planner, by means of this decorative water, has often succeeded in creating delightful sequestered oases of refreshment in the most unpromising corners of a parched and thirsty land.

The vivid description of Mughul gardens by Mrs. Stuart is well worth reproduction. The Mughul gardens copied from the earliest gardens of Turkistān and Īrān, she says,* are generally square or rectangular in shape, their area being divided into a series of smaller square parterres. "The water runs in trim stone- or brick-edged canal down the whole length, falling from level to level in smooth cascade, or rushing in tumult of white foam over carved water chutes (*chaddars*). Below many of these waterfalls, the canal flows into a larger or smaller tank, called a *hauz*, usually studded with numerous small fountains. The principal pavilion is often placed, in the centre of the largest of those sheets of water, forming a cool, airy retreat from the rays of the midday sun, where the inmates of the garden might be lulled to sleep by the roar of the cascades, while the misty spray of the fountains, drifting in through the arches of the building, tempered the heat of a burning noontide." There are shady walks, pergolas of vines and flowers, here and there open squares of turf shaded by large trees planted at the corners or having one central *chinār* (plane tree) surrounded by a raised platform of masonry or grass which forms a free space for feasts and fêtes. Here one could "recline at ease on the soft turf, or seated on brilliant carpets enjoy the charm of conversation, and the *hooka*" or the smoking pipe of the East, and "indulge in musical parties, while away the cool evenings with recitations from the favourite Persian poets, or by chanting rhymes of one's own making."

دلِ نظارہ گیاں مستِ بُوے لالہ و گُل
دماغِ مجلسیاں تازہ از نبیذ و عصیر—فیضی

1. Mrs. Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, pages 13, 14, 15 and 16.

There are three flower festivals observed every year in Kashmīr. The first of these is the lilac viewing. The festival of the roses follows. Lotus time comes in July.

Lawrence says that Zain-ul-'Ābidīn planted gardens wherever he went. Four of his gardens were, however, well known: Bāgh-i-Zaina-gīr, Bāgh-i-Zaina-dāb in Nau Shahr, Bāgh-i-Zaina-pōr, and Bāgh-i-Zaina-kōṭ. But it is difficult to trace them now. The same is the case with the gardens of the Chaks, namely Bāgh-i-Husain Shāh and Bāgh-i-Yūsuf Shāh. We have, therefore, to turn to Akbar, who was the first Mughul emperor to enter Kashmīr. His Bāgh-i-Nagīn (collet) is in ruins now. The Nasīm Bāgh (The Garden of Breeze), laid out by Shāh Jahān in 1045 A.H.= 1635 A.C., stands in a fine open position, well raised above the Ḍal, and takes its name from the cool breezes that blow all day long under its trees. Its walls, canals, and fountains have disappeared.

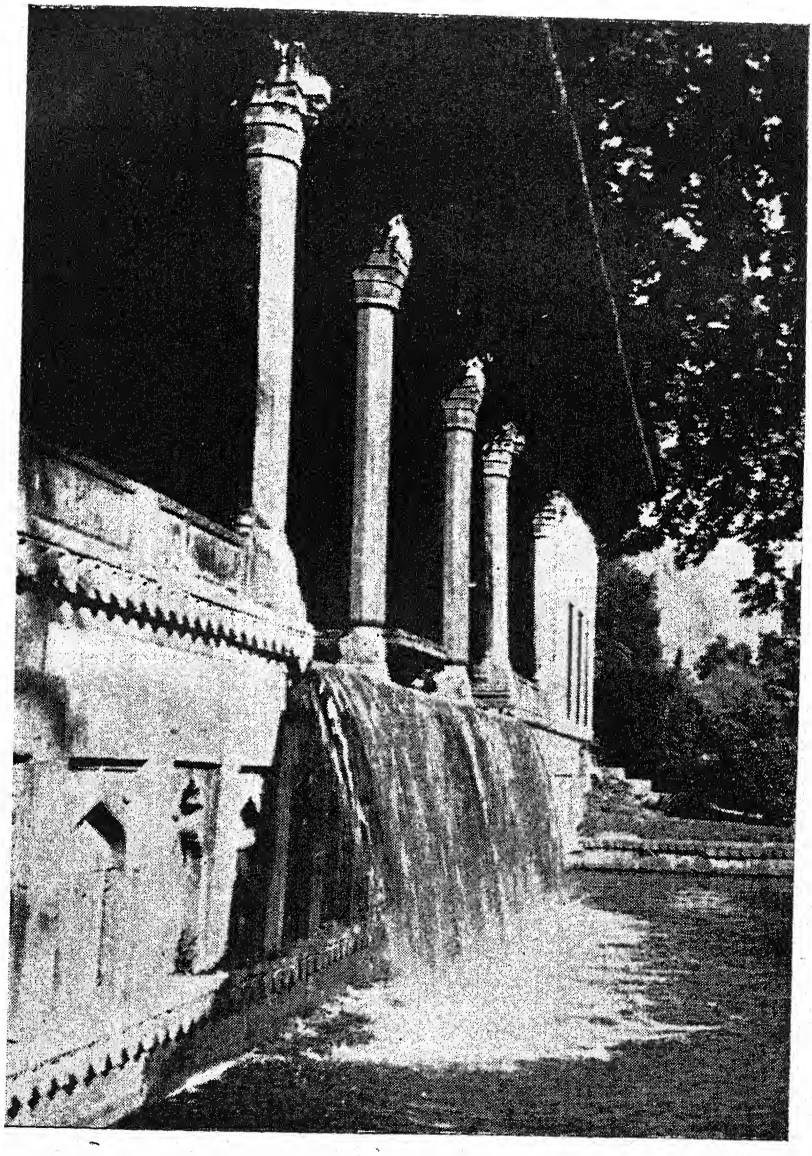
The Shalamar Garden.

Here was the Versailles of the Mughul emperors. And here in the summer evenings luxurious feasts were given. The branches of the *chinārs* were hung with thousands of coloured lamps. *Dancers* and musicians entertained the gathered guests.

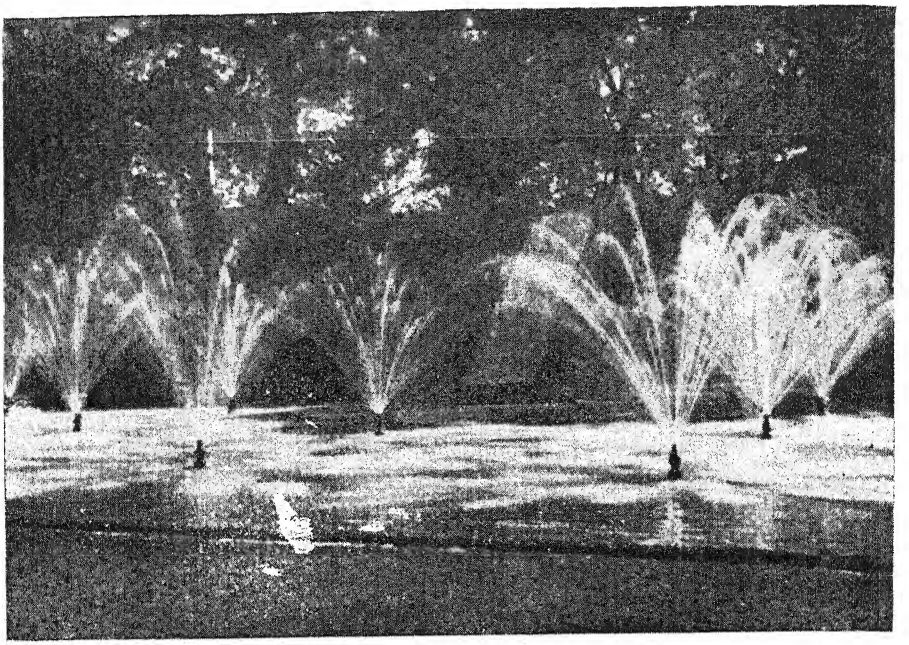
All around the sides of the Ḍal there are broken walls and terraces, the remains of early Mughul gardens. The late Justice Shāh Dīn *Humāyūn* addressed the Shālāmār, perhaps as a magnificent representative of these former Mughul glories, thus :—

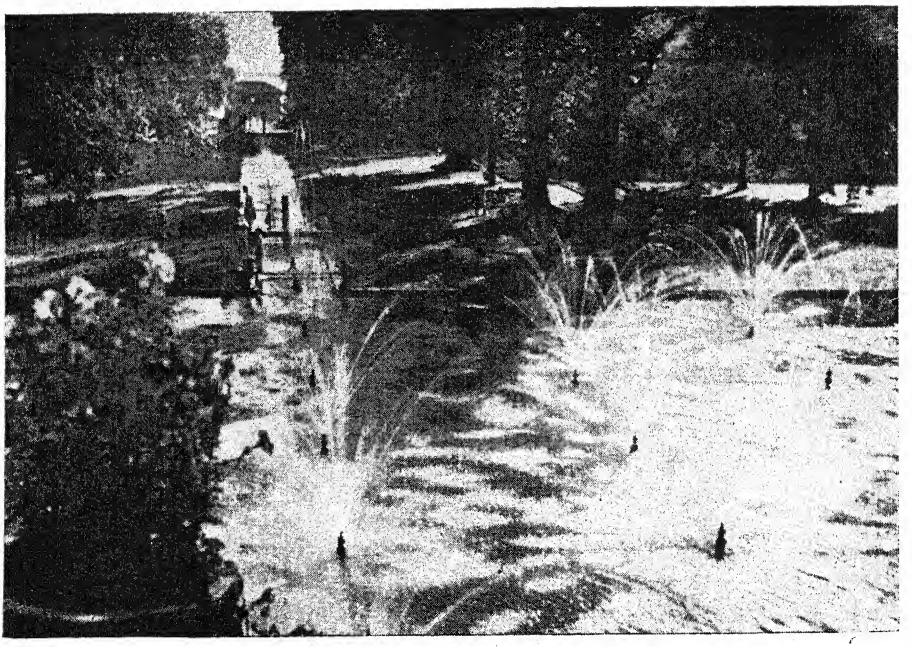
اے باغ! لوگ کہتے ہیں تم شالامار ہو!
اور عظمتِ گذشتہ کی اِک یادگار ہو!
کیا تم ہی زندہ ناموں کے باعث ہو نامور
کیا تم ہی مُردہ سلطنتوں کے مزار ہو؟

NOTE.—Town planning, about which there has been so much talk in the West in recent years, was an art carried out on a grand scale by the great emperors of India and Īrān.—Mrs. Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, page 23.



View of a part of the Bāradarī, Shālāmār, Srīnagar.





Two different views of the Fountains of the Shālāmār Garden, Srīnagar.

خاموش کیوں ہو؟ کچھ تو کہو اپنی داستان
کس سِرّ سَر بہ مُہر کے تم راز دار ہو؟
فوّارہ کی زباں سے کہو کچھ تو اپنا حال
کیوں روتے زار زار تم اے آبشار ہو؟
اور تم بتاؤ پانی کی نہرو! کہ کس لئے
مُضطر ہو پیچ کھاتی ہو اور بیقرار ہو؟
کب سے جلا رہا ہے یہ سوزِ دروں تمہیں
دلدادہ کس کی یاد میں تم اے چنار ہو؟

The meaning of the word 'Shālāmār.'

The famous Shālāmār (or Shālimār) lies at the far end of the Ḍal. According to a legend, Pravarasena II, the founder of the city of Srīnagar, who reigned in Kashmīr about 580 A.C., had built a villa on the edge of the lake, calling it Shālāmāra which in Sanskrit, the legend said, means "the abode or hall of love," *Çālā* meaning an abode, and *Mārā* meaning "The God of Love." In course of time, the royal garden vanished, but the village that had sprung up was called Shālāmār after it. But it is not so. "Old texts," says Stein,[1] "know nothing of Shālimār." "The first reference to this somewhat overpraised locality," Stein adds a footnote, "I can find is by Abu'l Fazl who mentions the waterfall or rather cascades of Shālāmār..... We might reasonably expect that Jonarāja and Çrīvara in their detailed accounts of the Ḍal would have mentioned the place if it had then claimed any importance." The author of the Urdu history of Kashmīr, entitled the *Nigāristān-i-Kashmīr*, opines that Shālāmār is a Turkish word meaning 'a place of amusement' (page 80). Fransū in his *Lughāt*,[2] written in Shāh 'Ālam's time, also says that Shālāmār is a Turkish

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1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. 2, page 456.
2. Farāsū, or Faransū, or Farāsū Gōtlīb, *i.e.* Francis Gottlieb, a German born in Poland and educated in India, was in the service of Begam Samrū. He is the author of a history, written in Persian, of the Jāt Rājās of Bharatpur from their origin to 1826. He wrote poetry in Persian and Urdu, and is the author of the *Lughāt* mentioned above.

word, meaning a place of rest, amusement and luxury. [*vide* the MS. in the Panjāb University Library.] This, I think, should stop all conjecture on the origin of the word. Stein's reference to Abu'l Fazl (Jarrett, II, p. 361) speaks of a cascade, called Shālimār, which was formed by the waters descending from the ridge of Shāhkōt in the village of Bazwālpōr. Mīrzā Salīm, the poet, in reference to Jahāngīr's visit to the place says :—

چو شد دامانِ دریا جلوه گاهش بسوئے شالامار اُفتاد راهش

Jahāngīr accordingly laid out a garden on this same old site in 1030 A.H.=1620 A.C., and called it *Farah Bakhsh* or 'delightful.'

چو شد آراسته باغِ فرح بخش بحکمِ حضرتِ ظلِّ الٰہی
شہنشاہِ شہاں شاہِ جہانگیر کہ مشہور است از مہ تا بماہی

پئے تاریخِ این گلزارِ ریحان خرد فرمود، فرحت گاہِ شاہی

Farhatgāh-i-Shāhī gives the date as 1030 A.H. The present enclosure of the garden is 590 yards long and 267 yards broad, divided into three separate parts : the outer garden, the central or emperor's garden, and last and most beautiful of the three, the garden for the special use of the empress and her ladies. This last was an extension by Zafar Khān *Ahsan*, under the orders of Shāh Jahān, in 1042 A.H.= 1632 A.C. The name of the extension is *Faiz Bakhsh* and the chronogram is *Massarat-gāh-i-Shāhī*.

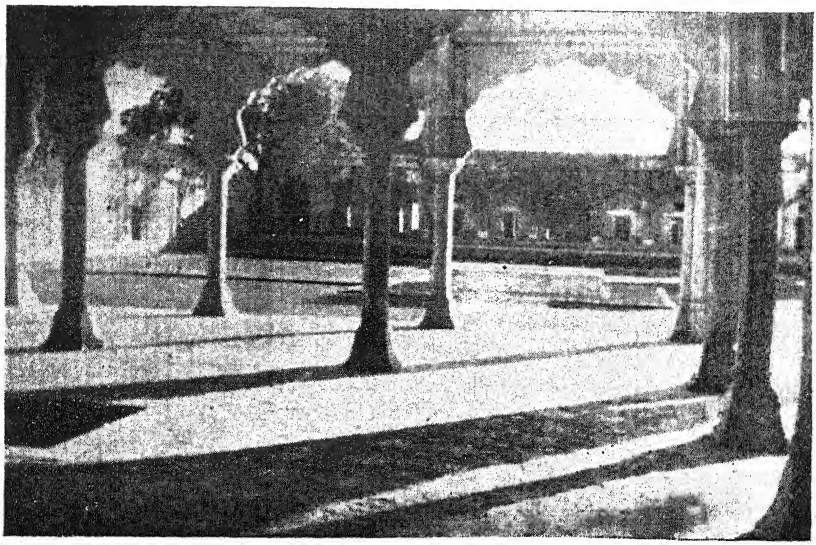
چو باغِ فیض بخش از حکمِ شاہی برو باغِ ارم گشته مباہی
فرح بخش از کمالِ افتخارش چو گل بر فرقِ خود داده قرارش
ازین رو کاشمر فخرِ جہاں است که در وے گلشنِ شاہ جہاں است

پئے تاریخِ سالش صبح گاہی خرد گفتا مسرّت گاہِ شاہی

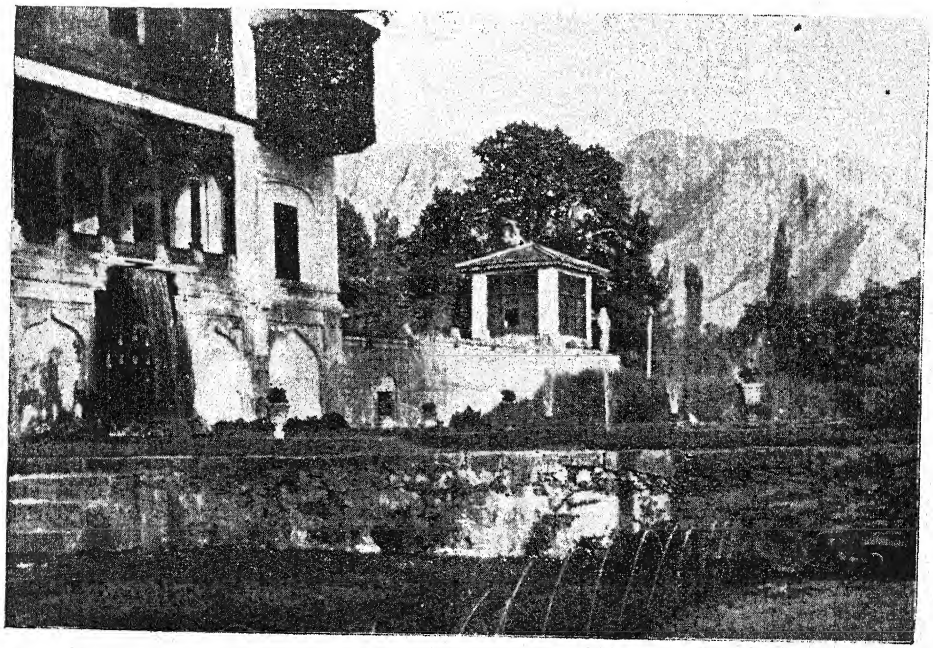
Zafar Khān *Ahsan* uses Shālāmār in respect of this extension in the following couplet :—

بر آورده پر از شوقِ نگارش که تا بوسد کنارِ شالامارش

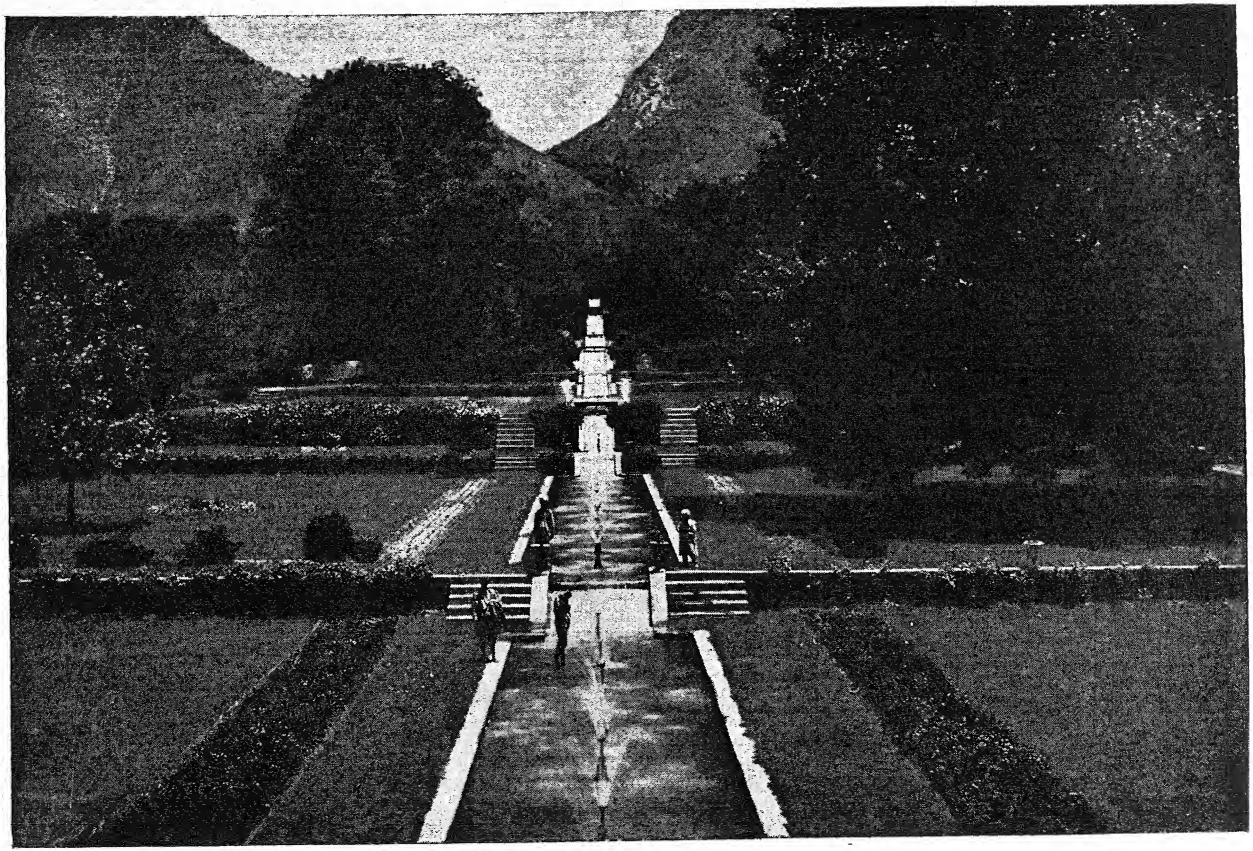
A subtle air of leisure and repose, a romantic indefinable spell, says Mrs. Stuart, pervades the royal Shālāmār : this leafy garden of dim vistas, shallow terraces, smooth sheets



A view of a part of the Shālāmār at Srīnagar.



The entrance to the Nashāt or Asaf Khān's 'Garden of Gladness' on the Dal in Srīnagar.



The Nashāt Bāgh, Asaf Khān's 'Garden of Gladness' on the Dal in Srīnagar.

of falling water, and wide canals, with calm reflections broken only by the stepping stones across the streams. Imagine Nūr Jahān and the ladies of her court, moving about in moonlit nights under the clear skies, the snows silhouetted in soft "moonstone" blues, while the water's silver tinkle alone broke the stillness as the little waterfall splashed over marble and fern grottos.

دیدۂ شوق ہے روشن اِنہیں نظّاروں سے

بے گُماں حُسن برستا ہے یہ فوّاروں سے

اِسکے پہلو میں جہانگیر کا دِل ہے پنہاں

جس سے آتی ہے صدا نُور جہاں! نُور جہاں!

—جمالِ کشمیر از بابُو رام شریف

To breathe the air of Shālāmār is to breathe poetry, and cantos could be sung of its charm, colour and majesty in verse. 'Urfī's line fitly applies to Shālāmār—

این سبزه و این چشمه و این لاله و این گُل

آں شرح ندارد که بگُفتار در آید

This queen of gardens does not look quite so well by day light; but at night "if properly bedecked with torches, and crowned with lamps, you do not mark the ravages time has made in her complexion" since the days of the Mughuls, and "she still has the power to charm."

The design of the Shālāmār.

Mrs. Stuart (page 148) suggests that the design of the Shālāmār is from the famous carpet called *Chosroes' Spring* in the possession of Chosroes I, the Sāsānian Emperor of Īrān (531-579 A.C.). Shāh 'Abbās, the contemporary of Shāh Jahān, used this design for his Safavī palace at Isfahān in Īrān.

Though fairly well kept by the Dogrā Government of the day, the poet Hafīz Jāllandharī is sad to think of the Mughul past of Shālāmār:—

کون جانے کِس لئے رنگین گُل روتے ہیں خُون

اِس حسیں بارہ دری پر سُوگ سا طاری ہے کیوں؟

محوِ عبرت کیوں کھڑے ہیں سنگِ موسیٰ کے ستون
کیوں شکستہ قلب فوّاروں کو ہے جوشِ جنون

منتظر ہے باغ کسکے خواب کی تعبیر کا
ایک پہلو یہ بھی ہے کشمیر کی تصویر کا

تصویر کشمیر از ابوالاثر حفیظ

The Nashāt (commonly mis-spelt as Nishāt).

A complete contrast is offered by the Nashāt which is an equally beautiful garden on the Ḍal built by Āsaf Khān, Nūr Jahān's brother. Laid out in 1044 A.H.=1634 A.C. it is perhaps the gayest of all Mughul gardens.

با نسیم آوارہ بودم در نشاط بشنو از نے می سرودم در نشاط
مرغکے می گفت اندر شاخسار با پشیزے می نیرزد این بہار
لالہ رست و نرگسِ شہلا دمید بادِ نوروزی گریبانش درید

The twelve terraces of the Nashāt, one for each sign of the zodiac, rise dramatically higher up the mountain side from the eastern shore of the lake. The brightest and most fragrant spot in the Nashāt is the second terrace "with its thick groves of Persian lilacs, its high, broad and vertical cascade of sparkling water, and its beds of brilliant pansies. The twenty-three small niches in the arched recess immediately behind the cascade were originally intended for rows of lamps, whose flickering light, reflected and multiplied in the transparent sheet of water behind which they lay, must have presented a singularly pleasing spectacle at night."* "The stream," says Mrs. Stuart in a graphic description, "tears foaming down the carved cascades, fountains play in every tank and water-course, filling the garden with their joyous life and movement."

اگر این نہرها فرہاد دیدے بجوئے شیر محنت کے کشیدے؟

—ظفر خان احسن

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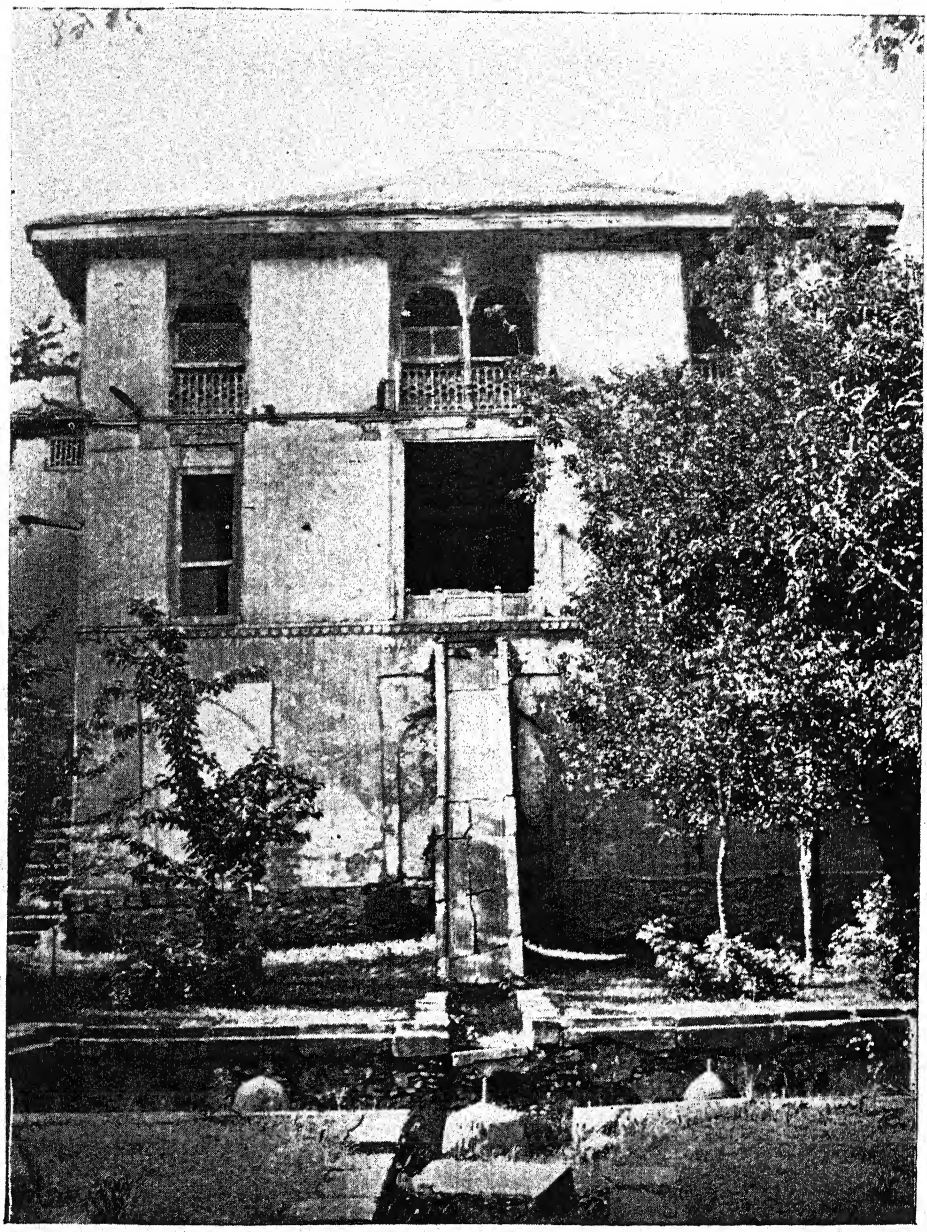
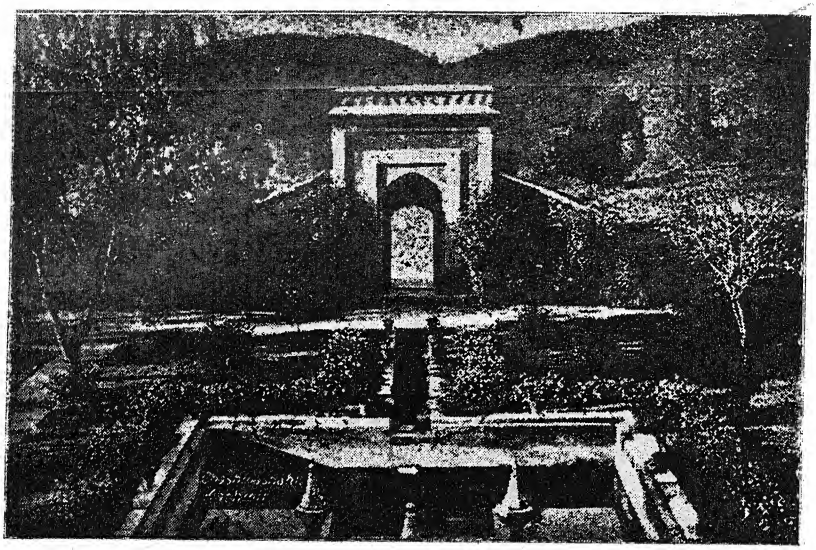
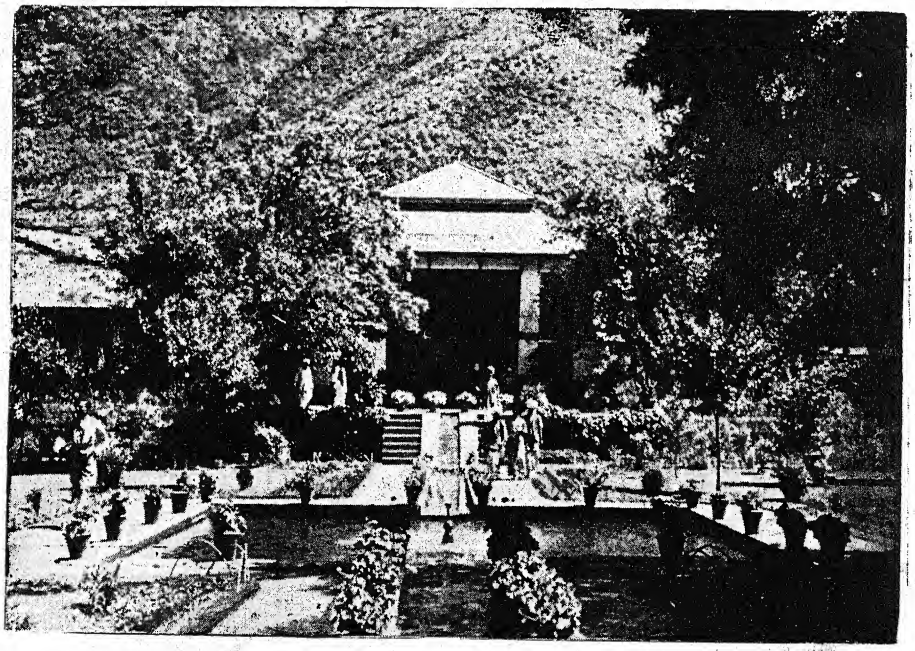
*Pandit Rām Chandra Kāk's *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 99.



The Chashma-i-Shāhī Bāradarī, Srīnagar.





The Chashma-i-Shāhī or the Royal Spring of Shāh Jahān on the Dal, Srīnagar
(Two views)

"The flower beds on those sunny terraces blaze with colour—roses, lilies, geraniums, asters, gorgeous tall-growing zinnias, and feathery cosmos, pink and white."* Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has truly said:

تُو گُوی کہ یزدان بہشتِ برین را نہاد است در دامنِ کُوہسارے

Mrs. Stuart refers to the old garden saying:

صُبح در باغِ نَشاط و شام در باغِ نسیم
شالہ مار و لالہ زار و سیرِ کشمیر است و بس

[Morning in the shadow of the Nashāt Bāgh,
Evening in the breezes of the Nasīm,
Shālāmār and its Tulip Fields:
These are the Places of Pleasure in Kashmīr and none else.]

آ بتاؤں تُجھکو میں راہِ حُصولِ انبساط شام در باغِ نسیم و صُبح در باغِ نَشاط

—ابُو الاثر حفیظ جالندھری

Bahr-Ārā was the garden on the western arm of the Ḍal laid out by Nūr Jahān in 1623. There was a palace which gave the fullest view of the Ḍal on moonlit nights. The site is now a leper asylum! The locality is now called Bahārāra.

The Chashma-i-Shāhī.

High up in a hollow of the mountain, which overlooks the lotus on the Ḍal, is the Chashma-i-Shāhī, the little garden of the 'Royal Spring' about five miles from the Srīnagar Civil Lines. Very few of the smaller pleasure gardens have survived. But the garden of the Chashma-i-Shāhī shows that a Mughul garden need not necessarily be large to prove attractive. Even a critic like Aldous Huxley calls the Chashma-i-Shāhī "architecturally the most charming of the gardens near Srīnagar."

Shāh Jahān built a pavilion and laid out this little garden of the Chashma-i-Shāhī in three terraces with fountains and waterfalls. Here one may still pass a day of enjoyment, and drink of the spring which gushes forth from a lotus basin with the same purity and unfailing abundance as it did in the great Mughul's day. It was laid out by 'Alī Mardān Khān in 1042 A.H.=1632 A.C. *Kausar-i-Shāhī* is its chronogram.

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*For a detailed study of some of the flowers of the Valley, see *Wild Flowers of Kashmir* by B. O. C. Coventry, 1923, London.

دُوش دیدم نشسته بر کوثر شاه مردان علیِّ جَم جاهی

گفتمش السّلام، گفت علیك گُفت بر گُو دِگر چه میخواهی

گُفتمش بهرِ چشمه تاریخے! گفت برگُو که کوثرِ شاهی

[Yesterday I saw sitting at the Spring of Paradise
Shāh Mardān 'Alī of Jamshīd's splendour
I accosted him : 'Peace be to you'
He replied : 'To You.'
He urged : 'Speak out what you want.'
I told him : 'A date for the Spring.'
He declared : "Say : '*The Royal Spring.*'"]

The medicinal properties of this add to its value and esteem. To this the poet 'Urfī refers—

آن چشمه که رِضوان چو رود به سُوئش

کوثر به سرش تیز تر و تشنه تر آید

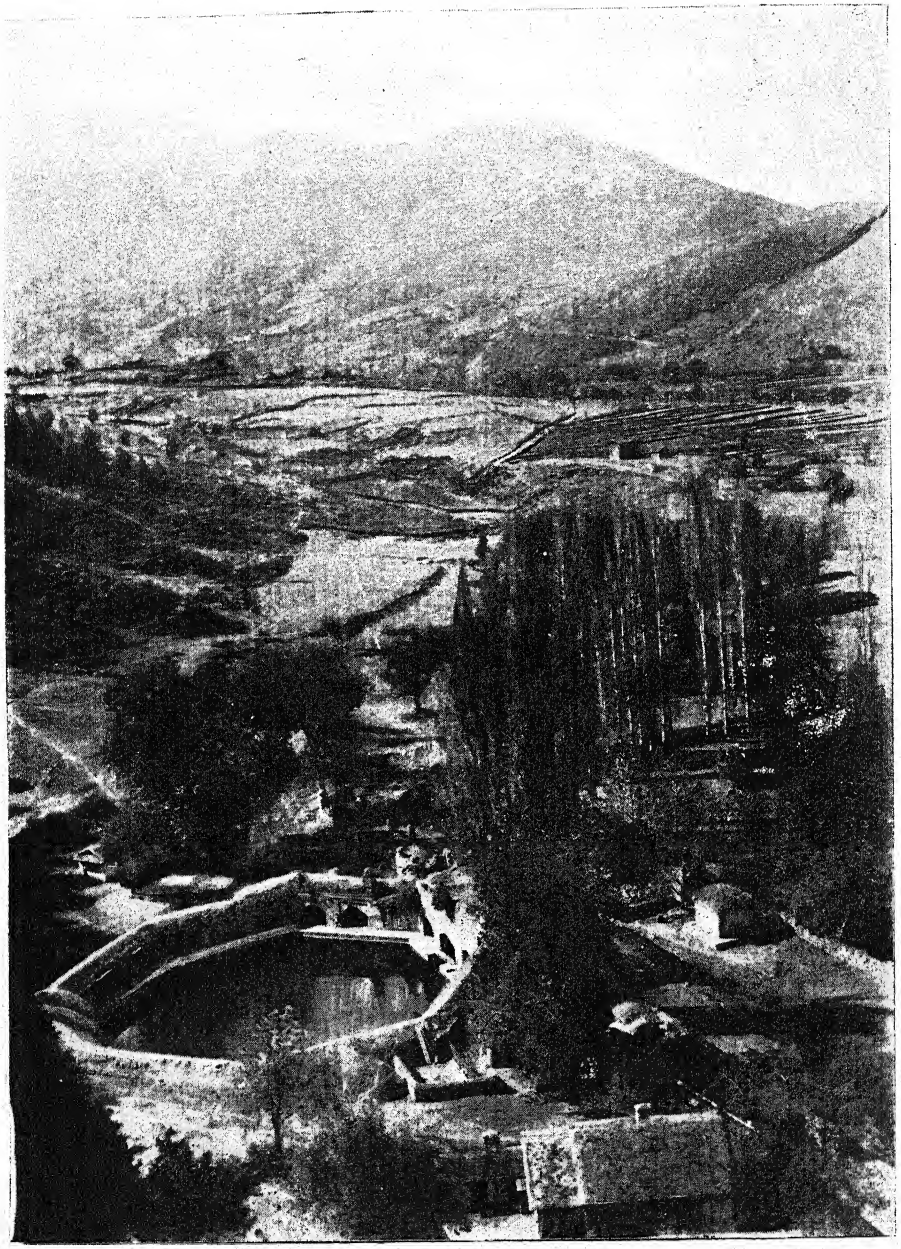
—عُرفی

"The present garden," says the Archæological Report for Samvat 1976 or 1920 A.C., "possesses only a remnant of its original dimensions. Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh, assisted by Wazīr Punnu, made an attempt to restore it to something of its original beauty."

The Chār Chinār (*see* p. 511), at the southern bank of the Ḍal, had a building by Prince Murād when he was governor of Kashmīr in 1641.

[**The Dal.**—The Ḍal, having these gardens about it, measures about 4 miles, by 2½ and 7 to 10 feet deep, and is close to Srīnagar. The lake is beautifully clear. The shawls of Kashmīr owe much of their excellence to being washed in its soft waters due to springs which rise within the lake. The background of the Ḍal is provided by mountain ranges which rise 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the level of the lake. The famous floating gardens form its true features.

The Ḍal has several distinct parts. The Sōna Lānk or 'the golden isle' is in the part known as Boḍ (meaning, large) Ḍal, and the Rōpa Lānk or 'the silver isle' in the part known as Astawhol which is the largest sheet of lake water. The corner of the Ḍal, known as Gagrī-bal, is noted for its calm, clear water and forms an ideal place for bathing. Both the isles of Sōna Lānk and Rōpa Lānk are artificial masses of masonry, the one 40 and the other 50 yards square—built by Mughul emperors. The Arrah river feeds the Ḍal. The flood-gate, originally constructed by the Afghāns, lets out the lake water.



A general view of the Vērnāg Spring. The 'Nāga of Vēr'—Vēr being the name of the tract—is the traditional source of the Vitastā or the Jhelum.

The origin of the name Ḍal is uncertain. In Kashmīrī, Ḍal means a lake. In Tibetan, Ḍal means 'still.' Çrīvara calls it Ḍala. It is said to have been, at one time, an extensive plain called Vitala-marg which was converted into a lake by an ancient Hindu rājā. It is said that the lake is silting up. According to the *Hamdard*, Tuesday, 27th August, 1946, a representation was made by the residents of Mahalla Mīr Bahr, Srīnagar, that there is considerable bacteria in the Ḍal water which has affected its taste.]

The Vēr-nāg Spring.

The lover of flowers and running water would find delight in a visit to Vēr-nāg (Shāhābād) and Achabal (Sāhib-ābād) in the Islāmābād or Anantnāg Tahsīl. The Ver-nāg spring, not far from the Bānihāl pass, is about three miles from Shāhābād, once a royal town as its name shows, but is now a ruined village.

En passant the village Lārikpōr (old Lōkabhavana), seven miles from Islāmābād, was the scene of the incomplete Aurangābād, the garden of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr. There is a spring also. Dārā Shukūh's garden at Bijbihāra has now some magnificent *chinārs* only. Pandit Ānand Kaul Bāmizaī notes nine other gardens by Mughul nobles in his *Archaeological Remains in Kashmīr*.

For those who feel the charm of solitude in a beautiful setting, Vēr-nāg,[1] the residence of its imperial founder, is an enchanting place to pass the early summer days. Here a large spring "bubbles up in almost icy coldness beneath a gigantic cliff, fringed with birch and light ash" that—

> "Pendent from the brow
> Of yon dim cave in seeming silence make
> A soft eye-music of slow-waving boughs."

Vēr-nāg's deep blue waters give life to the Valley for, here it is that the beautiful Jhelum has its reputed source. Hence, Vēr-nāg is sometime given the meaning of 'Powerful Spring,' though it is really the 'Spring of Vēr' which is the name of the *pargana*, called Shāh-ābād[2] from the days of Shāh Jahān. The spring was originally a shapeless pond and water, oozing out from

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1. Vēr-nāg had a population of 2,219 in 1941.

2. Shāhābād, 5,600 ft. high, which was the largest place at the southern end of the Valley, was a ruin at the visit of Vigne (Vol. I, p. 324), and "the palace of the Moguls scarcely worth a remark. The orchards produced the best apples. The wheat grown there was considered the finest in Kashmīr."

different places in it, spread about and formed a little marsh. The Emperor Jahāngīr built round the spring the octagonal tank of sculptured stones. It is 10 feet deep, and was constructed in 1612 A.C. The fine garden with fountains, aqueducts and a cascade, in front of the spring, was laid out in 1619 A.C. Vēr-nāg is nineteen miles from Islāmābād and fifty miles from Srīnagar.

Jahāngīr writes :—"It (Vēr-nāg) is an octagonal reservoir about 20 yards by 20 yards. Near it are the remains of a place of worship for recluses ; cells cut out of the rock and numerous caves. The water is exceedingly pure . . . the depth was not more than one and a half the height of a man."* After his accession, the sides of the spring were built with stone and a garden laid out with a canal. Halls and houses were set up. Vēr-nāg was consequently not wrongly called Shāh-ābād (The Royal Abode). Jahāngīr's first inscription is :

از جهانگیر شاهِ اکبر شاه این بنا سر کشیده بر افلاك

بانیٔ عقل یافت تاریخش قصر آباد و چشمهٔ ورناگ

[Through Jahāngīr Shāh, the son of Akbar Shāh, this foundation raised its head to the heavens.

The source of wisdom discovered its date (1029 A.H.=1619 A.C.), "May the palace and the spring of Vērnāg endure !]"

Jahāngīr's second inscription is as follows :—

حیدر بحُکمِ شاهِ جهان پادشاهِ دهر شُکرِ خُدا که ساخت چنین آبشار جُوے

این جوے داده است زجُوے بهشت یاد زین آبشار یافته کشمیر آبرو

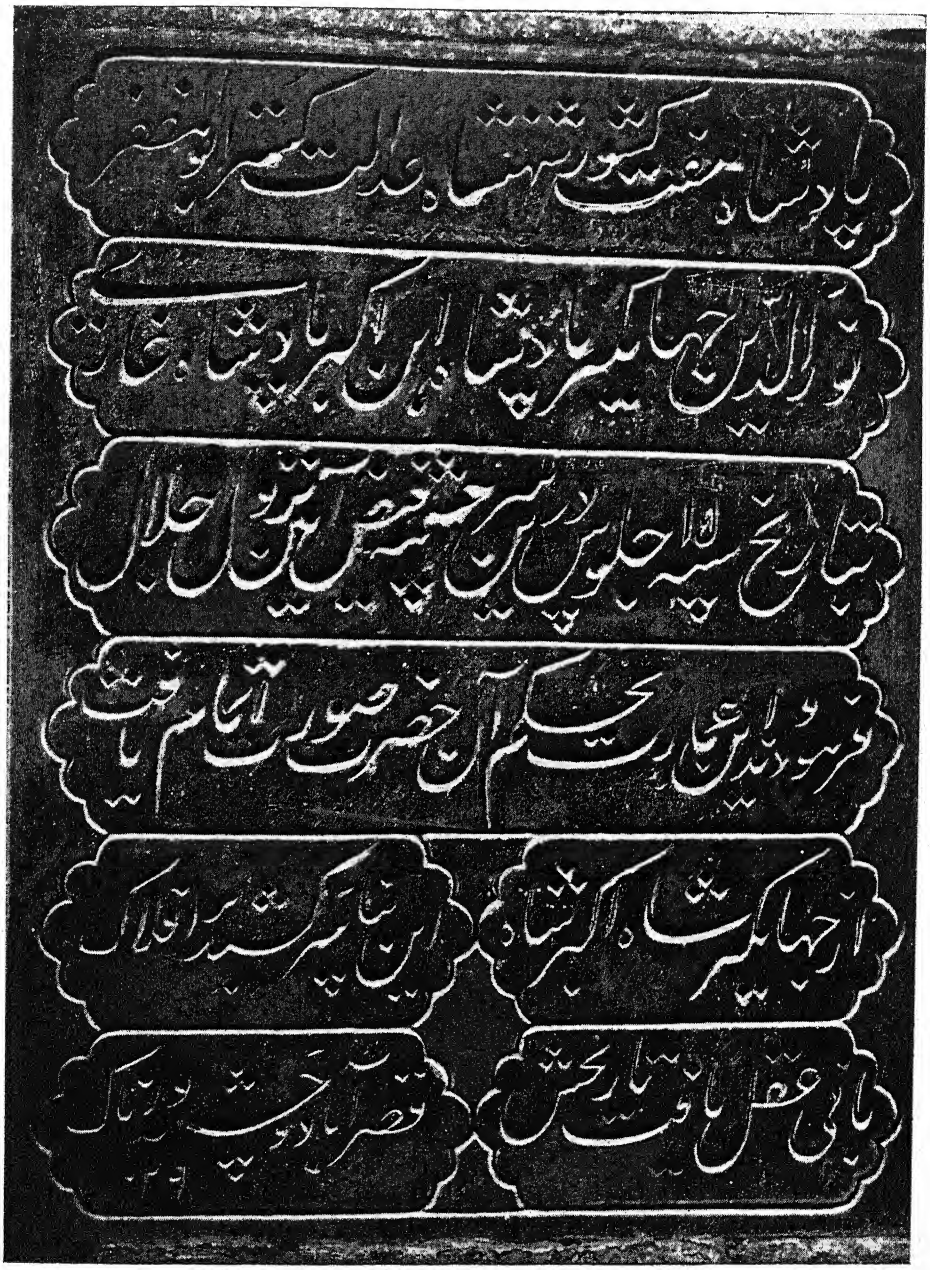
تاریخ جُوئے گُفت بگُوشم سروشِ غیب از چشمهٔ بهشت برون آمد است جُوے

[The Lord be thanked : Haidar by order of the Shāh-i-Jahān, the monarch of the Universe, constructed such a cascade and such a water-course.

This water-course is reminiscent of the stream that flows in Paradise, and the cascade has brought honour to Kashmīr.

The invisible angel whispered the date (1036 A.H.=1626 A.C.) of the water-course in my ear : " This stream has sprung from the fountain of Paradise."]

**Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge, 1909, Vol. I, 1909 page 92.



The Emperor Jahāngīr's inscription at the Vēr-nāg Spring

The second inscription of Jahāngīr at the Vēr-nāg Spring erroneously attributed to Shāh Jahān.

The words—*Shāh-i-Jahān*—in the first line of the inscription have given the impression that it is by Shāh Jahān which is not so, since Shāh Jahān had not ascended the throne then, and Jahāngīr died in 1627, a year after this installation.

Jahāngīr prayed with his dying breath to be conveyed to Vēr-nāg to be buried there—

از شاهِ جهانگیر دمِ نزع چو پُرسند با حسرت دل گُفت که کشمیر دگر هیچ

The River Jhelum.—The Jhelum drains the whole Valley of Kashmīr, which coincides with its catchment area. It is the most westerly of the five rivers of the Punjāb.

The source of the Jhelum is in the noble spring of Vernāg or, further aside, the small Vithavutur spring, which is supposed to be its real source. This source lies about 12,000 feet above sea level. The outlet of the Jhelum at the mountain border is 1,300 feet. Its average fall is 43 feet to the mile.

The various names of the river are Jhelum, Bihat, Vihat, or Bihatab—corruption of the Sanskrit name Vitasta (which Alexander's historians graecized into Hydaspes, but Ptolemy more correctly as Bidaspes). The modern Kashmīrī name is Vyath, derived apparently from Vithavutur. Vyath, the Kashmīrī word for the Jhelum, is the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient Sanskrit Vitasta (*i.e.*, coming through a fissure in the hill meaning a *vitasti* or span). The name Jhelum is apparently of Muslim origin as Abū Raihān al-Bīrūnī calls it Jailam, perhaps derived from *jihl* implying slowness, on the analogy of Kāhil or al-Hādī for the Pacific. Çrīvara, when relating an expedition of Sultān Haidar Shāh into the Punjāb, sanskritizes this name into Jyalami. Another version of the legend connects the river with the place Vitastātra where King Açoka erected stupas.* This is the modern Vithavutur, a small village about one mile north-west of Vernāg.

From 15 miles north at Khanabal, near Islāmābād, is the starting point of navigation, which continues to Bārāmūla. At Bārāmūla the river is about 100 yards broad, and ten feet deep on an average. From Srīnagar towards Bārāmūla, the Jhelum winding sluggishly across the flat alluvial plains, is compared to the Thames at Kew in breadth.

"From the pass of Baramula at the extremity of the vale of Kashmir to Kohala, the Jhelum descends a deep incline of rocks and forms a continuous series of rapids like those of the St. Lawrence and the Danube, yet surpassing, not in volume but in majestic scenery those noble rivers. At intervals the precipitous rocks that hem in this raging torrent give place to low banks covered with greensward, bright as the lawn of an English garden, and chequered here and there

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*Stein—*The Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, page 98.

with large white stones which seem placed as chairs and tables for a picnic party; gentle undulations lead to closely over-hanging hills dotted with spreading trees or covered to their summits with deodar pines, while above tower the snow-clad mountains and before are the ever-plunging waves of the rapids white with foam—a combination not to be adequately described."—*Letters from India and Kashmir*, written in 1870, George Bell and Sons, London, 1874, pages 168-69.

"Beneath the shade of Srīnagar bridges, whose wooden piers for years four hundred have striven and still strive, to goad that patient stream into fretfulness but in vain—his current flows on calm and placid as ever, unmindful of the interruption their passive resistance causes."

The distance from Khanabal to Bārāmūla is 102 miles. At the lower end of Srīnagar city, it receives the Dūdhagaṅga stream. Below Srīnagar at Shādipōr (Shihābuddīnpōr) the place of the marriage of the two rivers, the Sind river joins the Jhelum. At Muzaffārābād, the Kishangaṅgā river joins the Jhelum on its right bank, whence the name Domēl or 'meeting of the two.' The whole length of the river from its source to Bārāmūla is 150 miles.

Much of the internal commerce of Kashmīr depends on the Jhelum. If Egypt be the gift of the Nile, it is truer, says Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha* that Kashmīr is the gift of the Jhelum. There is no other instance of a valley of the dimensions of Kashmīr, and at an altitude of five thousand feet above the sea level, having a broad river intersecting it for so long a distance. Before the construction of motor roads between Srīnagar and Khanabal and also between Srīnagar and Bārāmūla, it was the Jhelum which was the great highway of passenger and goods traffic up and down the Valley.

گرد سیراب خطهٔ پنجاب آب جهلم نشانِ کشمیر است

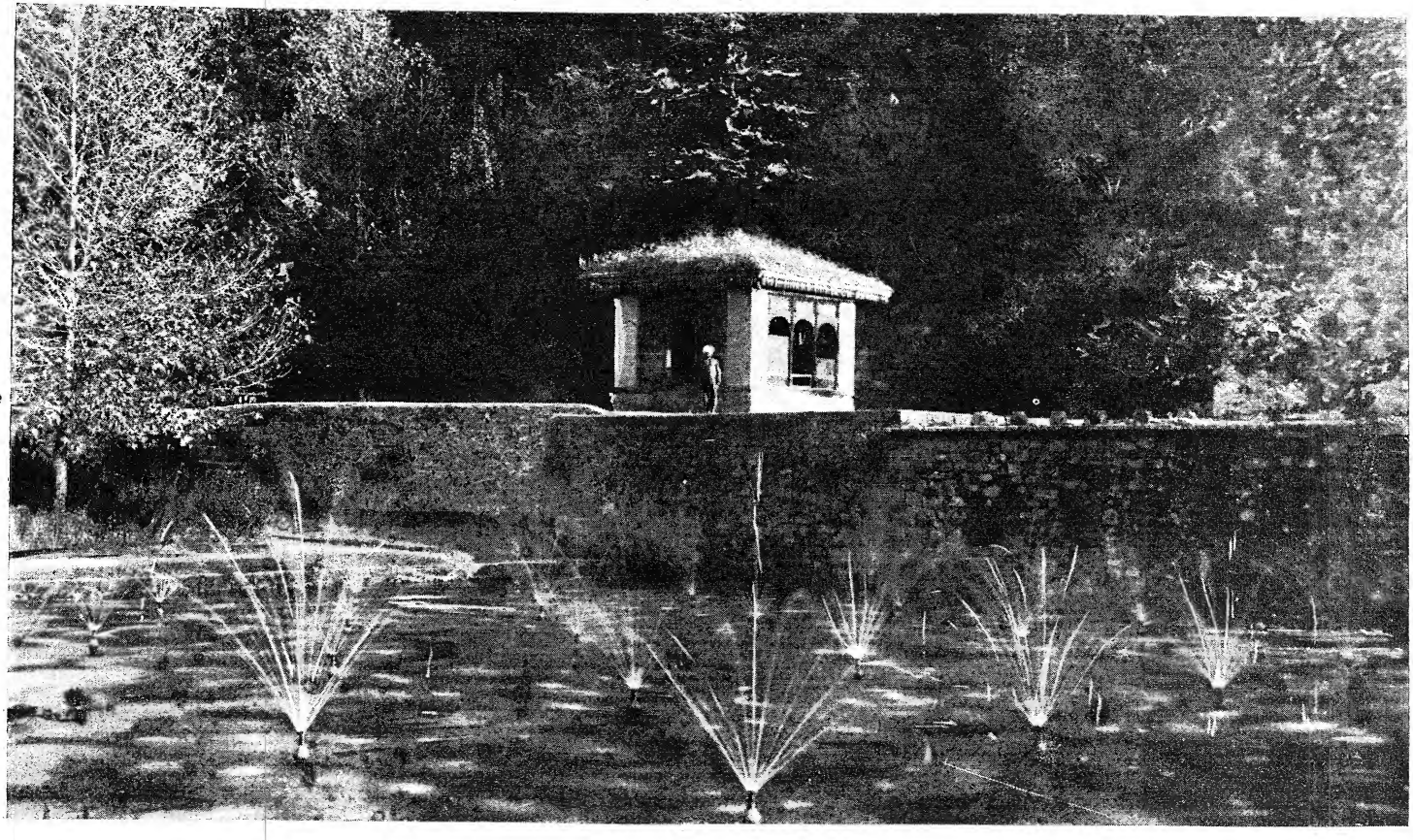
در تنِ مُردگان روان باشد این که آبِ روانِ کشمیر است

Lakes Wular, Mānasbal, Anchār and Ḍal lie in the flood plain of the Jhelum, whose broad meanders have cut swampy lowlands out of the Karewa terraces.

Below its junction with Kishangaṅgā, the Jhelum forms the boundary between the Kashmīr State and the Pākistān Districts of Hazāra and Rāwalpindī, and finally joins the Chenāb at Trimmu, 10 miles to the south of Maghiāna, after a total course of not less than 450 miles of which about 200 lies within Pākistān territory.

The Jhelum river has many tributaries in Kashmīr. The chief ones on its right bank are (1) the Liddar (2) the Sind (3) Pohru; on the left bank: (1) the Vishav (2) the Rembiara (3) the Ramshī (4) Dūdhagaṅgā (5) the Suknāg and (6) the Fīrūzpur.

Kashmir: The Playground of Asia, First Edition, pages 16-17.



The Spring of Achabal (old name Akṣavala) park around the Spring was a favourite campaing ground of the Mughul court.

"The road from Veere Naug" wrote George Forster in April 1783, "exhibiting that store of luxuriant imagery which is produced by a happy disposition of hill, dale, wood and water, and that these rare excellencies of nature might be displayed in their full glory, it was the season of spring when the trees, the apple, pear, the peach, apricot, the cherry and mulberry bore a variegated load of blossom. The clusters also of the red and white rose with an infinite class of flowering shrubs presented a view so gaily decked that no extraordinary warmth of imagination was required to fancy that I stood at least on a province of fairy-land."

The Kukar-nāg Spring.

The copious waters of Kukar-nāg, less than eight miles from Vēr-nāg, and 48 miles from Srīnagar, are well worth seeing. The waters gush out in six or seven places from the foot of the lime-stone rock and form a stream. The very sight of milky water and its spray would remove all fatigue and give delight and coolness to the jaded eye. It is rightly given the first place as a source of drinking water. Abu'l Fazl has called its water limpid, cold and wholesome. He says that, should a hungry person drink of it, his hunger will be appeased and the satisfaction it gives will renew desire for it. G. T. Vigne notes that Afghān governors were supplied water from this spring.

The Achabal (Sāhib-ābād) Spring.

Achabal, as Bernier notes, was formerly a country house of the kings of Kashmīr and then of the Mughuls. The ancient name is Akshavala from King Aksha (571—631 A.C.). The Mughul name is Sāhib-ābād after Begam Sāhiba, the title of Shāh Jahān's daughter Jahān-ārā. The beauty of Achabal (Sāhib-ābād), over 6 miles south-east of Islāmābād, lies in its spring, or rather the stream. It flows like a waterfall out of the Sosanwōr hill that intrudes farthest into the plains, and was at once 'enlisted by Jahāngīr in the service of beauty and pleasure.' It is a delicious and remarkable sight. At the head of the spring is the mountain side covered with deodār (Himālayan cedar) forest. Around Achabal, wrote Jahāngīr,* lofty plane-trees and graceful white poplars, bringing their heads together, have made enchanting places to sit in.

*Memoirs, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, 1914, page 173.

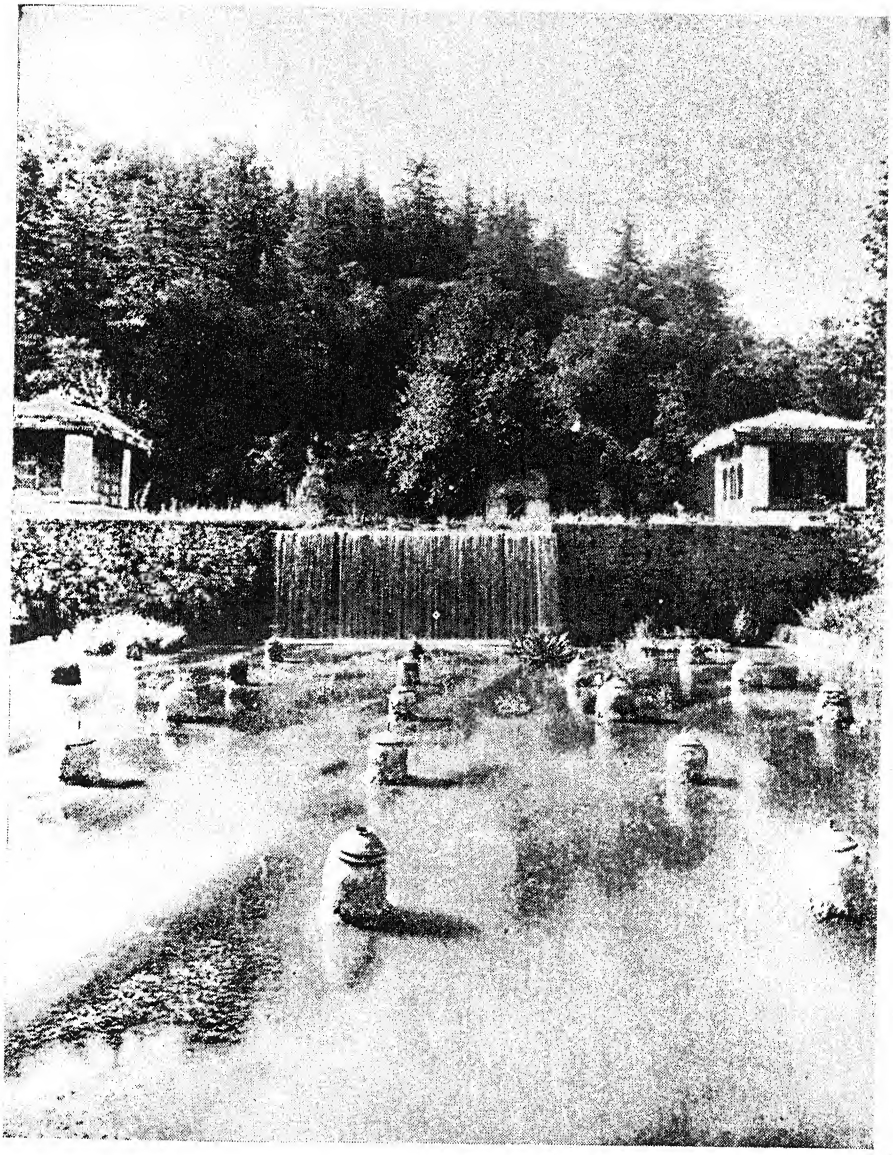
Jahān-ārā, the daughter of Shāh Jahān, laid out a garden in 1640 A.C. Bernier writes: "The garden is very handsome, laid out in regular walks and full of fruit trees, apple, pear, plum, apricot and cherry . . . . there is a lofty cascade which, in its fall, takes the form and colour of a large sheet, thirty or forty paces in length, producing the finest effect imaginable, especially at night, when innumerable lamps fixed in parts of the wall adapted for that purpose, are lighted under this sheet of water." The hammām (bath) of Jahāngīr is in good preservation.

As a contrast to Bernier's description, Col. Torrens' makes sad reading. Col. Torrens visited Achabal in the time of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh when he describes it in the following words: "Uchibal was the scene of many an imperial merry-making in the good old days of Mogul rule, of Shah Jehan and Jehanguire; now the gardens are desolate and neglected, and tangled desert of weed and briar; but the stream, like a true philosopher, flows on calmly and contentedly as ever; his low murmurings utter no complaints, no regret for the pomps and vanities that are no more; they are rather, as it were, the gentle purring of a spirit at peace with itself, and inclined to be the same with all the world; welcoming the solitude of to-day as a pleasing contrast to the dust and noise, stir and bustle, and all the inconceivable nuisances of the imperial court of yesterday! It is a lovely spot, the luxuriance of an ever present nature amply consoles the modern traveller (in the year 1862) for the want of the past luxuriousness of Oriental art."*

A present-day poet, however, gives expression to his feelings on Achabal in this way:

اچھہ بل اور کوھسار • ھوش رُبا جُوئبار
لالہ و گُل بے شمار - جلوہ گہِ حُسنِ یار
باغ ھے یہ سِحر کار - بلکہ ھے جنّت نگار
جائیگۂ اِنتظار - قُدرتِ پروردگار

Travels in Ladak, Tartary and Kashmir, 1863, pages 317-8.



Old Akshawala, in Shāh Jahān's and later times Sāhibābād, and now Achabal, over six miles south-east of Islāmābād (Anantnāg).

لالہ و گُل صف بہ صف - ساغرِ عشرت بکف
حُسن کہیں گُل بکف - عشق کہیں دِل بکف
شور و شغف ہر طرف - ہُو کا سمان ہر طرف
ہمنفسِ چنگ و دف - نغمۂ دُرّاج و سار

دامنِ کوہسار میں - ایسے چمن زار میں
خوبیٔ رفتار میں - پھول میں ہر خار میں
خیمۂ اشجار میں - جلوہ گہ یار میں
حُور ہے عریاں کوئی - یہ تو نہیں جوئبار

غلغلۂ آبِ جُو - ولولہ اندوز ہے
اسمیں کہیں ساز ہے - اسمیں کہیں سوز ہے
اہل ہمم کے لئے - حوصلہ افروز ہے
تجربہ آموز ہے - اسکی ہر ایک گیرو دار

آب شکن در شکن - پھول چمن در چمن
ہوش ربا نسترن - سنبل و نسرین سمن
لالۂ گُل پیرہن - زیب دہِ انجمن
غُنچہ دہن بر دہن - خواہش بوس و کنار

سلسلۂ کائنات ہے - مد و جزرِ حیات
اسکو نہیں ہے ثبات - اس سے نہیں ہے نجات
چرخ کُہن سِفلہ ذات - کس سے کرے اِلتفات
اسکو نہیں ہے قیام - اسکو نہیں ہے قرار

—مِرزا کمال الدین شیدا

Both the Kukar-nāg and Achabal springs have diminished in recent years.

Near the Bachhapōr village, there is an old chinār garden called Bāgh-i-Ilāhī, which was planted by Jahāngīr in 1050 A.H.=1640 A.C. Nūr Jahān and Jahāngīr used to visit it on clear moon-lit nights in a small boat, towed by female rowers, the jingles on whose feet made delicious music.

The Mughuls built a delightful little garden at Rajaurī on their way between Bhimbar and Srīnagar. Were it in proper repair, it would not suffer by comparison, with some of the Srīnagar gardens, except of course, in dimensions which are rather circumscribed. It is a charming little place, especially in early spring when lilies are in bloom.[1]

Other Mughul Gardens.

Mullā 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī describes in his *Bādshāh-nāma*[2] the following gardens, in addition to those already mentioned above: (1) Bāgh-i-Bahr-Āra that stood near the Jharōka-i-Darshan and had two parts. (2) Bāgh-i-'Aishābād. (3) Bāgh-i-Nūr Afshān by Nūr Jahān. (4) Bāgh-i-Safā on the Safā-pōr lake. (5) Bāgh-i-Shāhābād built by Muhammad Qulī Turkmān. It was acquired by the Emperor Shāh Jahān when he was the prince. It was later given to Dārā Shukūh. (6) Bāgh-i-Murād, in the Ḍal, was assigned to Prince Murād. (7) Bāgh-i-Afzalābād of 'Allāmī Afzal Khān. (8) Bāgh-i-Zafar Khān, also called Bāgh-i-Tūlānī on account of its length, stood on the Khushāl-sar. (9) Bāgh-i-Fīrūz Khān on the Bahat or the Jhelum. (10) Bāgh-i-Khidmat Khān on the Ḍal island. Mullā Lāhorī concludes: several other gardens were laid out by nobles and officials of Shāh Jahān.

Vigne[3] notes that Bāgh-i-Dilāwar Khān, named after Jahāngīr's governor, was usually assigned as quarters to Europeans visiting the Valley in the time of the Sikhs. Dr. John Ince[4] notes that Hügel, Vigne, Henderson, and Jacquemont stayed here. It was near the *ghāt* adjoining the Shāh Hamadān, on the Brārinambal, a branch of the Ḍal. It is now the site of a High School.

According to Lawrence, in the vicinity of the Ḍal, there were 777 gardens in Mughul times, and the roses and the

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1. *The Archaeological Report* for 1920, page 4.
2. Calcutta edition, Volume I, Part II, 1867, pages 26-29.
3. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 60.
4. *The Kashmir Handbook*, Calcutta, 1872, page 127.

bed-musk brought in a revenue of one lakh of rupees per annum (*The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 194).

There are no other gardens, says Sir John Marshall,* perhaps in all Asia, round which history and legend have woven so much romance, which nature and men have combined to make so lovely. The gardens of the Tāj at Āgra, of Shālāmār and Shāhdra at Lāhore are beautiful, but they can never hope to rival their sisters in Kashmīr, because they lack entirely the majestic surroundings of mountain, pine forest and snowfield, in which the latter are set; and because no flowers or grass or tree can ever attain the same perfection in the plains of India as they can in the highlands of Kashmīr.

The Alapathar.

The blue lagoon, the Alapathar, 12,600 feet above the sea-level, set below the snowy leaning ridge of the Aphorwat 13,542 feet above the sea, though not a garden, is indeed much nobler than a garden. It is a small deep pool great with the wonder of unsuspected water. Spruce grass shadows the mystery of its unplumped depth and no fish breaks its shining surface. Radiant with snow, the ridge of the Aphorwat leans from the sky. But not all the brilliance of the mountain can quench the mystery of the pool. "Dark as pain, and enigmatic, it lies like a hurst in the side of the mountain. Only the stars, climbing nightly above the snow, tremble in sudden ecstasy. Then the dark and dreaming forest of Aphorwat stands back before the pool with heaven in its heart."

The Chinār's Glamour.

"Beautiful at all times, when autumn lights up the poplars in clear gold and the big chinārs (plane trees) burn red against the dark blue rock background, there are few more brilliant, more breathlessly entrancing sights than the first view of Āsaf Khān's Garden of Gladness," or the Nashāt. "The chinārs (Plantanus Orientalis), "wrote Col. Torrens in 1863, "are in the lusty prime of life, more lasting memorials of the magnificence of the Delhi Emperors than all the costlier monuments, the work of men's hands." "Autumn and spring in Kashmīr are things worthy to be seen," wrote the royal lover of Nature. "I witnessed the

*Annual Report, 1906-7, Archaeological Survey of India, page 6.

autumn season and it appeared to me to be better than what I had heard of it . . . . . *

خوشا کشمیر و ایّامِ خزانش خوشا کشمیر و فصلِ زعفرانش
مشو خاموش بلبل گر خزانست کہ جوشِ نو بہارِ زعفرانست
بہار اینجا بود شرمندۂ اُو ہزاران گُل فدائے خندۂ اُو
نگارین آنچنان دستِ چنار است کہ گوئی دست پروردش بہار است

مثنوی ہفت منزل :-

نوّاب ظفر خان احسن - صوبہ دار - کشمیر

During autumn, the scene of the chinār is beautifully described by Mīrzā Kamāl-ud-Dīn *Shaidā* :—

دیکھتے آئے صُراحی، جام اور مینا کی آگ
حضرتِ مُوسیٰ سے سُنتے آئے ہیں سینا کی آگ
برگ برگ اِس باغ کا اب منظرِ صد طُور ہے
ڈالی ڈالی میں وہ حُسنِ آتشیں مستُور ہے
ہے چنار شُعلہ پُوش و شُعلہ پرور، شُعلہ بار
شور ہے صحنِ چمن میں 'ایں چہ آتش ایں چہ نار'!
ہے چمن زاروں میں قُدرت کی نئی گُلکاریاں
اُٹھتی ہیں ہر برگ سے ہر پھول سے چنگاریاں
سچ بتا تو اے چنار باغ، یہ کیا راز ہے ؟
تو سراپا سوز ہے اور ندی سراپا ساز ہے
تیرے ہر اک برگ میں پنہاں شرر انگیزیاں
قطرے قطرے میں نہاں اُسکے ترنم ریزیاں
بہ رہی ہے آبجو کیا ناچتی گاتی ہوئی
پیچ اندر پیچ، خم در خم ہے بل کھاتی ہوئی

The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, 1909, page 96.

جھینپتی عُریانیت پر اپنی شرماتی ہوئی
دِل کو اِک گہوارۂ سنگیں میں بہلاتی ہوئی
آگ پھولوں میں، چمن میں آگ، اشجاروں میں آگ
ہر طرف شُعلے ہی شُعلے، زعفران زاروں میں آگ
باغ شالامار میں آگ - اسکے فوّاروں میں آگ
ہے نسیم آتشکدہ - پیدا ہے کُہساروں میں آگ
چُن رہی ہیں پُھول اور گاتی ہیں دھقاں زادیاں
حُسن کی آبادیاں - پُھولوں کی یہ شہزادیاں
آجکل کشمیر ہے اک کائناتِ آتشیں
مِل گئی ہے اہلِ گُلشن کو حیاتِ آتشیں—شیدا

قِسمت پہ اپنی مُجھ کو گر اختیار ہوتا
میں گُلشنِ جہاں میں نخلِ چنار ہوتا
خرمن سے عاشقوں کے شُعلے بلند ہوتے
اور حُسن کی نظر میں برق و شرار ہوتا
پیری میں میری ہوتا اک رنگِ نوجوانی
فصلِ خزاں بھی میرا رشکِ بہار ہوتا
ذوقِ فنا نہ یافتہ‌ای ورنہ در نظر
رنگیں تر از بہار بُود جلوۂ خزاں
چوہدری خُوشی محمد ناظر

We close our section on gardens with the following appropriate Arabic couplets :—

يا نسيم الخلد من بين الربى بينها الانهارُ تجرى السلسبيل
كَلَّلَت ضفاتها ما اَعجبا خُضرةٌ اَنفاسُها تَشفى العليل
وعليها الطّيرُ لحناً اَطربا مادحاً ما ابدع اللهُ الجليل

[**The Bulbul.**—In the above section, we have spoken of the garden and the *gulāb* or the rose, of the cypress or the *sarv*, the *chinār* or the plane, and the *safīda* or the poplar, and also of the pine. We should not omit the Bulbul or the nightingale, which, along with verdure, water, wine and the beloved, is an almost essential element in the amusements of Eastern life.

The Bulbul of Kashmīr is white-cheeked, and has a conspicuous bent-forward crest, as described by a World Watcher.[1] The chin, throat and portions of the side of the neck are black. There is a large white patch on the face. The rump is yellow, the iris brown, the bill and the legs are black.

The Bulbul is found throughout the Himālayas and Central India. Outside India, this bird is found as far west as 'Irāq. Poets have sung of it in high praise. Frequent references to it are met with throughout Persian poetry. The Bulbul is supposed to be a bringer of good fortune. Its warbling on the window in a Kashmīrī home signifies the advent of a guest.[2] Its movements, gestures, and sweet twitter are very much appreciated and Hāfiz calls it بُلبلِ خُوش نوا (Bulbul of sweet melody). Quite unmindful of the severity of the winter, a pair will sit on a window sill within a hand's breadth of each other, and move closer and closer in pure love.

The Bulbul feeds on insects and fruit. The breeding season is April and May. The nest is wisely placed in low branches of fruit trees. It is a well-constructed cup of dry stems of plants, mixed with dry grass stalks and shreds of vegetable fibre, and has a lining of some finer grass material. Sometimes the outer part of the nest is entirely made of hair. The eggs laid are of a pinkish colour with splotches of red of various shades and measure 22 ; 8 x 16 ; 7 mm.]

Music.

Music is something which is natural as well as acquired. Countries which abound in natural luxuriance and lavish abundance of birds, animals, fruits, flowers and verdure, are richly endowed with a wealth of sounds, which with the slightest vibration, burst into exquisite melody. The people of such a country are born musicians. They evolve melodic

1. *Birds of Kashmir* by Pandit Samsār Chand Kaul, Normal Press, Srīnagar, 1939, page 14.

2. *Ibid.*, page 15.

forms of their own to suit their own environs, and these forms are full, and intensely rich with pathos and feeling. Such a country is Kashmīr, which has folk-music, bards and minstrels, singing, humming, chanting, on all occasions, to intermingle with the work in hand, to sweeten their labour. The boatmen sing in rhythm to the strokes and splash of water, and the Kashmīrī boat-song is something which is born in the soil just as much as the lotus is. It resounds in the valleys and communes with the song of the birds, and the whispering of the winds. Then, there is the magnetic appeal of the shepherd boy up on the mountains. He plays on his reed a melodious stirring chant and the animal kingdom respond to his magic call, and even the winds begin to sing a choral symphony of nature. Even the coolie bent with his burden and the maid-servant washing dirty vessels enjoy singing !

About 1,000 years ago, when Muslims came over to India, they brought with them their own style, particularly Sūfī music. In course of time, it blended with the music of the land and became so popular that, through the powerful patronage of Muslim monarchs, early Arabian and Īrānian melodies were resounding in the whole of Hindustān, north, south, east and west. The influence of the great masters of music like Amīr Khusrav and Mīrzā Tān Sain, inventors of Styles, Rāgs and Tāls, have lived and will live throughout the centuries. They also invented instruments which are popularly played today. The Rāgs and instruments played in Kashmīr are definitely the result of the same influence, and bear the same appellations. The distinctive feature is, however, the *Folk Music* which has special characteristics, and is soul-stirring.

We shall now trace the development of music in Kashmīr. It is a significant fact that a Kashmīrian, the great Çāranga-devā, was the author of the *Sangīta-ratnākara*. He lived in the first half of the thirteenth century at the court of the Yādava king named Simhaṇa II, who ruled at Devagirī in the Deccan from 1210 to 1247 A.C. The *Sangīta-ratnākara* is in Sanskrit. It is the only authoritative work during the 13th century which treats of *rāgs*, instruments and other technical details of Indian music. It is divided into seven *adhyāyas* or chapters : (1) Svara, (2) Rāga,

(3) Prakīrṇaka (general theory of music), (4) Prabandha (composition), (5) Tāla, (6) Vādya (instruments), (7) Nṛtya (dance). The text was edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Shāstri and published, thus far in two volumes, by the Adyār Library, Madras, Volume 1 in 1943, and Volume 2 in 1944. Many commentaries are known to have been written on the *Sangitaratnākara*, four in Sanskrit, one in Hindī, and two in Telegu being well-known. The English translation of Chapter 1 of Volume 1 by Dr. C. Kunhan Rājā, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras, was published by the Adyār Library, Madras, in September, 1945. Çārangadeva's father was Soḍhala who held the office of the Chief Secretary of King Simhaṇa II. Soḍhala's father was Bhāskara who migrated from Kashmīr[1] in the 12th century A.C. and settled in the Deccan.

[It is a general belief that North and South Indian systems of music have little in common. But Mr. Parur A. Sundaram Iyer (*The Hindu*, Madras, Sunday, August 18, 1946, p. 10, col. 2) says that his intensive study of more than a quarter of a century and his personal experience have led him to the conclusion that there is no difference at all between the two systems. The fundamentals of both Hindustānī and Karnātic music, he says, are the same. The original source for both the systems, to him, is the music of the Vedas. The distinction, he says, between Karnātic music and Hindustānī music is only in the style of rendering. The *Sangīt Ratanākara* of Çārangadeva is a common authority for both North Indian and South Indian music. The same *rāga* is known by different names in Bombay, Calcutta, Gwāliār, etc. This creates the impression that there are as many systems of *rāgas*, while the truth is that the same *rāga* is sung under different names in different parts.]

According to Abu'l Fazl,[2] schools of music were founded in Kashmīr by Īranī and Tūrānī musicians under the patronage of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. As a direct result of the influence of these schools, a good many melodies were imported into Kashmīrī music. They are:—Rāst, Chārgāh, 'Īrāq, Nawā, Rahavī, Shāh Nawāz, Naurūzka, Yemen,[3] Kalyān, Khamāj, Bihāg, Jhinjōtī, Pahāṛī, Bilāval, Husainī

1. *Sangītaratnākar*, in Sanskrit, edited by H.N. Apte, Poona, 1896, Vol. I, verses 2 to 6, page 4.

2. See Blochmann's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, 1873, page 611.

3. This is borne out by Maulavī 'Abdul Halīm *Sharar's* article on "The Influence of Īrānian Music on Indian Music." The article was originally written for the Baroda Musical Conference,

Toḍī, Asāoarī, Tilang, Udāsī, Purbī, Sohnī, Suraṭha, Kāngṛa, and Dhanāsrī. The addition of the *Rāst Kashmīrī* is attributed to Habba Khātūn, the queen of King Yūsuf Shāh Chak.

Baḍ Shāh's love of music.

Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn loved music. And he always made generous allowances to musicians. On account of the Sultān's generosity and his love for music, a good many *sāzindas* (players) and *gūindas* (chanters) flocked to Kashmīr from all directions. One of such musicians was Mullā 'Ūdī of Khurāsān. He was the immediate pupil of the celebrated Khwāja 'Abdul Qādir, and was an excellent player on the *'ūd*, or the lute. Mullā 'Ūdī played upon the *'ūd* to the great delight of the Sultān and his courtiers and was, on all occasions, most amply rewarded by the Sultān[1] for his performances.

In those days there was, also in the court of the Sultān, Mullā Jamīl, (or Mullā Jyamāla of Çrīvara),[2] the poet-musician, who was a great expert in vocal music and possessed a beautiful voice. In fact, Çrīvara says, he "pleased the king as Nārada pleases Indra." Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā of Khurāsān had directed Jamīl to Baḍ Shāh's court. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn was always kind to him and paid him handsomely for his skill. The Mullā was unusually witty, and sometime played the part of Akbar's Mullā Dū Payāza for Baḍ-Shāh's court. According to Firishta, Mullā Jamīl's songs were long on the lips and lutes of the Kashmīrīs. Za'frān, whom Çrīvara calls Jāpharana, was another court singer. He sang with Çrīvara "the difficult Turushka metres before the king." (pp. 135-36).

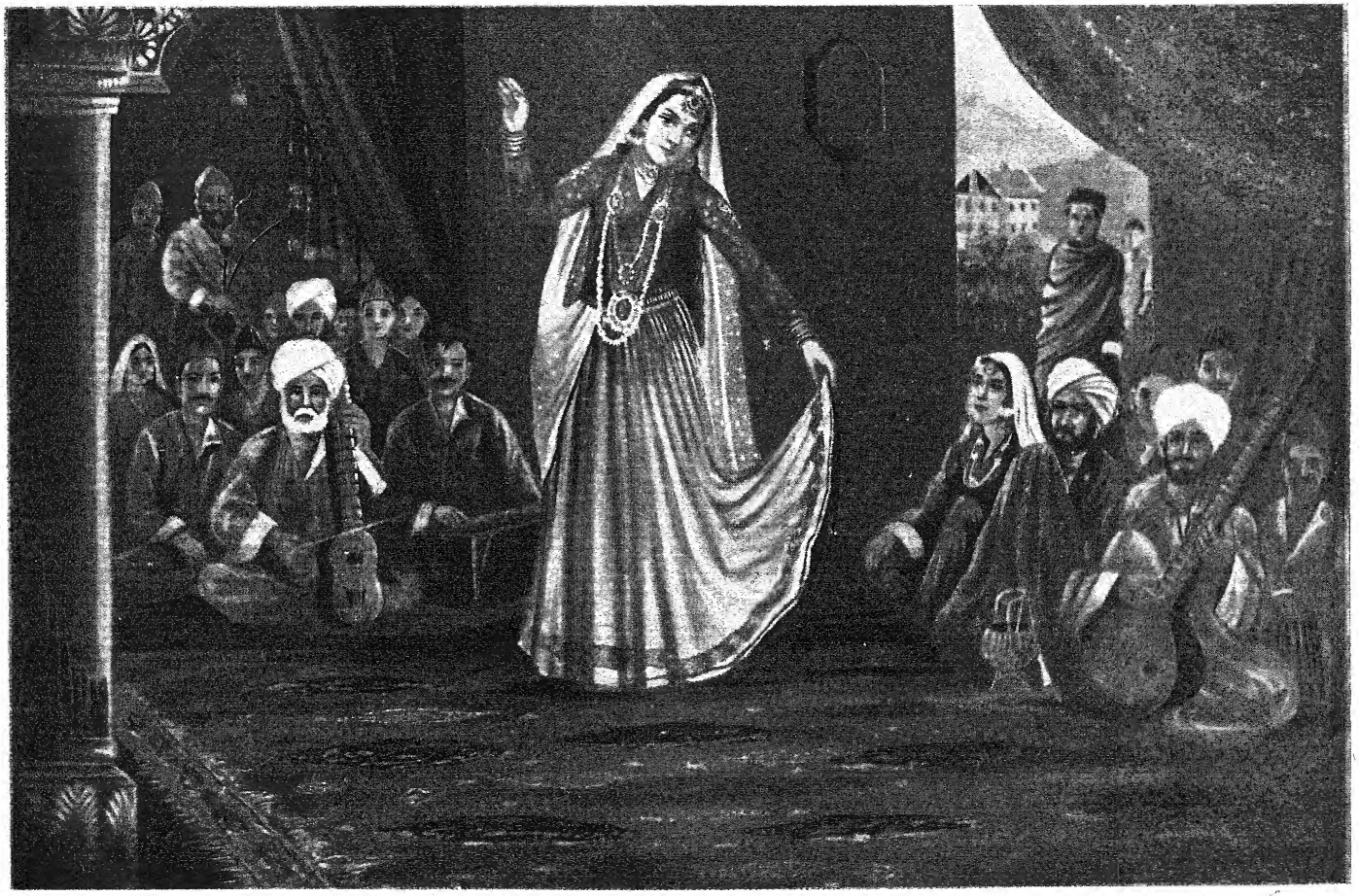
Çrīvara's description of Kashmīrī dances.

There was a great influx into Kashmīr of expert dancers both male and female. The Sultān encouraged the art of dancing by paying all dancers liberally and by employing the best ones in his service. "The king who was possessed of the three cardinal virtues, whose fame was spread over the three worlds . . . spent the three watches of the night in witnessing the three kinds of dance."

1. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn, litho, page 603
2. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 135.

(*Kings of Kashmīra*, page 136). He was so enamoured of music that, whenever he was pleased with musicians he used to order that their musical instruments be "set with gold, silver and jewels."

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn "was a part of Mahādeva (the greatest of the Hindu Triad, also called Natarāja or the king of Actors)," wrote Çrīvara (p. 133), "and his courtiers who attended on him were like Cupid who had multiplied into many persons in order to overcome him. The spectators and the singers knew literature, rhetoric, and philosophy, and appreciated merit. Young women, proficient in music, possessed of sweet voice, and with a genuine ardour for song, graced the palace. The men were learned and dignified, and fond of enjoyment; and they displayed their taste and their intelligence on the stage. The renowned Tārā and the actors sang various songs to the *nārācha* tune, and to every kind of music. And the songstress Utsavā who was even like Cupid's arrow, charming to the eye and proficient in dance, both swift and slow, entranced everyone. The actresses, who displayed the forty-nine different emotions seemed even like the ascending and descending notes of music personified. As they danced and sang, the eye and the ear of the audience seemed to contend for the keenest enjoyment. The scene was indeed beautiful. The songs of the actresses were like the voice of the *kokila* (Indian cuckoo). The stage was like a garden where the lamps on it looked like rows of the champaka flower, and around them were men intoxicated with wine, like bees around flowers. Rows of lamps surrounded the king, as if the gods, pleased with his government, had come to witness the dance, and had thrown a garland of golden lotuses round him. In some places, the rows of lamps were reflected on the water, as if Varuṇa (the Regent of the Ocean) had, out of favour towards the king, illumined his court with lights from the Nāga world. The lines of lamps shone like jewels on the heads of the Nāgas who had come to witness the dance. Those who were at a distance doubted if the lights were really lamps, or the spirits of former kings assembled to view the present sovereign, or stars and the moon descended from the sky to attend on the king, or the spirits of holy men who had attained emancipation, or if they were the great gods assembled there in their grace and beauty.



Kashmīrī Singers and a Dance.

"The spectators seemed to view Indra (Lord of the Gods) himself in the king. The poets and panḍitas beside the king were like demigods. His servants were like the attendant gods. And the *yōgīs* around him were like holy men who had obtained salvation. The actresses were like *apsarās* (fairies) whose charms were heightened by their emotions. The singers were the *Gandharvas* (Indra's musicians), and the stage was heaven itself."[1]

A poet, named Uttha Soma, flourished at the royal court. He used to write verses in the Kashmīrī language. He was also a scholar of Indian sciences, and was the author of the biography of the Sultān. He wrote a book, named *Mānaka*, on music, which he dedicated to the Sultān. According to another account,[2] a book named *Jaina-charit* was written by Yodhabhaṭṭa. But Çrīvara says: "Yodhabhaṭṭa is a poet in the vernacular language—*viz.* Kashmīrī, and composed drama, pure like a mirror called the *Jaina-prakasha* in which he gave an account of the king. Bhaṭṭāvatāra who had perused the *Shāh-nāma*, vast as the sea, composed a work named *Jaina-vilāsa*, as the counterpart of the king's *Instructions*" (page 136). When Dongar-Sen, the rājā of Gwāliār, heard of the Sultān's taste for music he sent him all standard books on Indian music. Gwāliār, it may be remembered, has been known as the home of music and musicians, and is proud of its association with Mīyān Tān Sain.

Sultān Haidar Shāh's interest in music.

Sultān Haidar Shāh learnt the use of the lute from Khwāja 'Abdul Qādir, and the use of other instruments from Pandit Çrīvara. Çrīvara[3] says that the Sultān was so well-skilled in the art of playing on the lute that "he gave lessons even to the professors."

Sultān Hasan Shāh's encouragement of music.

Sultān Hasan Shāh was also a great patron of music. At his court, there were twelve hundred musicians from Hindustān. Çrīvara, who says he was "the head of a section of the music department," states that Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn (Shāh Mīr) was gracious, 'Alā-ud-Dīn was politic, Shihāb-ud-Dīn was a hero, and Qutb-ud-Dīn was wise. Sultān Sikandar was the favourite of Muslim nobles. 'Alī

1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, pages 133-134.
2. The *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* or the *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta*, Litho. page 344.
3. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 188.

Shāh was liberal. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn loved all branches of learning and was versed in the literature of all languages. Haidar Shāh was an expert in performances on the lute. But the present king (Hasan Shāh) is a master of music." Çrīvara adds: "People observed that every one of the former kings of this country was famous for some special quality, but it is said of the present king, that even Jahāngīr Māgre, and others so well versed in music, bowed at his feet when they heard his melodious and delightful songs."[1]

Çrīvara further records: "The king was versed in Sanskrita verses, but was fond of vernacular (Kashmīrī) songs, and he repeated the following *shloka* in praise of music setting it to music: 'The power of music renovates withered trees, subdues the lower animals, and makes the gods descend to woods and speak unseen. In sorrow and in pleasure, it gives joy to the ignorant and the learned, to the young and the old alike. May such music abide with me!' "

"The singers from Karnāṭa (below the Deccan) sat gracefully before the king as if they represented the six tunes: *viz*:—Kedāra, Gauḍa, Gāndhāra, Desha, Bhangāla, and Mālava. The female dancers of the king shone beauteously and bright like the lamps at night, they were inflamed by the god of love and were young and full of emotions, even as the lamps were fed by wax, and were new and supplied with wick. The female dancers Ratnamālā, Dīpamālā, and Nripamālā danced charmingly displaying emotions and gestures." Ratnamālā is specially singled out by Çrīvara for the enchanting charm of her dances.

"Admirable are the kings who devote themselves every day to learning and to the compositions of poets, who encourage beautiful women skilled in music and overpowering as the five arrows of the god of love, and who devote themselves to the affairs of the world and of men. Pavārakadana was celebrated for his song, his poetry, and his music. He had heard of the king's fame which was gratifying to his ears and he came to Kashmīr from his distant country. He sang songs composed by himself in the assembly, and the king was pleased with him, and showered gold on him."[2]

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1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 234.
2. *Ibid.*, pages 231-3.

Mīrzā Haidar's interest in music.

Mīrzā Haidar Ḍughlāt, during his stay in Kashmīr in the 16th century, devoted much of his time and attention to music. Jahāngīr speaking of Mīrzā Haidar's interest in music at the time says: "There were many skilled people there. They were skilled in music, and their lutes, dulcimers, harps, drums, and flutes were celebrated." In fact, Abu'l Fazl takes Mīrzā Haidar to task for devoting too much of his time and attention to music.

Akbar and Tān Sain.

A strong revival of Indian music then came about in the days of Akbar. The emperor paid "much attention to it and was the patron of all who practised this enchanting art." "There were numerous musicians at court, Hindus, Īrānīs, Tūrānīs and Kashmīrīs." "They were arranged in seven divisions one for each day of the week." The genius of Mīyān Tān Sain, the Orpheus of India, who embraced Islam and assumed, or was given the title of Mīrzā and adopted, or was given, the name, 'Atā Husain, breathed new life into Indian music enlarging and developing it. Music thus regained its glory and was modernized to suit Muslim taste.* The Mīrzā was the last great exponent. He unravelled the hidden mysteries of each *Rāg* and brought the technique to perfection. It is his systematization that has been followed since. This revival greatly affected the musicians of Kashmīr and consequently a good many Indian *rāganīs* found their way into the Valley.

Yūsuf Shāh Chak.

Malik Haidar Chāḍura who was for twenty years with Yūsuf Shāh Chak testifies to his love of music, and its encouragement by him. For, after all, it was the song of Habba that had attracted him to her. The Malik mentions that, while at the court of Akbar, Yūsuf Shāh corrected Tān Sain and the correction was duly acknowledged by the great singer.

Kashmīr *sāzindas* (or players) are experts at wind instruments like Totā-gazī, Al-Ghūza, Nāi, and Nafīrī. The popularity of the Kashmīrī *bhānḍ* or *bhagat* (minstrel) in the Punjāb may be gauged from the fact that he was till recently

*Vincent A. Smith's *Akbar*, 1927, pages 62 and 422, 423.

in demand on marriage occasions in places like Amritsar, Lāhore and Ludhiāna and the countryside because of a large Kashmīrī population in these cities, etc.

It will be interesting to note that, up to this day, groups of musicians and actors and rāsdhārīs (musicans who perform Hindu religious plays) have been coming down from the Happy Valley to sing songs, dance, and play farces for the amusement of Kashmīrīs and others in the Punjāb. These minstrels of Kashmīr, says Lawrence,[1] can be recognized by their long black hair and stroller mien. They combine singing with acting and are great rovers. At harvest time, they move about the country. Their orchestra usually consists of four fiddles with a drum in the centre, or of clarionets and drums, but the company often contains twenty members or more. Their wardrobe is frequently of great value. Their acting is excellent, Lawrence thinks, and their songs are often very pretty. They are clever at improvisation, and are fearless as to its results. One of their favourite themes is a caricature of village life which is often very amusing and exact. The class known as *shā'ir* or poet do not act, but sing to the accompaniment of a guitar and compose verses. They have songs in Kashmīrī, Persian and Punjābī. The principal musical instruments known to Kashmīrī musicians are: (1) Gichak (Gezak) which resembles the Indian Sārangī but is somewhat bigger. It is played upon by a bow. (2) The Sitārī or the small *Sitār*, (3) the Qānūn, an instrument with many strings. It has زیر و بم—*zir u-bam, i.e.*, it is sharp and deep. It is a fine instrument and sounds like a harp when played upon.

It is a highly significant fact that all Kashmīrī musicians are invariably Musalmāns. The Kashmīrī Pandits were theorists and chanted the *shlokas* and *mantras* in a set monotone.[2]

[NOTE.—I am grateful to 'Atīya Begam Faizī Rahmin of Bombay, the author of the *Sangīt of India*, for her critical reading of this section on Music and for her suggestions.]

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1. *The Valley of Kashmīr*, page 312.

2. The article of the late Rāi Bahādur Pandit Shiv Nārāyan *Shamīm*, ex-President, Panjāb Historical Society, Lāhore, on "Kashmīrī Music" in the *Zamāna*, Cawnpore, November, 1916, from which useful information has been obtained.

Painting

Mānī in Kashmīr.

It is indeed curious that we should begin the section on painting with the great Mānī, who was born about 215-16 A.C. Firdausī makes Mānī a native of China, and places his death in the reign of Shāhpur of Īrān, by whom, he says, Mānī was flayed alive about 273 A.C. Abu'l Fazl's account differs. According to him Mānī's presumption led him to claim the authority of a prophet. When his imposture was discovered, he was condemned to death, but he contrived to escape by flight. Abu'l Fazl further says that "Mānī remained in Kashmīr for a time and then entered India." Mānī had "learnt the art of painting in which he had attained incomparable skill. He painted some wonderful figures, which are celebrated by the name of Artang or Arzang. Mānī claimed that these were painted by angels and brought them forward as witness of his prophetic mission." Beyond this statement of Abu'l Fazl which may be referred to in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*,[1] there is no clue whatsoever to any painting left by Mānī in Kashmīr.

On account of the religious objection to the delineation of living forms, Muslims did not ordinarily go into the art of painting or achieve the excellence their genius could rise to in other fields of art. In India, it was probably the dictum of Akbar that gave a definite turn to the faculty of the Muslim artist when His Majesty said—"It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for, a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."[2] There is, a remarkable set of twenty-four large paintings on cotton, preserved in the Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London, that was produced in Kashmīr about the middle of the sixteenth century, before Akbar took measures to encourage painting after the Īrānian manner. These cotton paintings are said to have been illustrations of a manuscript book of stories which has not been preserved

1. English Translation, by Col. H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta, Vol. 3, 1894, pages 336-337.

2. The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, English Translation, by H. Blockmann, Volume I, 1873, page 108.

or is identifiable. The subjects comprise many battles and scenes of bloodshed. The most pleasing and best preserved composition represents a central garden plot with *chinār* trees, and a highly decorated palace in the Īrānian style; cranes are seen flying above. The rocky scenery found in all, or almost all, the pictures is connected with Kashmīr. These works may be conjectured to have been executed in Kashmīr between 1540 and 1551 A.C.,[1] when Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt was in the Valley. Abu'l Fazl has recorded that Mullā Jamīl who, as a singer, adorned the court of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, was pre-eminent among his contemporaries in painting. The Sultān must have, therefore, encouraged painting in his time, but unfortunately the details are lacking.

The Kashmīrī Qalam.

Pictures, originally painted in Kashmīr, are known as Kashmīrī *qalam* (pen). Some of the details of the process of painting in Kashmīr are of considerable interest. Several uses were made of plain water, without the admixture of colour, this method being referred to as *ābina*. For instance, a sketch was sometimes drawn with a brush charged with pure water only; when dry, this leaves a water-mark impression which acts as a guide for future work. A very delicate shade, says Percy Brown,[2] was obtained by the Kashmīrī painters, who allowed water to stand until it had completely evaporated, thus depositing a slight sediment. This sediment was then used as a background tint to faces, and gave a faint but charming tone to the picture. Water was, of course, the principal medium through which all the pigments were applied, but with this certain fixatives were mixed such as gum, glue, raw sugar (guṛ), and linseed water.

The hāshiya or the border.

While writing about painting, we should not omit to mention the *hāshiya*, or the bordẹr, of card-board panels. On the *hāshiya*, *tasāvīr* (pictures) and specimens of *khush-khatī* (calligraphy) were mounted, and were prepared by painters. Very often, it would appear that, as a work of art, the border is vastly superior to the picture it frames; the latter not infrequently being eclipsed by the magnificence of its environment. For the most part, the borders are

1. Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, page 454.
2. *Indian Painting*, by Percy Brown, page 105.

painted in colours and gold, with delightful designs in which flowering plant motifs form the basis.

Specimens of Kashmīrī painting, during Mughul days, may still be found in fresco on the walls of the *bāradarīs* (summer houses) of the Nashāt and Shālāmār gardens. Akbar's celebrated group of court painters included five painters from Kashmīr.[1] Jahāngīr, who prided himself on being an excellent connoisseur of painting, did a great deal to stimulate the art in Kashmīr. The flowers of the Valley gave ample material to his chief court painter, *Ustād* or Master Mansūr, whose pictures of the flowers of Kashmīr the emperor got embellished and bound in a beautiful volume.

Fifteen portraits and a landscape painting of Kashmīr were exhibited at the British Empire Exhibition of 1924, but I regret I could not get details about them.

Calligraphy

Calligraphy, or the art of decorative writing, in the words of Mr. Clarke,[2] has been highly esteemed in the East from ancient times, and contributed greatly in diffusing and preserving its languages. The script was, as it were, a 'carrier of holiness.' Under Muslim rule, the extraordinary appreciation of the art of calligraphy was undoubtedly indirectly engendered by the Muslim tradition which prohibited the representation of living things in art, and so 'the artistic spirit craved for satisfaction and found it in calligraphy.' An illuminated calligraphic text, points out Mr. Clarke, hung upon the wall, in the shape of a picture or painting from the Qur'ānic or other sacred or didactic writing, often draws a negligent soul much closer to the moral teaching inculcated in it than all the lessons that one may attempt to impress upon it by scriptural reading or recitation. Moreover, before the invention of printing, clear and neat handwriting was a necessity ; and this was the principal reason why so much stress was laid upon this art.

It would be interesting to note, as already stated in the section on sculpture, that the Arabic alphabet in its various forms, as used for writing both the Arabic and Persian languages, is so well adapted for decorative purposes that almost every Muslim building of importance is freely adorned with texts from the Qur'ān, or other inscriptions arranged decoratively to form part of the architectural

1. Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Moghuls*, page 121.
2. *Indian Drawings in the Wantage Bequest*, page 3.

design and often signed as the work of calligraphists. The angular *kūfī* script is an instance of this. In Kashmīr, calligraphy actually ranked before painting, sculpture and architecture. Some of the most excellent penmen, whose products are classics, are Kashmīrīs. Penmanship flourished under the Sultāns, and, later, under the Mughuls in Kashmīr, when Kashmīrī calligraphists invented an ink which could not be washed away with water. The invention naturally received recognition from the Mughuls. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn was the first to import a number of calligraphists from Central Asia, and introduced the use of paper instead of the *bhoj-patr* (birch-bark). The Sultān, to begin with, had a number of copies made of 'Allāma Zamakhsharī's[1] *Kashshāf* a well-known commentary of the Qur'ān, and used them in his university at Nau Shahr. He conferred *jāgīrs* on his court calligraphists.

According to Abu'l Fazl,[2] the following calligraphic systems were used in Īrān, Turkistān, India and Turkey towards the end of the sixteenth century: (1) the *Suls* and (2) the *Naskh* consisting of one-third curved lines and two-thirds straight lines; (3) the *Tauqī'* and (4) *Riqa'* both containing three-fourths curved lines; (5) the *Muhaqqaq* and (6) the *Raihān* both containing one-fourth curved lines; (7) the *T'alīq* a composite script, formed from the *Tauqī'* and the *Riqa'* containing only a few straight lines; and (8) the *Nasta'līq* composed entirely of curved lines. Numbers 1, 3 and 5 were characterized by thick, heavy letters obtained with a pen full of ink, and, conversely, 2, 4 and 6 by thin, light letters. No. 8, the *Nasta'līq* or the round Persian character, was the one favoured both by Akbar and Jahāngīr and, consequently, was specially practised by Mughul writers from about 1560 A.C. to the end of the seventeenth century.

Muhammad Husain "Zarrīn Qalam."

Muhammad Husain of Kashmīr was the court calligraphist of the Emperor Akbar, by whom he was honoured with the title of *Zarrīn Qalam* (of golden pen). Abu'l Fazl says that Muhammad Husain surpassed his master Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz, his *maddāt* (extensions) and *dawā'ir*

1. 'Allāma Jār-ullāh Zamakhsharī (467-538 A.H.=1074-1143 A.C.), whose original name was Abu'l Qāsim Mahmūd bin 'Umar, was a well-known and learned theologian of the Mu'tazilites.

2. The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, English Translation by H. Blochmann, M.A., Calcutta Madrasah, Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1873, Vol. I, p. 99.

Specimen of the calligraphy of Muhammad Husain Kashmīrī, the court calligraphist of the Emperor Akbar. The title of "Zarrīn Qalam", of Golden Pen, was conferred on Muhammad Husain by the Emperor.

(curvatures) show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullā Mīr 'Alī. Akbar called him *Jādū-raqam*[1] (the writer whose penmanship has the effect of magic). Jahāngīr, who calls him "the chief[2] of the elegant writers of the day," as a mark of his great appreciation of the skill of Muhammad Husain, presented him with an elephant. Muhammad Husain died in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.C.), six years after Akbar's death. A copy of Muhammad Husain's facsimile appears on the opposite page.

'Alī Chaman Kashmīrī was another of the noted calligraphists attached to Akbar's court.

Muhammad Murād Kashmīrī[3] was the court calligraphist of Shāh Jahān. In point of beauty, his penmanship was considered next only to those of the celebrated Mullā Mīr 'Alī and Sultān 'Alī. He was the master of both large and small hands. Shāh Jahān conferred on him the title of *Shīrīn Qalam* (the sweet pen). His influence over contemporary calligraphists was extraordinary. The curvature of his letters was universally acclaimed to be superb. Muhammad Muhsin, the younger brother of Muhammad Murād, was also a well-known calligraphist. Both the brothers were poets as well. They were the sons of a well-known merchant.

Mullā Bāqir Kashmīrī was also in the service of Shāh Jahān and was considered a master[4] of *Nasta'līq*, *Ta'līq Naskh* and *Shikast*.

Ahmad, Haidar, Ibrāhīm, Kamāl, and Ya'qūb are other noted names[5] mentioned in connexion with the illumination of some well-known manuscripts and paintings. Information about these painters and calligraphists is not, however, available.

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1. *Tazkira-i-Khushnavīsān* by Maulānā Ghulām Muhammad *Haft Qalam* of Delhi, edited by Maulavī Hidāyat Husain, and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, page 79.

2. *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, English Translation, Rogers and Beveridge, 1909, Vol. I, page 97.

3. *Ibid.*, page 91.

4. *Tazkira-i-Khushnavīsān*, pages 100 and 101.

5. Dr. 'Abdullāh Chaghtāī's contribution to the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* for 1943-44, Volume V, Appendix pp. 307-311.

The scripts generally used[1] in Kashmīr are: in Arabic—*Kūfī*, *Naskh*, *Makramat*, *Suls*, *Riqa'*, and *Raihān*; in Persian—*Nasta'līq*, *Shikast*, *Gulzār*, *Nākhun*, *Shikast-āmīz*, and *Shafī'a*.

INDUSTRIES

The beautiful environment of Kashmīr naturally creates in the minds of its inhabitants a keen and intelligent appreciation of nature and its beauties. The artistic faculty of the Kashmīrī receives a great stimulus from the beautiful surroundings in which he lives. The variety of colour and form, the subtlety of design, the kaleidoscopic change of landscape have their effect on the imaginative and thoughtful Kashmīrī. He reproduces with marvellous accuracy the most complicated patterns found in nature. In reproducing the colours and designs of nature, the Kashmīrī artist has attained a mastery and perfection all his own. With elegance of taste and a refinement of artistic sense, he combines the virtue of application and labour. He revels in art for its own sake. His works of art are things of beauty. The Kashmīrī finds beauty all round. He reproduces beauty. In fact, he creates beauty. And he is satisfied with nothing but beauty:

زیرک و درّاک و خوش گل ملّتے است
در جهان تر دستئی او آیتے است—اقبال

The Kashmīrī's body and clothes are no doubt dirty but, like nature, his creative work is like the rose rising from mud.

The industries of Kashmīr are all suited to its climate and environment. Nature has amply provided raw products for the Kashmīrī, who thus applies his genius to creative work to the best advantage. The industries of Kashmīr are worthy of individual consideration.

Just as Europe was in slumber when the Saracens had reached the height of their glory, Upper India lacked even the elements of stable government when Kashmīr was the centre of learning and the home of arts and crafts that made it so famous in the world. Speaking of those times, Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt[2] says: "In Kashmīr one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-

1. *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* by Dīwān Kirpā Rām, page 505.
2. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation by Ross and Elias, page 434.

The curve of the River Jhelum above Srīnagar.

making, window-cutting (*tābdān tarāshī*), gold-beating, etc. In the whole of Māvarā-an-Nahr (Trans-Oxiana), except in Samarqand and Bukhārā, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmīr they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn."

Shawls

Of all Indian textiles, says Dr. A. Coomaraswamy,[1] none excel in beauty of colour, texture and design the famous Kashmīr shawls. All the finest work takes the form of shawls and *chughas* (coats). The word *jāmawār*, the most costly form of the flowered sheet or shawl, signifies literally a gown-piece. Some of the shawls and *chughas* are woven, some embroidered, the result being often indistinguishable without close inspection or an examination of the reverse side of the stuff. The woven shawls are all of patchwork construction, though the joins are so fine as to be invisible and the thickness of the stuff is not affected at the join. Such shawls are made of long strips or ribbons woven as fine tapestry on small looms, and afterwards joined along their length. But many of the best shawls are partly woven and partly embroidered. The finest work appears more like painting than tapestry. And the most costly may be worth as much as or more than a thousand pounds. Even at the period of miserable collapse in the shawl trade after the Franco-German War of 1870, a shawl could fetch £300 sterling in Kashmīr itself, says Andrew Wilson writing in 1875. The usual motif of the decoration of the woven shawls, as Dr. Coomaraswamy points out, is the well-known *kūnj* (cone) derived almost certainly from the Īrānian[2] wind blown cypress. Some, however, attribute the cone to ancient Egypt. But it is not improbable that the cone, which the glorious Jhelum itself forms above Srīnagar, looked at from the top of the Takht-i-Sulaimān, may have suggested itself to the Kashmīrī artist. An embroidered scarf may follow any design or illustrate any story like that of Shīrīn-Farhād.

"The shawl of Kashmīr is, perhaps, the only article of apparel that improves by wear," wrote Baron Schönberg in his *Travels* published in 1853 A.C. (page 134), "but certain it is that one of these beautiful fabrics which has been worn for some time, and even washed, becomes

1. *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, 1913, page 250.
2. *Ibid.*, page 251.

brighter in colour, and more pliant to the touch than when new." One of these shawls may be worn for years without losing anything of its beauty. In fact, through use, the shawl will acquire a certain flexibility which improves its appearance. Frequent washings lessen the value of the shawl, but the colours are so excellent, and so little affected by time, that connoisseurs cannot determine the age of a shawl by its appearance, even when it has been a long time in wear.

Shawls made of Kēl-phamb.

The beauty of the shawl depends as much on the brilliancy and durability of its unrivalled colours, and their being carefully harmonized, and the material of which it is made, as on the quality of its workmanship. The shawl is made of fine, short, soft, flossy under-fur called *tosh* or *kēl-phamb*, or the *pashm* (fine wool) of the *kēl* or shawl goat, also called the Himālayan ibex or the Ladākhī goat (*Capra sibirica*). The *kēl* inhabits the elevated regions of Tibet and is found in the mountains of Ladākh, Baltistān and Wardwān. The higher the *kēl* lives, the finer and warmer is its wool. Andrew Wilson, writing in 1875, notes that the finest of the goat's wool employed in shawl manufacture comes from Turfān, in the Yārqand territory. He adds: "It is only on the wind-swept steppes of Central Asia that animals are found to produce so fine a wool." On an average, a sheep in Kashmīr yields two pounds of wool per year. Most shawls are usually 3½ yards long and 1½ yards in breadth or thereabout.

Origin of the shawl industry.

The shawl industry in Kashmīr may be said to be as old as the hills. It is stated to have flourished in the days of the Kurus and Pāṇḍus. It was a prosperous industry in the days of the Roman empire, when Kashmīrī shawls "were worn by the proudest beauties at the court of the Cæsars." In Açoka's time, we find the shawl mentioned in Buddhistic works as the Kashmīrī shawl. But thereafter for a long period this art was dead.*

*The article of the late Pandit Ānand Kaul Bāmizaī, President, Srīnagar Municipality, "The Kashmir Shawl Trade," in the now defunct *East and West* of January, 1915, page 30. Obviously this article is based on the *Risālah dar Fann-i-Shālbāfī* written by Hājī Mukhtār Shāh Ashā'ī, at the instance of Dr. G. W. Leitner, Kūh-i-Nūr Press, Lāhore, 1887. Hājī Mukhtār Shāh traded in Kashmīr shawls with France for 32 years.

Shāh Hamadān's initiative in the shawl industry.

It was, however, through the efforts of the great saint, Shāh Hamadān,[1] in the latter part of the fourteenth century, that the shawl, as we know it now, was born in Kashmīr. Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, who was then the ruler of Kashmīr, "patronized, nourished and stimulated it." About two centuries later, the shawl industry received an impetus through the endeavours of Naghz Beg, a resident of Khūqand.[2] Naghz Beg was in the service of Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt. An artist by nature, it was Naghz Beg who introduced in the texture of the shawl, a new feature of red and green spots in regular rows.

Classes of Shawls.

There are two principal classes of shawls, namely, *tīlī* or *kānī* or loom-woven, and the *'amalīkār*. The design of the *'amalī* is worked in almost imperceptible stitches covering the whole ground in an elaborate pattern. The production of an *'amalī* shawl may involve a year's labour and be sufficient to make a fine *choga*. This latter was invented by Sa'īd Bābā'[3] alias 'Alā Bābā, in the time of Āzād Khān, the Afghān governor of Kashmīr from 1783 to 1785 A.C. It is said that Sa'īd Bābā was led to this invention by observing a fowl walking on a white sheet of cloth. The fowl left prints of its dirty feet on the cloth. This suggested to him that, if he covered these stains with coloured thread with the help of the needle, the cloth would look prettier. He did so, and found his attempt successful. He improved upon it.

Shawls under the Mughuls.

In the days of the Mughul emperors, the art of shawl weaving attained to such excellence that a shawl of one and a half square yards could be twisted and passed through an ordinary finger ring. It is available today and is known as the ring-shawl of Kashmīr. A similar silken shawl is also a ring-shawl in that sense. Many Andījān[4] weavers

1. Page 30 of the article of P. Ānand Kaul quoted in the footnote of p. 562.

2. Khūqand, the capital of Farghāna, is now a town in the Soviet Republic of Uzbek, Russian Turkistan, situated on the Sir Daryā. It manufactures cutlery, silks and cotton fabrics and is the centre of a large trade. In 1926 A.C., its population was 69,324.

3. Pandit Ānand Kaul's article quoted above.

4. Andījān is a town in Russain Turkistān, south of Sir Daryā, a terminus of the Trans-Caspian Railway, 73 miles north-east of Khūqand. Its population is 82,235.

were brought down to Kashmīr by the Mughuls. These weavers adopted the *jiūgha* design. The *jiūgha* was a jewelled ornament in shape like an almond, and was worn on the turban. The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*[1] records how Akbar improved the department of shawls in four ways and how he himself wore them. The price of different shawls ranged between rupees two hundred to twelve hundred each in those days. Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr were all extremely fond of shawls, and patronized and subsidized the shawl-weaving industry. Bernier,[2] at his visit, found the shawl promoting the trade of the country and filling it with wealth. In the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shāh, a new floral design was introduced, and named after him *Muhammad Shāhī Būṭā*.

Shawls under the Afghāns.

Later on, when the Afghāns came to rule in Kashmīr the shawl industry was further improved. The Afghāns showed much liking for shawls. In their days, shawls were in demand in Īrān, Afghānistān, Turkistān and Russia. "In Kashmir are seen," wrote George Forster in 1783 A.C., "merchants and commercial agents of most of the principal cities of Northern India, also of Tartary, Persia and Turkey who, at the same time, advance their fortunes and enjoy the pleasure of a fine climate and country over which are profusely spread the various beauties of nature." He also notes the number of shawl looms as 16,000, though he says that under the Mughuls it was 40,000 [*Journey*, page 22]. The trade with Turkistān was on the increase in consequence of the extending demands of Russia, according to William Moorcroft[3] about 1821 A. C. William Moorcroft[4] estimates the whole value of shawl goods manufactured in Kashmīr at about 35 lakhs of rupees per annum or three hundred thousand pounds. During Sikh rule, it had much declined and in 1822-23 he expected that the value would scarcely exceed half the above sum. But latterly there was an improvement.

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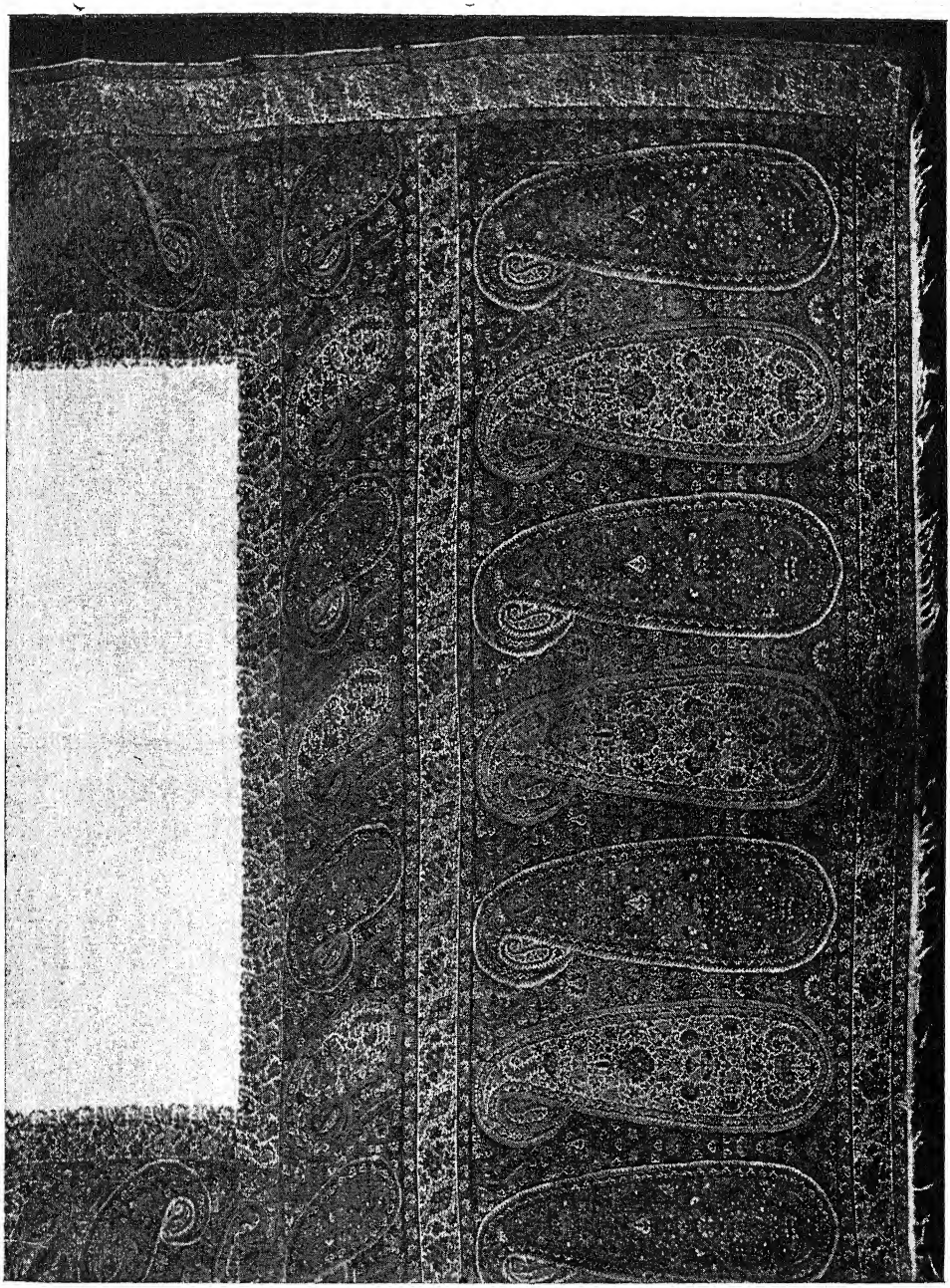
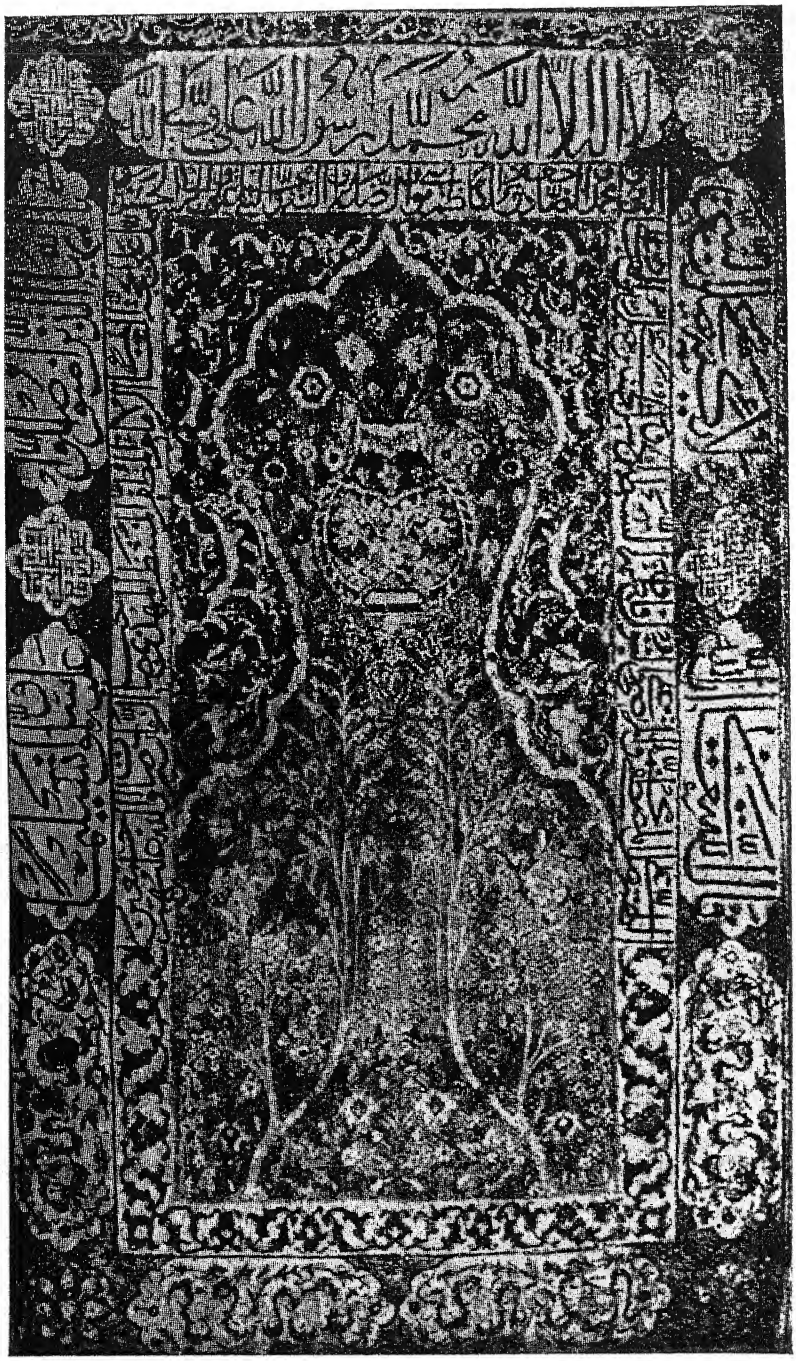
1. Blochmann's English Translation, 1873, Vol. I, page 91.
2. *Travels*, second edition, revised by V. A. Smith, 1914, page 402.
3. *Travels*, page 195.
4. *Ibid.*, page 194. Moorcroft gives details of the preparation and value of shawls made in Kashmīr when he was in the Valley, *vide* pages 164-195, Chapter III of his *Travels*, Volume II.



Specimen of a shawl prepared during Afghān rule in Kashmīr.



Specimen of an old Kashmir Carpet in Iranian design.

Prices of Shawls.

"The price at the loom of an ordinary shawl is eight rupees, thence in proportional quality, it produces from fifteen to twenty; and I have seen," wrote George Forster[1] in 1873, during Afghān days, "a very fine piece sold at forty rupees the first cost. But the value of this commodity may be largely enhanced by the introduction of flowered work; and when you are informed that the sum of one hundred rupees is occasionally given for a shawl to the weaver, the half amount may be fairly ascribed to the ornaments."

Mīr 'Izzatullāh in his *Travels* in 1812-13 found "the *Wāfarūsh* financing shawl manufacturers, and the *Muqīms* appraising shawls. All merchants made their purchases through these *Muqīms*."[2]

Even then, "before the time of General Meean Singh, who was made Governor in 1843-44," wrote Lieutenant Taylor,[3] "the duty on shawls was taken according to the number made and stamped in the year at the rate of three annas in the rupee, every hundred rupees being first reckoned arbitrarily at 144. Besides these two duties, there were many others, such as *chuttianah, russoom dewanke, hakamee, nuzzuranah*, etc., the nature of which I shall not describe here, as it does not affect my subject. By this system the number of shops in Shere Singh's Governorship, which immediately preceded that of Meean Singh, was reduced to six or seven hundred, and the whole business was likely to be destroyed." In Ranbīr's reign, Andrew Wilson says, "the shawl weavers get miserable wages and are allowed neither to leave Kashmīr, nor change their employment, so that they are nearly in the position of slaves; and their average wage is only about three half pence a day."[4]

How shawls became fashionable in the West.

It is said that in 1796 A.C., in the time of 'Abdullāh Khān, the Afghān governor of Kashmīr, a blind man, named Sayyid Yahyā,[5] had come from Baghdād as a visitor to Kashmīr. When he took leave from 'Abdullāh Khān to return, the latter gave him a present of an orange-coloured shawl. The Sayyid is stated to have presented the shawl

1. *Journey*, Vol. II, page 21.
2. *Travels in Central Asia*, translated by Captain Henderson, page 4.
3. *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. VI, page 44.
4. *The Abode of Snow*, page 398.
5. Pandit Ānand Kaul's article on "Shawls," page 34.

to the Khedive in Egypt who, in his turn, presented it to Napoleon Bonaparte, then engaged in the Egyptian campaign. Napoleon passed it on to the future Empress Josephine.[1] From that time, these beautiful Eastern wraps became fashionable for beautiful Western shoulders in Paris and elsewhere.

But according to another account[2] as early as 1519 A.C., "the Kashmīr fabrics, even of the finer kind, must have been known in the west of Europe as may be inferred from the tradition that the light veil fastened by a thin golden thread over the forehead, covering the back of the head and falling on the shoulders, of Leonardo da Vinci's famous portrait of Mona Lisa, wife of Francesco of Giocondo, a citizen of Florence, was in reality one of those earlier Kashmīr fabrics that could be drawn through a lady's ring as a test of its fineness."

"This fine, silky web of wool," says Larousse, "worked with fanciful flowers, distinguished by the tints of its colours, its singular designs, those strange palms draped in shades of great varieties, those borders formed of tortuous lines crossing each other in endless devices, all combine to inspire, at the very sight of a shawl, those who see it with a desire to possess it. Fashion adopted it, protected it, and it soon became the indispensable item of an elegant wardrobe with all those who could afford to purchase and thus aspire to be considered well dressed. Woe to the husbands whose limited incomes would not admit of making their wives a present of a shawl! Double woe to those ladies whose husbands were too poor or too stingy to afford their wives the gratification of their wishes."[3] In Balzac[4] we come across a reference to "white Cashmere." In fact 'Cashmere' or rather 'Cashmerette' came to be applied to a woollen fabric made in France and England in imitation of true 'Cashmere.'

According to Andrew Wilson, writing in 1875, in France, shawls still formed a portion of almost every bride's *trousseau*, and at least in novels every lady of the *demi-monde* is described as wrapped in *un vrai Cachemere*. France alone took about 80 per cent of Kashmīr shawls exported from Asia. The United States of America took 10, Italy 5,

1. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, page 376.
2. *Inside Kashmir*, page 74.
3. Quoted in "Kashmir and its Shawls," page 22.
4. *The Marriage Contract*, Caxton Edition, 1897, page 58.

Russia 2, Great Britain and Germany one per cent each. The vogue of the shawl was thus assured. "During the last ten or fifteen years," wrote Baron Schönberg who was in Kashmīr in the middle of the last century, "a brisk trade in shawls has been carried on between France and Kashmīr. This intercourse has been greatly promoted through the influence of the French gentlemen resident at Lahore. . . General Ventura[1] took a very active interest in this trade, and during some years had an agent, a French gentleman, in Kashmir. . . . . The French agents were in the habit of sending patterns as well as shawls to their own country" (*Travels*, pages 136-137).

In Ranbīr Singh's time, French trade was represented by several houses and their annual exports, chiefly of shawls, averaged in value, it is said,[2] four lacs of rupees. Besides this, the French had establishments at Amritsar where a large trade was done by them.

During the reign of Queen Victoria,[3] it was customary for Her Majesty to present a Kashmīr shawl as a wedding present to a bride, if her people were connected with the court. So these shawls became fashionable in England also. It is significant, therefore, that Baron Schönberg should note that the English Government, when Lahore was still under the Sikhs, made an attempt to bring Kashmīrī weavers to Ludhiāna, a large *bāzār* was built for them and shops and houses were erected for workmen apparently to feed the supply for England.

Kashmīr shawl not successfully copied.

The fine shawl of Kashmīr has not however been successfully manufactured elsewhere. The following extract from a report[4] will illustrate it: "196. A rich banker by name Shoogun Chund, of a respectable establishment and treasurer to the Residency, has within two years made up several shawls under his own personal inspection getting the material and workmen from Cashmere; but the expenses are much beyond the saleable value of the manufacture, nor is it equal in any respect to the same kind of article made at Cashmere.

1. General Ventura was in Sikh service. His residence was in Anārkalī, Lāhore.

2. *Letters from India and Kashmir*, letter 17, page 206.

3. J. F. Blacker's *A. B. C. of Indian Art*, pages 18-19.

4. Report by Mr. T. Fortescue, Civil Commissioner, Delhi, on the customs and town duties of the Delhi Territory, dated 22nd July 1820—*Records of the Delhi Agency* 180-57, Chapter VI, page 168.—*Punjab Government Records*, Punjab Government Press, Lāhore, 1911.

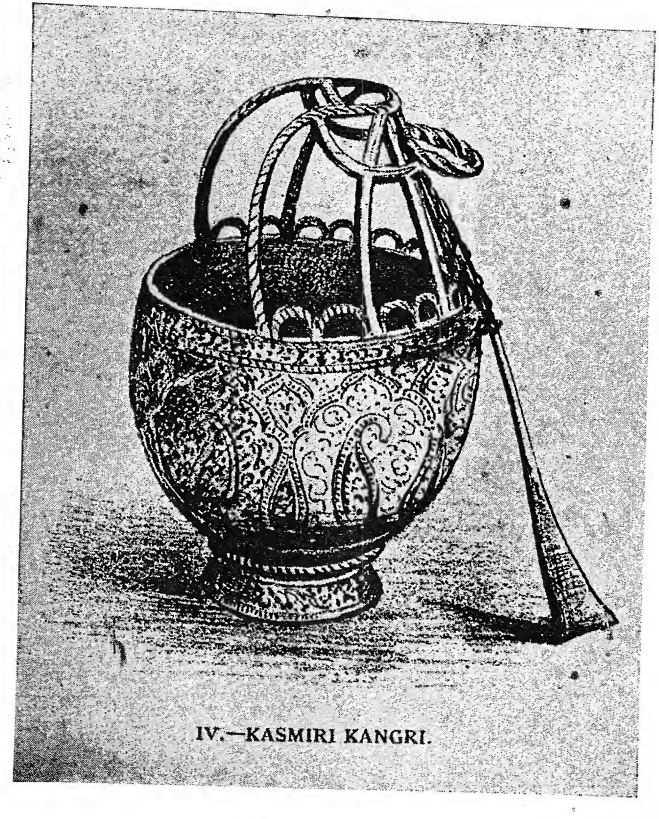
The colour in particular is defective and this, it is said, is a peculiar property of Cashmere itself. No article washed (*sic*) even in its neighbourhood attains to the same superior perfection in this respect. Runjeet Singh tried similarly to manufacture shawls at Lahore, but failed in the same manner as Shoogun Chand has done here."

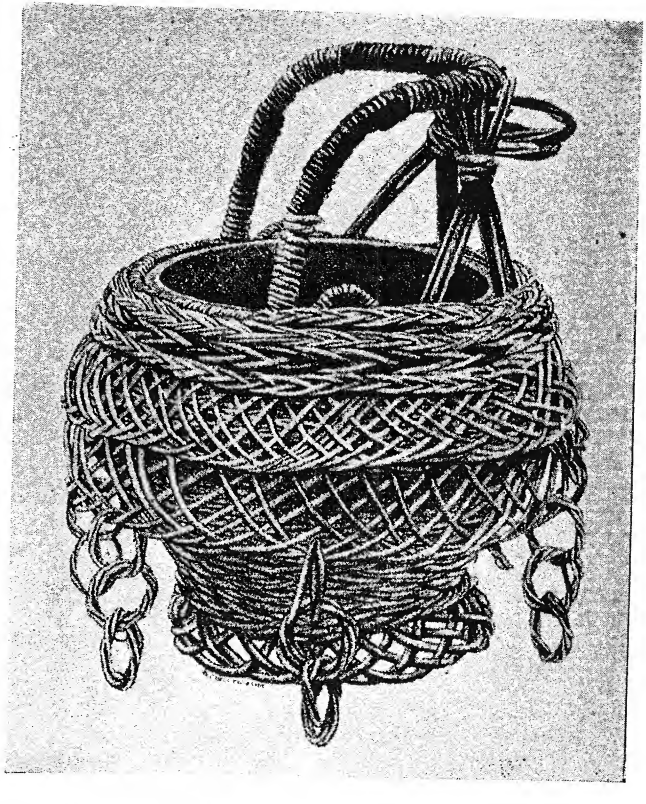
That the British attempt to produce shawls failed will appear from what Baron Hügel[1] says: "The English had begun to aspire to universal dominion in India; the sums of money yearly expended for the shawls of Kashmīr had not escaped their attention, and it had become a question, which engaged their merchants whether it would not be more profitable to manufacture the wool in Hindustan or in England, or even whether it would be possible to introduce the breed of sheep into their own country, and secure the exclusive produce of that material. Mr. Moorcroft, an enterprising man, who had gone out to India as a veterinary surgeon, was commissioned by his government to make journey through the Himalaya to the table-land of Tibet, and report on this matter." Moorcroft's "zealous inquiries into the management of the shawl-wool goat and the various processes of the Kashmīr shawl manufacture together with the specimens he sent home, are allowed to have contributed much to the improvement of the shawl industry at home."[2]

In the days of Sikh rule and in the early days of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh, the industry may be said to have been in a somewhat flourishing condition. But it received its death-blow when war broke out between Germany and France in 1870. Old Kashmīrīs still talk of "the excitement and interest with which the *shāl-bāf* (shāwl-weaver) watched the fate of France in that struggle, bursting into tears and loud lamentations when the news of Germany's victories reached him." Unfortunately, on account of the heavy war indemnity, the French had no spare cash for the purchase of Kashmīr shawls. The revival of the industry received a set-back again on account of the famine of 1878 and 1879. A good many shawl-weavers left Kashmīr for Lāhore, Amritsar and Ludhiāna where they carried on the trade up to August, 1947. A present-day publicist[3]

1. *Travels*, page 8.
2. Quoted in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, April 1933, page 88.
3. *Inside Kashmir*, page 78.

See pages 589-91 of Dr. Sufi's "Kashīr" for details about the Kāngrī.





The Kashmīrī Kāngar or the Kāngrī as pronounced by Non-Kashmīrīs

(From the *Indian Antiquary*, October, 1885.)

A type of the Dal-guldār or Applique Gabba on a Carpet design

(From Publication No. 1, Department of Industries and Commerce, Jammu and Kashmīr State.)

wisely suggests that, if the market in the West was lost the Kashmīr State authorities could find a new market elsewhere.

It is said that the shawl-weavers are forgetting their old art and are imitating the new fashions of Paris and London. The import of cheap German and Australian yarn will, it is feared, ring the death-knell of the slowly-dying shawl industry. In the circumstances, it may not retain its old glory. A part, however, of what remains of the once extensive trade in shawls was till recently kept up by the Bengālī's passion for the shawl. He was one of the important customers of the Kashmīr shawl merchant of Srīnagar and Amritsar, though his fondness for it is now greatly diminishing. Baron Schönberg saw, in his time, Bengālīs employing Kashmīrī weavers for shawl making.

We should not here forget the heavy woollen fabric, named *paṭṭu*, and the heavy woollen blanket named *lōī*. Tweed cloths of much better quality than *paṭṭu* and *lōī* are now being produced for suitings.

Embroidery

Embroidery* is the most widely scattered, the most artistic but unfortunately the least organized industrial handicraft in Kashmīr. The embroiderer has been closely connected with the shawl industry, and has made a very important contribution to the production of some of the most artistic designs. From the finest embroidery work on shawls, the embroiderer slowly descends to needle-work on silks, woollen and cotton textiles; and to hook work, or *jālik-dūzī*, on coarser stuff and *namadas*. The main types of embroidery are: 1. *Sūzanī* or tamboured work, 2. *'Amalī*, 3. *Chikin-dūzī*, and 4. *Jālik-dūzī*. It is practised both as a whole-time and a subsidiary occupation. It is definitely sweated labour.

Designs used in embroidery are of many varieties. They are generally based on natural scenery, foliage, animal or insect life of Kashmīr.

The Gabba

The *gabba* is an unique type of floor covering, prepared from old woollen blankets in a variety of forms and designs. The types are:—(1) Appliqué or *Dal-guldār* with a circular

*Notes on Embroidery and the Gabba were supplied by Dr. Radhā Krishn Bhān, M.A., Ph.D. (London), of the Kashmīr Educational Service, and are reproduced with some modifications.

star in the middle called the *chānd* (2) Embroidery (3) Combined appliqué and embroidery and (4) Printed.

The origin of this industry is not known but there are several anecdotes current. One of these traces the origin to a refugee from Kābul named 'Abdur Rahmān who prepared an embroidered saddle-piece for his host Kamāl Baṭ of Ratson village near Trāl, south-east of Avantipōr.

The designs made are borrowed from natural scenery, animal and insect life, or other fine craft like wood-work.

Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh gave a fillip to the *gabba* industry when he invited Muhammad Baṭ, Jamāl Baṭ, Rasūl Māgre and Nūr Shaikh, experts, to Srīnagar to prepare *shāmiānas, qanāts* and *gabbas* for State use. *Bānāt* or broad cloth, instead of old *lōīs*, improved the value and appearance of the *gabba* immensely.

The work is mainly localized at Islāmābād (Anantnāg). Printed *gabbas* are a speciality of Bārāmūlā.

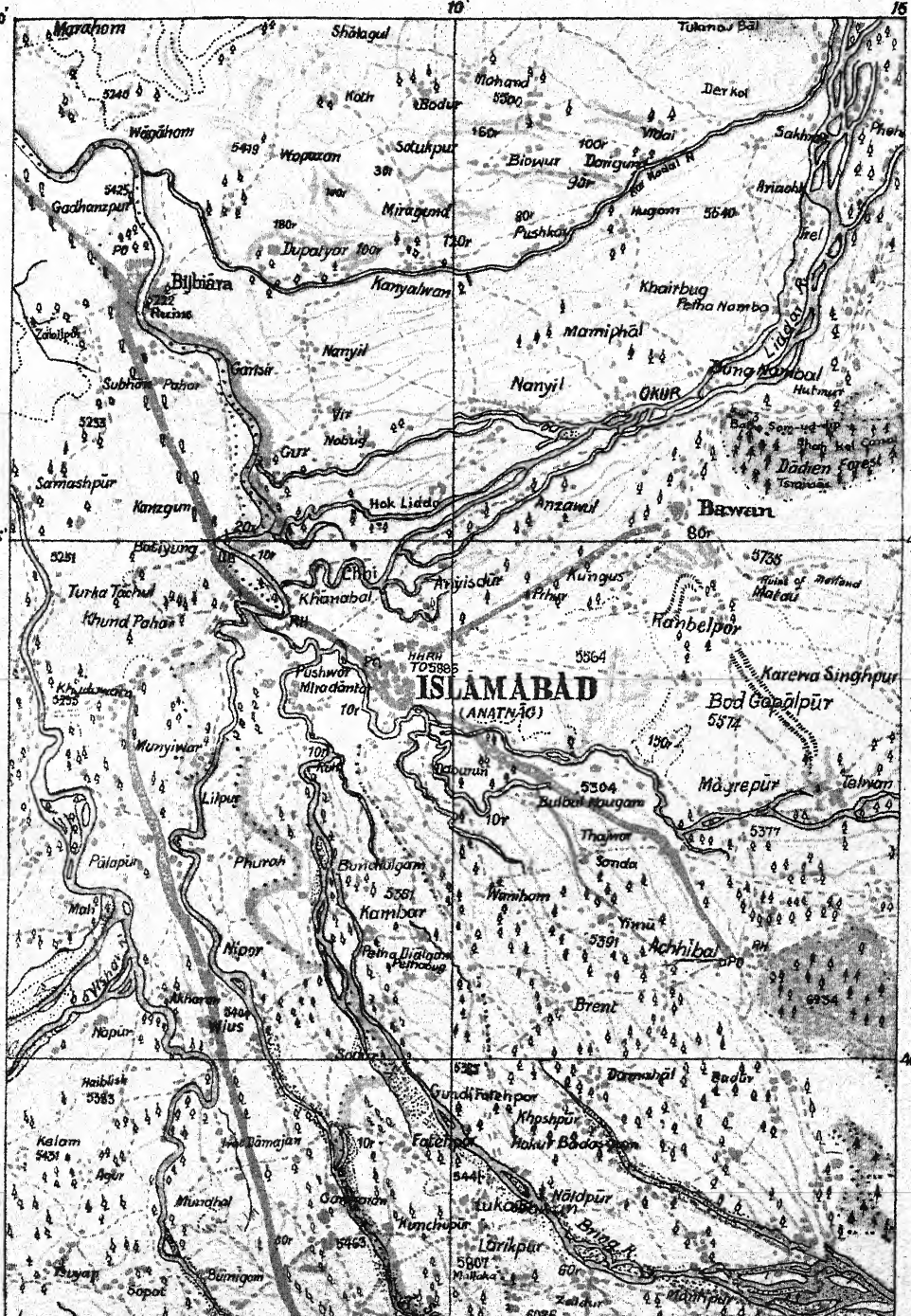
[**Islamabad.**—Islāmābād is 32 miles from Srīnagar by road. By river, it is 47 miles. Islāmābād is situated at the base of a conical hill on the edge of the Mārtaṇḍ plateau. The hill commands a very wide and striking view. The town is picturesequely embedded in trees and intersected by running streams. About a mile from the town, the river Jhelum becomes navigable. Besides other springs, there are sulphur springs visited for skin diseases. The population of the town is 11,985 of whom 10,120 are Muslims. Hindus call the town Anantnāg on account of the great spring of Çesha or Anant Nāga (countless springs), which issues at the southern end of the town. Stein could not find any old notice of the town, and says that it is, in all probability, as its Muslim name implies, a later foundation. A good deal of weaving is done here. Floor-cloths, called *gabbas* are specially noted. There is a Town Area Committee. A municipality has, however, been proposed by a Commission in 1944.

The Jāmi' mosque stands close to the tomb of Bābā Haidar called Hardī Rīshī or Rīsh Mālū, the saint at whose anniversary Kashmīrīs abstain from flesh-eating for a week by the end of which cooked rice, radish and eggs form part of the feast.

Islām Khān, the Mughul governor, laid out a garden here for the Emperor Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, who named the town Islāmābād after this governor. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh changed its name to Anantnāg.

Now a word about Islām Khān himself. Mīr Ziyā-ud-Dīn Husain Badakhshī received the title of *Islām Khān* on his defeating Rājā Jaswant Singh. Mīr Ziyā served Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr in suppressing Dārā Shukūh. In the fourth year of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's reign, he was appointed to the governorship of Kashmīr, and received the emperor on his visit to the Valley. Islām Khān died in 1074 A.H. (1663 A.C.), and Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī* composed the chronogram : مُرد اِسلام خانِ والا جاه

(Died Islām Khān of exalted dignity). Islām Khān built the 'Īdgāh in Srīnagar and left a son, Himmat Khān, Mīr Bakhshī.


ISLAMABAD
(ANATNAG)
Bawan
Dachen Forest
Kanzgum
Samashpur
Bijbiara
Gadhanzpur
Wagahom
Shalagul
Marahom
Miragund
Kanyalwan
Khairbug
Pethanambo
Mamiphal
Nanyil
Gartsir
Subhan Pahar
Khanabal
Khund Pahar
Turka Tachul
Pushwar
Miradamar
Kungus
Kanbelpur
Karewa Singhpur
Bod Gopalpur
Magrepur
Achhibal
Brent
Kambar
Bunchilgam
Phurah
Lilpur
Munyiwar
Palapur
Nipor
Nopur
Wilus
Kelam
Aglar
Murahal
Sopor
Bumigam
Tsawgam
Nusbodrangund
Fatehpur
Gundi Fatehpur
Khoshpur
Hakur Badgam
Nadipur
Kunchipur
Larikpur
Malikha
Bunagund
Shikarpur
Hilar Marahom
Tukmoo Bal
Derkot
Sakhnoo
Pheru
Arizoh
Irel
Hugam
Pushkar
Biowur
Vidai
Dangund
Sathkpur
Koth
Bodur
Mohand
Dupatyar
Hok Liddo
Anzawil
Ganiyil
Gurz
Nobug
Yir
Bathyung
Ehni
Arjyischur
Pihor
Ruins of Martand
Matan
Khanabal
Pushwar
Miradamar
Daburun
Budbal Mugam
Thalwar
Sonda
Wambom
Yirnu
Kamalpur
Pethanambal
Pethaug
Akhoran
Sadoo
Haibish
Tamajan
Gundi Fatehpur
Fatehpur
Bumigam
Sopor
Tsawgam
Nusbodrangund
Bunagund
Shikarpur
Hilar Marahom
Malikha
Larikpur
Kunchipur
Nadipur
Hakur Badgam
Khoshpur
Darmahal
Badur
Zaldur
Mailipur
Lidder
Dung Kanbal
Hutmur
Okur
Tsawgam
Zainapur
Pahar
Pho
Ruins
Gur
Nobug
Yir
Hok Liddo
Anzawil
Ganiyil
Gartsir
Subhan Pahar
Khanabal
Khund Pahar
Turka Tachul
Pushwar
Miradamar
Kungus
Pihor
Kanbelpur
Karewa Singhpur
Bod Gopalpur
Magrepur
Achhibal
Brent
Kambar
Bunchilgam
Phurah
Lilpur
Munyiwar
Palapur
Nipor
Nopur
Wilus
Kelam
Aglar
Murahal
Sopor
Bumigam
Tsawgam
Nusbodrangund
Fatehpur
Gundi Fatehpur
Khoshpur
Hakur Badgam
Nadipur
Kunchipur
Larikpur
Malikha
Bunagund
Shikarpur
Hilar Marahom
Mailipur
Zaldur
Darmahal
Badur
Lidder
Dung Kanbal
Hutmur
Okur
Tsawgam
Zainapur

Carpets

The carpet industry was introduced into the Valley by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. The industry flourished for a long time after his reign. But in course of time it decayed and died.

Over three hundred years ago, in the time of Ahmad Beg Khān, Emperor Jahāngīr's governor of Kashmīr from 1614 to 1618 A. C., a Kashmīrī Muslim, named Akhund Rāhnumā* went to perform the Hajj by way of Central Asia. On his way back, he visited Andījān where carpets were manufactured. He learnt the art and brought carpet-weaving tools with him, and taught the Kashmīrīs who eventually adopted it. Akhund Rahnumā's tomb, in the Gojwāra Mahalla in Srīnagar, is consequently held in great esteem by carpet-weavers.

Pile carpets, made in Kashmīr, attained great perfection during Muslim rule. They were of floral design with mosques, flowers, blossoms, trees, hills, lakes, forests, wild animals, gliding fish, etc.

When Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh ruled in the Punjāb, the carpet industry had reached its climax in Kashmīr. A masterpiece of the Kashmīr carpet-weaving art was presented to the Mahārājā who liked it so much that he rolled himself on it in great joy. The industry, however, soon deteriorated owing to the importation and introduction of aniline and alizarin dyes. There is a view that it was also greatly harmed by the attempt of some Europeans who brought in new and 'fashionable' designs. The dyes used were bad and the designs worse.

But a fresh impetus to this industry cannot be denied when Europeans entered the field of manufacture. It is a European firm which is responsible for the reproduction of one wonderful Īrānian carpet—a real work of art—in 1902. The original Īrānian carpet woven in 942 A.H. or 1536 A.C., at Kāshān is known as the Ardabīl Mosque Carpet (*see* p. 503). It is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for which it was purchased at a cost of £2,000. The Kashmīrī copy of this celebrated Īrānian carpet was purchased by Lord Curzon for £100. M. Devergue and later Mr. C. M. Hadow gave great stimulus to workers. Kashmīr carpets were exhibited at the Chicago World Fair of 1890 through British enterprise.

*Pandit Ānand Kaul's article "The Kashmīr Carpet Industry" in the now defunct *East and West*, October, 1915.

There is great scope for the carpet industry, provided vegetable and not analine dyes are used, and the 'new fashions' are given up. The Kashmīrī artists are locally urged to be true to their own nature, and not be slavish imitators of European fashions. But they must be alive to improvements.

All Kashmīrī styles, varied as they are, usually rest on a sound basis, and efforts should be made to allow no novelties in the form of haphazard Western designs to creep in. By looking backwards to the art antiquities and the decorative style of Kashmīr workmanship, the old art will be invigorated and sustained. But to do this, all introduction of the more brilliant colouring and the generally defective designing of modern styles must be carefully avoided. Else glaring colours and questionable patterns will assuredly vitiate the really sound taste exhibited by the Kashmīrī, when left to himself. The Kashmīrī carpet, subdued in colour and its tints perfectly blended, finds less favour in a dull murky climate than it does in the glaring sun-lit land where its faded, softened hues are a rest to the eyes, tired with the prevailing strong light. But English customers want more colour, that is brighter, harsher, less modulated colour. The endeavour to introduce such high colouring into Kashmīrī carpets in accordance with the artistic or aesthetic taste of Western customers, cannot fail to do harm to the Kashmīrī carpet weaver's designs, and thoroughly disturb his own scheme of harmonious colouring.

Srīnagar had, however, a rival in Amritsar, where a colony of Kashmīrī weavers *qāl-bāf* or *qālī-bāfī*, abbreviated from *qālīn-bāf*, was settled. Considerable capital had been employed in the manufacture of carpets which found sale in America. This is now suspended (1947-8) because of political trouble.

Silk

The word silk is applied to the fibres exuded from the silk-glands inside the body of a class of insects known as silkworms which commence their life as eggs, and pass through four stages. The egg stage is the first stage. Tiny worms hatch from the eggs and start the second stage. They feed on leaves, and, when full-grown, spin cocoons with silk filaments exuded through the mouth. The third

stage is reached when, inside the cocoon, the worm transforms itself into *pupa*. The *pupa* develops into a moth which is its fourth stage, when it issues from the cocoon and lays eggs. This cycle of life is repeated. The silk thread is obtained from the filaments of the cocoon. In Kashmīr tiny worms feed on mulberry leaves alone, while worms in other places feed on three other kinds of leaves. Mulberry silk is produced in several countries of the world, *i.e.*, Japan, China, Siam, Burma, 'Irāq, Īrān, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Samarqand, Tāshqand, Egypt, Cyprus, Greece, Albania, Spain, Algeria, Morocco, Brazil, etc., In India, Mysore with the adjacent *ta'luqa* of Kollegal of the Madras Presidency, and Bengāl produce silk, each, in volume, more than Kashmīr. In the hey-day of Bengāl's industry, sericulture used to be carried on in 26 of its districts. But about the early thirties of this century it was confined to only three districts.*

The thickness of raw silk thread is called its size which is indicated by a French weight called *denier*. The weight of about 492 yards is the *denier* or size of raw silk, and the thicker the thread the higher the *denier*. Raw silk loses in boiling, washing, and finishing. In this respect, while Japan silk loses about 22 to 24 per cent., Bengāl silk 20 to 24 per cent., and Mysore silk 22 to 25 per cent., Kashmīr silk loses 25 to 30 per cent. of its weight.

According to *The Encyclopedia Americana* (1944 Edition, Article on Silk in Volume XXV pp. 1-8), "China is credited with the first silk culture, though some have claimed it began in India. Chinese historians speak of silk-raising in the time of Fouh-hi, a century before the date assigned to the Biblical Deluge. The use of the mulberry tree for feeding the silkworms is mentioned in an ancient work as having existed 2200 B. C. Aristotle and Pliny both describe the silkworm. The filament produced by the silkworm was first successfully woven by Si-ling-Chi, empress of China, in 2700 B. C. The art of making silk, however, was introduced in Europe not until the 6th century."

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* See the article on Silk by Mr. C. C. Ghosh in the *Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research*, the Mall, Civil Lines, Delhi, October 1946, pp. 174-182, November, 1946, pp. 236-244.

Sericulture is believed to be an ancient industry in Kashmīr. But nothing definite is known about the origin of this queen of textiles here beyond the fact that it is very old, that it was connected with Bukhārā with which it had "interchange of seed and silk." Through Bukhārā, Kashmīr silk found its way to Damascus, Western Asia and Europe, and the silk dealers of Khutan were the chief agents in its transport and distribution. It is said that in Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's times (1420-70 A.C.) sericulture existed in Kashmīr (*The Valley of Kashmir*, page 367). A dispute about the possession of a ball of silk between two claimants in a court in the days of Sultān Fath Shāh[1] (1486-93 A.C.) indicates that the industry was carried on by the people. During the days of Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt[2] (1541-51 A.C.) "among the wonders of Kashmīr" was the abundance of "mulberry trees cultivated for their leaves from which silk was obtained." Abu'l Fazl[3] notes: "The mulberry is little eaten. Its leaves are reserved for the silkworm. The eggs are brought from Gilgit and Little Tibet. In the former, they are produced in greater abundance and are more choice." Jahāngīr[4] practically repeats Abu'l Fazl. Jahāngīr says: "There are. . . mulberries everywhere. From the foot of every mulberry-tree a vine creeper grows up. . . . . the mulberries of Kashmīr are not fit to eat, with the exception of some on trees grown in gardens, but the leaves are used to feed the silkworm. They bring the silkworms' eggs from Gilgit and Tibet."

The Mughuls organized the industry but details are lacking. The Afghāns also encouraged silk production.[5] During Sikh rule William Moorcroft wrote in 1824 A.C. that silk produced "is insufficient for domestic purposes." But G. T. Vigne's account of 1835 is reassuring. He said that a considerable quantity of silk was produced and that

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1. *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr*, J. A.S.B., Vol. LIV, No. 2, 1885, p. 111.

2. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation by Ross and Elias, p. 425.

3. *The Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, English Translation by Colonel H. S. Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 349.

4. *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, 1914, page 146.

5. *The Valley of Kashmir* by W. Lawrence, p. 367.

the same was taken over by the Sikh Governor (Colonel Mehān Singh) who used to pay the producers in rice, and that two-thirds of the total produce was exported to the Punjāb. Munshī Ganeshī Lāl in 1846 in his *Tuhfa-i-Kashmīr* states that Government derived a revenue of about £2,000 a year out of this industry. This is the period of the close of Sikh rule and the beginning of the Dogrās.

[*The Narrative of a Journey to Kashmir in 1846* by Ganeshi Lāl is a diary kept during a journey on which the author accompanied Charles Stewart Hardinge (afterwards Viscount Hardinge) and Captain Arthur Edward Hardinge, sons of the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge. It begins on 28th of March 1846, the day on which the travellers started from Ludhiāna, and concludes abruptly on the 11th June in the same year. The diary contains descriptions and historical accounts of the localities visited, with tabulated genealogies of several native chiefs.——Rieu's *Catalogue*, Vol. III, Or. 1785, pp. 982*b* and 983*a*.]

In 1855, two years before Mahārājā Gulāb Singh's death, there was an outbreak of a silkworm disease in Europe. Two Italian experts[1] obtained from Kashmīr 25,000 ounces of seed in 1860 which registers improvement in the industry. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh had entrusted silk production to his Chief Physician, Hakīm 'Azīm.[2]

A period of decay set in due to the destruction of the crop by a pebrine disease. After a year or two, a Kashmīrī went to Kābul and collected a few seers of seed, and brought them skilfully in walnut shells to avoid detection by customs officers. This renewed silkworm industry in Kashmīr. Hakīm 'Azīm's son, Hakīm 'Abdur Rahīm, with the help of a Punjābī gentleman continued the rearing of silkworms.

By 1870-1 Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh placed the industry under his Chief Justice, Bābu Nilambar Mukerjee. Two Bengālīs trained at Murshidābād were engaged. In 1874 the State purchased all cocoons on cash payment which marks the beginning of the State monopoly. In the same year, two silk reeling factories were set up: one at Cherapōr in the Islāmābād (Anantnāg) Tahsīl and the other at Haft-

1. Dr. Madhū Sūdan Ganjū, B.A., Ph. D., *vide* his Doctor's Dissertation, *Textile Industries in Kashmīr*, for the Bombay University in 1944.

2. Based on the note by Khwāja Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Deputy Director of Sericulture, prepared at the instance of Mr. Hakīm Alī, B. A. (Punjāb), P. B. D. S. (Milan), Director of Sericulture, Srīnagar.

Chinār, Srīnagar. Both the factories came to be called the Murshidābād factories. Two more experts were employed to train the Kashmīrīs. A third factory was set up at Raghūnāthpōr, near Nasīm Bāgh. Strangely enough, this came to be known as the Berhāmpore Factory. It was for the first time that silk reeling basins were heated by steam.

A detailed description of silkworm rearing and silk production will be found by the interested reader in the *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* (in Persian) pages 493-503 by Dīwān Kirpā Rām, the Chief Minister of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh.

After several vicissitudes the industry was well-established in Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's time.

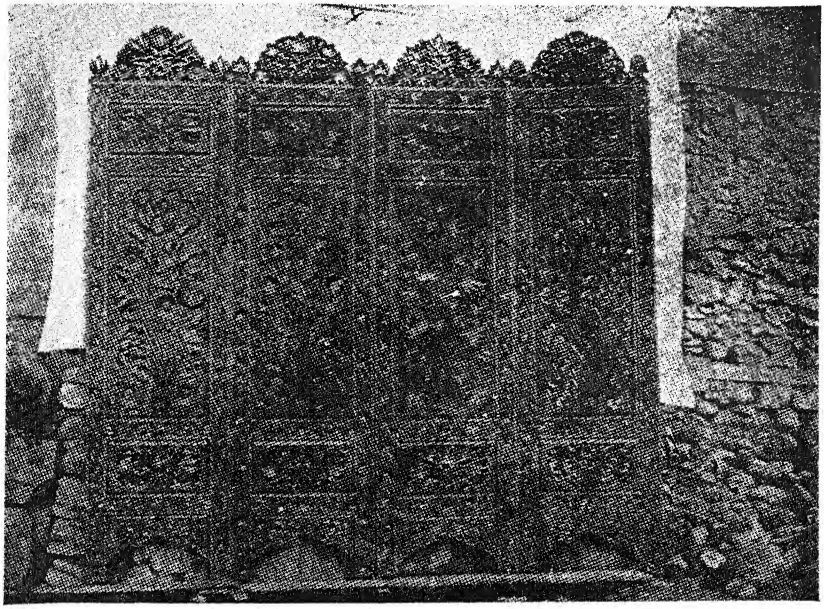
Sir Walter Lawrence* was of the opinion in 1895 that the Kashmīrī's house was "suited to the requirements of silk rearing" as "it was well ventilated and the Kashmīrī knew how to regulate the temperature." But in October 1938, the Indian Tariff Board felt that the Kashmīrī zamīndārs' rearing houses should be improved.

The Kashmīr State Silk Factory is now being run on modern lines. It can compare favourably with silk factories outside India. As a matter of fact, it is the biggest of its kind in the world according to *Jammu and Kashmir Information*, March-April, 1945, page 50. The mulberry seed is purer and better strained than the foreign seed. The mulberry tree in the State is now preserved by law.

Paper

Kashmīr was once famous for its paper. This paper was much in request in India for manuscripts, and was used by all who wished to impart dignity to their correspondence. The pulp, from which the paper is made, is a mixture of rags and hemp fibre, obtained by pounding these materials under a lever mill worked by water-power. Lime and some kind of soda are used to whiten the pulp. The pulp is prepared in mills situated in the Sind valley and the Dachigām *nālah* (stream). From there it is taken to the city for the final stages of manufacture.

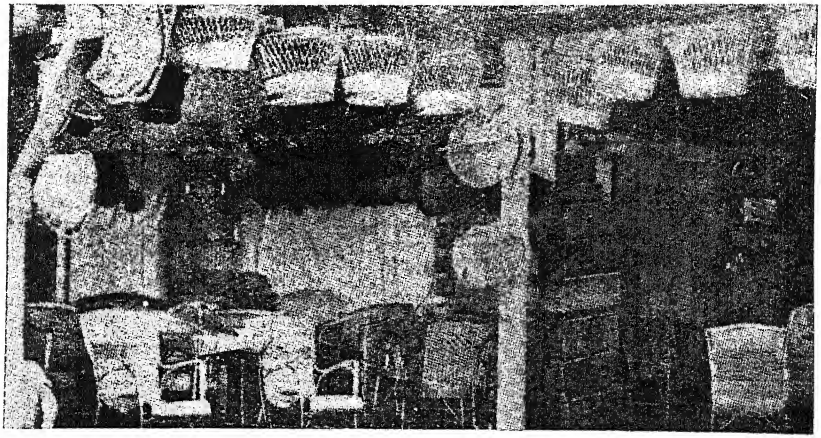
**The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 368-9.



A wooden screen showing a large variety of flower design

(From Publication No. 4 of the Department of Industries and Commerce, Jammu and Kashmīr State.)

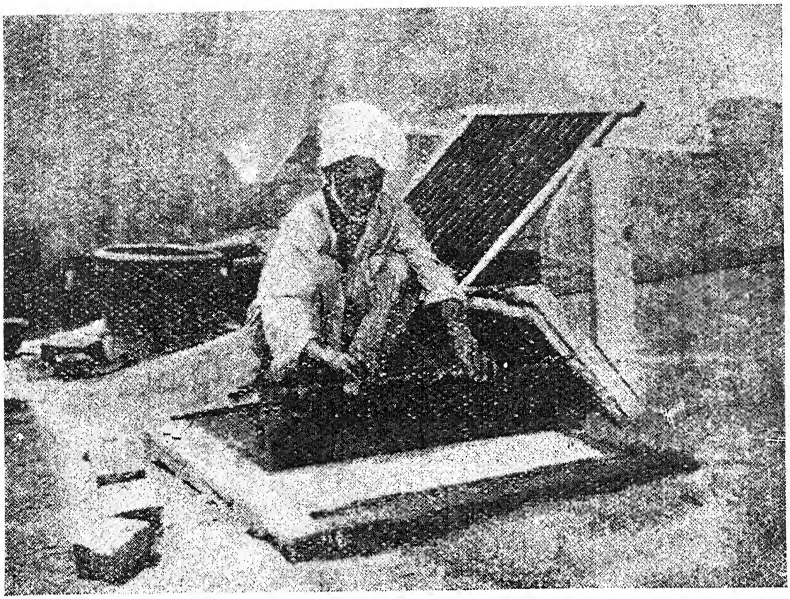
See pages 585-6 of "Kashīr" for Woodwork.



Wicker Work

(From Jammu and Kashmir Information, January, 1947.)

See page 589 of "Kashīr" for Wicker work.



How hand-made Paper is produced.

A Design of Modern Silverwork.

(From Publication No. 3 of the Department of Industries and Commerce, Jammu and Kashmīr State.)

See pages 583-4 of "Kashīr" for Silver-work.

Lawrence, in his description, says that the pulp is placed in stone troughs or baths and mixed with water. From this mixture, a layer of the pulp is extracted on a light frame of reeds. This layer is the paper, which is pressed and dried in the sun. Next, it is polished with pumice stone, and then its surface is glazed with rice water. A final polishing with onyx stone is given, and the paper is then ready for use. A visit nowadays to the Khādī Bhaṇḍār factory outside Srīnagar, on the Gāndar-bal road, will demonstrate this process described by Lawrence.

The Kashmīr paper is durable and in many ways excellent, but it cannot compete with the cheap mill-made paper of India. Its high glaze is a serious defect, as entries can be obliterated by water. The paper once was an important and renowned manufacture. Copies of the Qur'ān are still written on paper made from hemp fibre, but printing has ousted the beautiful penmanship of the *khush-navīs* of Srīnagar, just as the Indian paper-mills have destroyed the once famous handmade 'foolscap' of Kashmīr.

It is said that the industry of paper-making was introduced by Zain-ul-'Ābidīn by calling artisans from Samarqand, to which place it originally came from China about 1300 years ago. Gāndarbal and Nau Shahr were chosen as places for factories in Baḍ Shāh's time. According to George Forster,* Kashmīr "fabricated the best writing paper of the East," and that "it was an article of extensive traffic." George Forster's visit to Kashmīr took place in Afghān times.

Papier Mache

Papier mâché is 'mashed paper'. It is an art peculiar to Kashmīr, and was also introduced into the Valley by Sultan Zain-ul-'Ābidīn by means of experts imported from Samarqand. The work goes by the name of *kār-i-qalamdānī* or pen-case work, because it is usually applied to the ornamentation of pen-cases and small boxes. It is also called *kār-i-munaqqash* or painted work.

The process of making papier mâché is rather elaborate. Sheets of paper are pasted on to *vasals* or moulds of the required form, and painted and varnished. The article,

Journey, p. 22.

says Baden Powell,[1] is covered with a coating of white paint on the surface of which a delicate pattern in colours, chiefly crimson, green, and blue is drawn with a fine brush; flowers and the curved designs seen upon shawls are most commonly produced. A very pretty pattern is also done by painting with gold paint a spreading series of minute branches and leaves on a white ground—a border of brighter colouring is added. Sometimes figures of men and animals are introduced. The designs are very intricate, and the drawing is all free hand. The skill shown by the *naqqāsh* (designer) in sketching and designing, says Lawrence, is remarkable. When the painting is done, the surface is varnished over with a varnish made by boiling the clearest copal (sumdras) in pure turpentine. The varnish has to be perfectly transparent, otherwise it would spoil the appearance of the painting.

It is surprising to see the beautiful forms into which 'mashed paper' can be wrought. Some of the articles now made are: picture-frames, screens, bed-stead legs, tables, tea-pots, trays, vases, card and stamp-boxes, candlesticks, writing sets, snuff-boxes, pen-cases, gloves, and handkerchief boxes. The work is extended to floral decorations and illuminations of books, memorials, and the like. The Lamas of Lhassa, at one time, indented for a kind of table, called *saksha*, on which were placed two books (*fekru*) and nine pieces of wood. The table was beautifully worked in Chinese pattern in gold and red and green medallions. Shawls were sent to France in papier mâché boxes, which were separately sold there at high prices.[2] The older examples were so well-made as to hold even hot liquids but most of the present day work is really painted-wood.

The art of papier mâché is pursued largely by the Kashmīrī Musalmāns of the Shī'a sect.[3] There were artists in the past, who carried the papier mâché art to the highest pitch of excellence, and the last one was Sayyid Turāb who died over fifty years ago.

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1. *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab* by B.H. Baden Powell, 1872, Punjab Printing Company, Lahore, Vol. 2, page 281.

2. Pandit Ānand Kaul's article, "The Papier Mâché Industry," *East and West*, July, 1916, page 660.

3. *Ibid.*, page 659.

The industry has been in a somewhat decadent condition, and has suffered perhaps more than any other industry from the taste of the foreign purchaser,[1] though several shops now stock articles of fine make perhaps superior to Venetian designs.

Bookbinding

F. Sarre,[2] in his *Islamic Bookbindings*, published in 1923 in Berlin, laments that the Islamic book-cover has been esteemed too lightly. Even in monographs on Islamic art, the bindings of books have either not been dealt with at all, or have received only superficial treatment. Though exquisite oriental bookbindings have excited admiration, they unfortunately do not yet occupy a prominent position in the scientific publications, and annotated catalogues of learned societies and advanced institutions. Sarre further observes that we are still without the required exhaustive proofs of the long recognized technical dependence of Western upon Eastern bookbinding, and he adds the hope that his presentation of the masterpieces of Islamic bookbinding art may supply valuable models, and suggest new aims to modern handicraft.

Nothing, however, has yet been traced anterior to the wooden binding of the Egyptian Muslims. The early Egyptian leather bindings are traceable to the times of the Mamlūks (A.C. 1250-1517).

A peculiarity common to all Islamic bindings is the triangular-shaped flap hinged to the back cover. It is tucked in under the front cover corresponding to the back

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1. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, page 378.

2. Friedrich Sarre was a distinguished German archaeologist, art connoisseur and director of several museums in Berlin. He was probably the greatest authority of his time on Islamic art. Sarre was instrumental in holding an exhibition of Islamic arts in München in 1910, when he succeeded in assembling and displaying, in one place, a large number of beautiful and rare specimens belonging to the many public and private collections scattered all over the world. The more important objects exhibited on that occasion were later reproduced and described in the superb volume *Islamic Bookbindings*, prepared in collaboration with F. R. Martin. The suburb in which Sarre lived was attacked, in the last World War II, and his house, with his extensive library and priceless art collection, was totally destroyed. Sarre died, at his residence near Berlin, on 1st June, 1945, at the age of 79—*Islamic Culture*, Hydarābād, Deccan, Vol. XX, No. 4, October 1946, pages 444-445.

cover of books in the West, and serves to protect the book. Earlier designs on the covers are geometrical and show, in most cases, a centre panel framed in by borders of varying width. They are covered by a drawing of interwoven rectilinear ribbon-work, the background being filled with stamped pattern in fine blind-tooling. The filling of the panel is replaced later on by the decorative motif, prominent in all branches of Islamic art after the 15th century, namely, an oval shield in the centre with pendants. At the commencement, it is purely ornamental in shape, but gradually assumes more and more the character of natural vegetation and ends by developing into foliage and flowers formed true to nature. Then we come to the design which is the sculptured design backed by colour, and associated with Central Asian bindings. The colour charm of these bindings has been very much appreciated, and their designs show the sculptured patterns of the central medallion, and the spandrels in corners backed by red and blue silk.

The lacquer-binding.

One more variety is the lacquer-binding which appears to be of Īrānian origin. It only uses leather for the back of the binding. The front cover is made of rough paper-waste pasted together. It is then covered with a ground of chalk over which are several layers of transparent lacquer on which the drawing is made in water colour, while a final top layer is used to carry the gold and silver. The lacquer-bindings of the 18th and even 19th centuries cannot, however, be compared for drawing and composition of colours with the older examples, but they have, nevertheless, preserved the tradition and distinguish themselves by the almost entire exclusion of European imitation, which we have noticed in the case of the shawl, the carpet and the papier mâché work of Kashmīr, and which has, in general, been so fatal to Oriental art. All these varieties of bindings, we have discussed above, had their vogue in Kashmīr, but the complete leather bindings were replaced by the papier mâché bindings (with leather backs) for more artistic works, though complete leather bindings later re-asserted their position to a certain extent. In the Kashmīr bindings, one deviation may, however, be noticed that in place of the central oval shield, the popular cone, so familiar in shawls and other crafts, also finds its way in decorative bindings.

The credit of introducing decorative binding in Kashmīr from Samarqand is also due to Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

Jewellery

The instructive and valuable reflections of Ruskin in *The Lamp of Truth*, his famous work on architecture, have a special reference to ornaments. He says: "Ornament has two entirely distinct sources of agreeableness; one that of the abstract beauty of its forms, the other, the sense of human labour and care spent upon it." Col. Hendley, in dealing with the subject, says that each ornament is the result of carving, hammering, etching or some process involving thought and individual skill, instead of the perfection of the machine which turns out innumerable examples of highly polished, accurately modelled and absolutely exact copies of one original, which however beautiful they may be, can never satisfy the aesthetic sense.

In considering the jewellery of a place, its history and geographical position are of unusual importance. We have frequently referred to the influence of Central Asia on Kashmīr, and we trace the same influence on the jewellery of the Valley. The prevalence, at this time, of some forms of ornament in Kashmīr, which also occur in Central Asia, is a proof in support of the statement. Nūr Jahān is said to have introduced more delicate varieties of jewellery in the Valley.

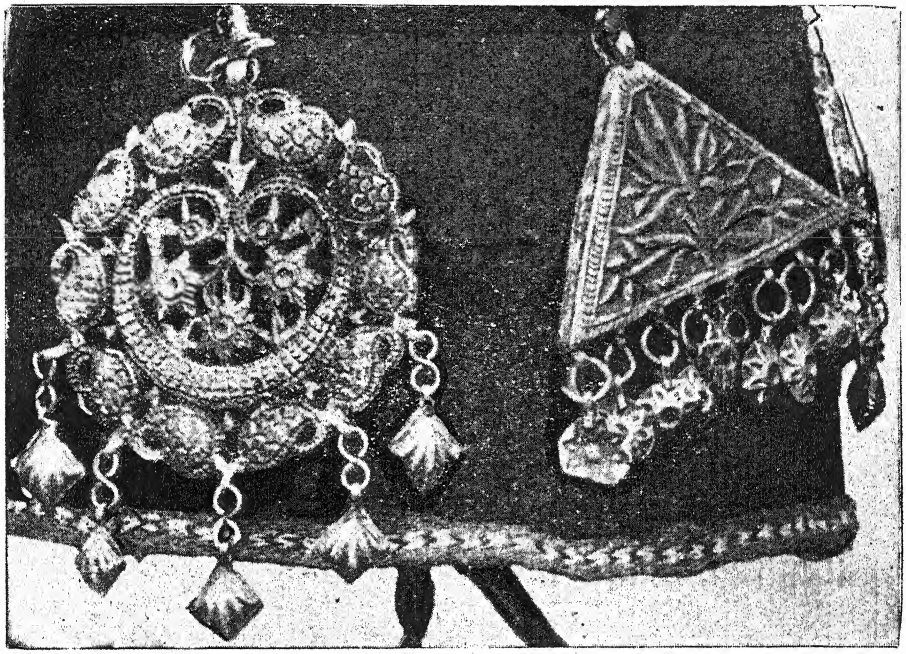
The jewellery of Kashmīr is unique in design and very minutely worked. The various types of jewellery such as earrings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, amulets (*ta'wīz*), rings, rosary (*tasbīh*), tin or silver charm-cases and head-bands are all delicately worked, even though the base is sometimes solid. The Kashmīrī jewellers seem to have had nature as their model in most ornaments. Sometimes beautiful colours of flowers and leaves and fruits are reproduced by studding jewellery with precious and semi-precious stones, shades such as jade, agate, the turquoise, rubies and the gold-stone. There are necklaces made in yellow base metal, set with imitation emeralds and sapphires.

On the silver head-bands, the almond and the cherry-blossom, are delicately embossed, and on the silver bracelets chiselled little fish, birds and blossoms can be seen. The silver charm-cases worn on caps are said to be of Central Asian origin ; sometimes they are enamelled, but more often they are worked in buds and sprays.

When Mughul influence was strong in the land, the love of the beautiful made the Kashmīrīs preserve all the existent types of jewellery, collect the best artisans, and encourage the influx of styles from Īrān, Central Asia, and the surrounding countries beyond Kābul. It is difficult to trace minutely any particular influence on the jewellery of Kashmīr. The reason is that the beautiful *jhumkas*, bell-shaped earrings, with little silver and gold drops forming a thick fringe, bracelets delicately traced with leaves and blossoms and sprays, necklaces composed of plaques strung on thread and set with uncut stones, can be found in the Punjāb, in the Kāngṛa valley and even throughout India ; but the designing of them is very different, and the arrangement to suit the Kashmīrī dress is such as is not seen anywhere else. In fact, so unique is every piece of jewellery that it is recognizable as coming from Kashmīr both by its very workmanship and shape.

In making jewellery, said Surgeon-Major John Ince in 1876,* "the Kashmīrīs are very ingenious and, though their work has not that lightness so charming in that of Delhi, it has a peculiar style of its own. In the plain gold, they make every imaginable article of jewellery charging at the rate of Rs. 20 a *tola* (100 grains troy) for the material, and two annas in the rupee for workmanship. They sometime also introduce precious stones principally opals, carnelians, bloodstones, agates, and turquoises. Bracelets and other ornaments are made of gold, silver, brass, copper, tin, and a fine kind of clay."

**The Kashmir Handbook* by John Ince, M.D., Civil Surgeon, Rāwalpindī, 1876, Appendix.



Coarse type of silver jewellery worn with the cap by small girls in Kashmīr.

Jewellery is worn for its intrinsic value and its beauty. It is also worn for superstitious reasons, as is evinced by the use of charms and amulets covered with gold or silver.

Silver-Work

There are two chief varieties of silver goods : plain and engraved. It is the engraved silverware which exhibits the skill of the Kashmīrī artisan. Absolutely pure silver cannot be used for artistic ware. There must be a certain percentage of alloy.

W. Lawrence writes : "The silver-work of Kashmīr is extremely beautiful. It has attained a great deal of fame in India, and has also been much appreciated in Europe. Some of the indigenous patterns, the chinār, and the lotus leaf, or those copied from old shawls, are of exquisite design. The silversmith works with hammer and chisel, and will faithfully copy any design which may be given to him. Up to recent years, the silver-work of Kashmīr had a peculiar white sheen, very beautiful at first sight, but apt

to tarnish after a short time. This whiteness is said to be due to the practice of boiling the silver-work in apricot juice. The metal is either imported in ingots *via* Yārqand or in rupee silver." But silver is now largely obtained from dealers in Bombay and Karāchī who arrange to send it in bars, *i.e.*, quantities of 3000 *tolas* or more under bond.[1]

Copper-Work

Perhaps the most effective, and certainly the best value for the money is, according to Lawrence, the copper-work of Srīnagar. The coppersmith works with both brass and copper, and uses hammer and chisel, and many of the present coppersmiths were once silversmiths. Their original designs are elegant and bold, and they are very clever in adopting and copying new patterns. Jugs and basins of ancient make are still available in Srīnagar. Excellent imitations of these are on sale in the copper bāzār of the city. Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe[2] describes a special kind of jug, which, he says, takes the fancy of most visitors. "It is shaped like a duck called *batich* or female duck, which is used for blowing up the fire, as it does in a most workmanlike manner. It is filled with water and placed on the fire. When the water boils, the steam issues from its long beak, which being directed towards the spot that needs its attention, the pressure of steam soon does its work, unless, as sometimes happens, it works too vigorously, when it blows the hot charcoal ashes clean out of the grate. When the duck has blown itself dry, there is no other way for the water to find its way to the duck's interior again except through its beak, which aperture is too small to allow of water being poured in, so the duck has to be heated and then its beak held in a glass of water, which it will itself drink up until its body and the air within it cools."

The copper-work of Srīnagar is admirably adapted for electro-plating, and some smiths now turn out a fine kind of article specially for electro-plating. A large demand has arisen for the beautiful copper trays inlet into tables of carved walnut-wood, and the carpenter is now the close ally of the coppersmith.

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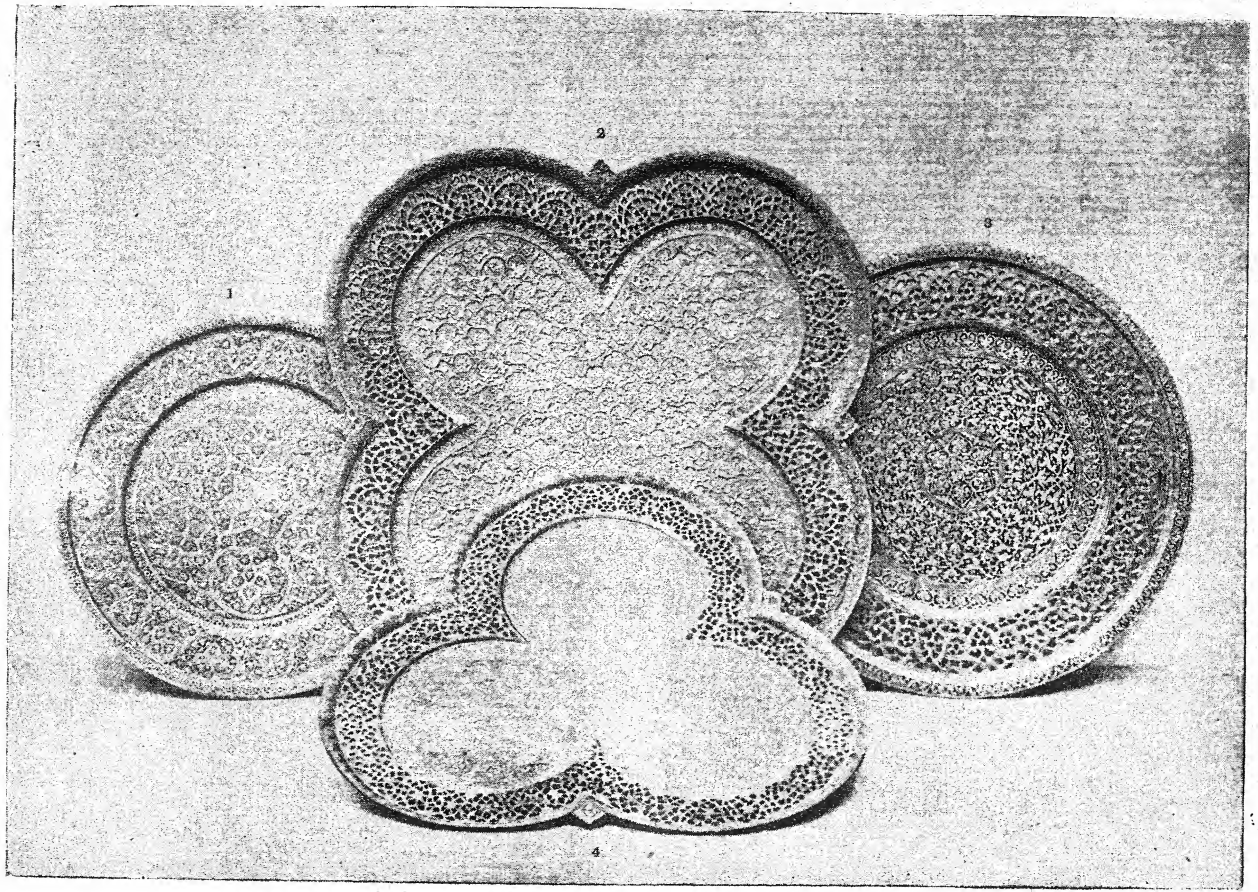
1. Dr. R. K. Bhān's pamphlet, *Economic Survey of Silverware Industry in Kashmir*, 1938, page 6.
2. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, London, 1922, pages 133-4.



A specimen of Kashmīrī Copper-work (Copper Salvers from Srīnagar)

Enamels

The enamels of Kashmīr, says Mr. Blacker,[1] are not transparent and differ in this respect from most Indian enamels. The Kashmīr craftsman works on silver, copper and brass. For copper, different shades of blue are used most frequently, whilst on silver a light blue is applied. The traditional shawl pattern has been adapted to this industry. It appears upon the *loṭā* (water vessel) and the *tūmbī* (gourd-shaped vessel), the *surāhī* (the long necked flask) and the various other ornamental forms of water-carrying vessels in which enamelling is usually combined with gilding. The articles manufactured have a very pleasing appearance, and are frequently of large size. "Though the colours are somewhat crude and the enamel is applied with more boldness than delicacy, the general effect," says Kipling,[2] "is undeniably bright and attractive." For use in Indian states, *huqqahs* (the hubble-bubble), canopies for idols, and other objects are sometimes made of very large dimensions. Considering the material and the trouble, adds Kipling, that the proper firing up of vitreous enamel gives, this enamelled ware may be considered cheap.

The enamels on brass are said to be the best, though the enamelled silver-work is very pretty. Copper does not lend itself to enamel.

Woodwork

The woodwork of Srīnagar, in the opinion of Lawrence, lacks a little finish, but he says the Kashmīrī carver is perhaps second to none in his skill as a designer. He works with hammer and chisel, and a great deal of the roughness and inequality of his pieces is due to the difficulty of obtaining seasoned walnut-wood. In Islāmābād the carpenter turns out a good deal of highly coloured wooden articles, which look like lacquer work, but are really wood coloured, and then highly polished by the use of the lathe. Very elegant spinning wheels, candle-sticks, bowls and cups are to be found among the products of his art.

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1. *The A. B. C. of Indian Art* by J. F. Blacker, London, 1922, page 211.

2. J. L. Kipling, *The Journal of Indian Art*, January 1884, page 8.

Carving is stated to be ancient but it received a stimulus, according to Dr. R. K. Bhān,[1] in Baḍ Shāh's time.

The wood carved gate and frontage at the Coronation *Darbār* of King George V at Delhi elicited admiration, and was presented to him by Mahārājā Pratāp Singh as a monument of Kashmīrī art. This served to advertise the wood-carving of Kashmīr among the Indian aristocracy. Dr. Bhān states that the contribution of Ustād Khizr[2] to wood carving was very great during Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's time.

There are two kinds of walnut wood: (*a*) garden (*b*) jungle. Walnut wood is suitable for carving; it is also durable, and has a good natural colour.

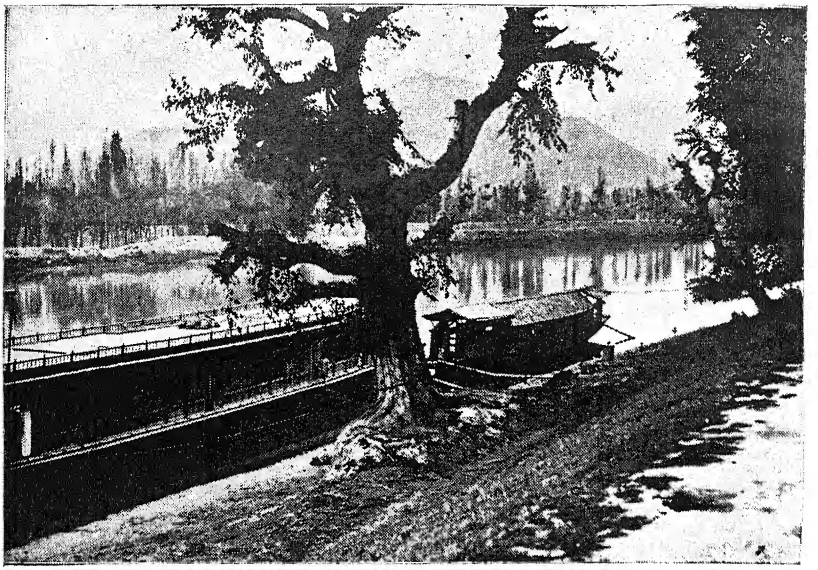
The Khatam-band

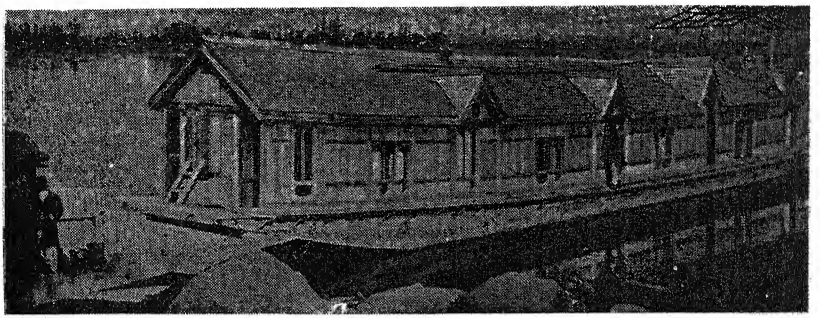
A speciality in Kashmīr woodwork deserves mention. Beautiful ceilings of perfect design, cheap and effective, are made by carpenters. With marvellous skill they piece together thin panels of pinewood into geometrical designs. This is known as *khatam-band*. It is said to have been introduced by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt. The result of the carpenter's skill is a charming ceiling, in which the various shades of the pine-slips blend together in perfect harmony. A great impetus has been given to this industry by the builders of house-boats, and the darker colours of the walnut-wood have been mixed with the lighter shades of the pine. Any one who wishes to see a good specimen of modern Kashmīrī woodwork and Kashmīrī ceilings should visit the well-known shrine of Khwāja Naqshband, not far from the Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar. A few of the *khatam-band* ceilings have been introduced into England, and have been found cheap and, Lawrence says, extremely effective. Ceilings of the same construction and design are found in Samarqand, Bukhārā Īrān, Istamboul, Algiers and Morocco.

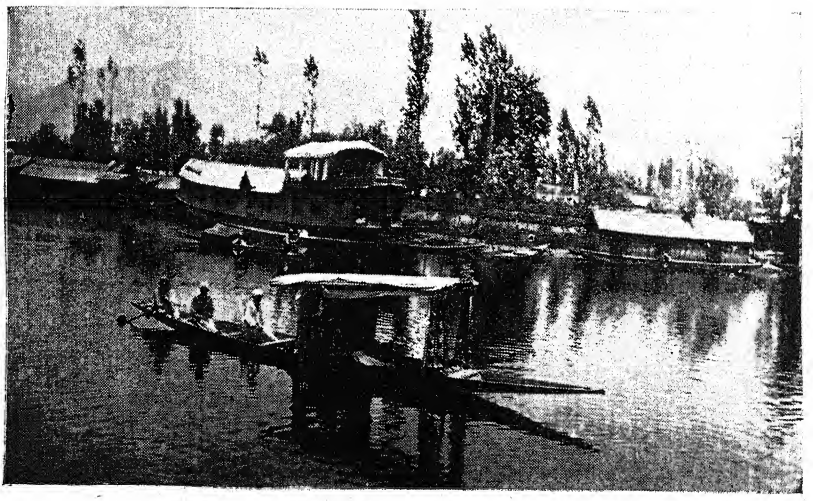
Boat-Making, the House-boat and the Hanji

The Kashmīrī is so aquatic and his chief city so like Venice, the jewel of the Adriatic, that a special note must

1. *Economic Survey of Wood Carving Industry and Trade in Kashmir*, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.







be devoted to boats and boatmen. The boating industry in Kashmīr is an old one. We learn from the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* that boats were the centre upon which all commerce moved. The boatmen, one and all, are invariably Musalmāns. The Hönz or Hānjī, as the boatman is called, traces, at any rate by tradition, his descent to Noah, and maintains this apparently by modelling his large craft on Noah's Ark.

The Kashmīrī is an intelligent and clever carpenter, says Younghusband,[1] and his boats are of all sizes from the great grain barges carrying cargoes of thirty tons, and State *parindas* (or fliers) propelled by forty or fifty rowers to light skiffs for a couple of paddlers. Rev. C.E. Tyndale Biscoe says: "The Kashmīrīs have their own special way of building boats, and very clever they are at their art. I have always been interested in boats and boat-building, but I have never come across boats built as in Kashmīr."[2]

There are many kinds of boats, all flat-bottomed. The large ones, called *bahach*, are used for the transport of grain and wood. They are high in prow and stern, and can carry a cargo of 800 to 1,000 maunds. The smaller one is known as *wör*, has a low prow, and can carry a cargo of 400 maunds. One of the most common forms of boats is the *dūnga*. This is flat-bottomed, about 50 to 60 feet in length, and about 6 feet in width, and draws about 2 feet of water. It has a sloping roof of matting, and side walls of a similar material. The boatmen live in the rear of the *dūnga*. The passenger lives in the front part of the boat. In winter, *dūngas* are employed in carrying grain. A good *dūnga* can carry up to 200 maunds.

The House-boat

The house-boat is the crowning glory of the Kashmīrī boatman. Though Mr. Kennard[3] is stated to be the first Englishman to build the modern house-boat, supplanting the old *lar-i-nāv*, the Kashmīrī boatman has shown his wonderful power of adaptation in improving upon the model. Maualvī Muhammad Husain *Āzād* in the *Darbār-i-Akbarī* (p. 112), however, notes that Akbar did not like the

1. *Kashmir* by Younghusband, A. C. Black, London, 1909, page 216
2. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* by Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe, M.A. (Cantab), Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., London, 1922, page 169.
3. *Ibid.*, page 178.

boats he saw. On the Bengāl model he, therefore, ordered double-storeyed residential boats with fine windows. A thousand such boats were got ready in a few days. And soon there was a floating city on the water. House-boats of all shapes and sizes can be seen in the river from the *dūnga* house-boat to the large barges which are splendidly furnished floating houses. If in Kashmīr you can remove your garden from one place to another, you can also remove your house from anywhere to anywhere on the water. The house-boats are generally one-storeyed, because a high two-storeyed boat would be difficult to get beneath a bridge. The *shikāra* is a small edition of the *dūnga*, very useful for short journeys. It is a small elegantly decorated boat, with soft cushions and an awning with hanging fringes and tassels. Trips in the *shikāra*, both morning and evening, on the Ḍal are extremely delightful. A visitor calls the *shikāra* "a Thames punt propelled by paddles in this veritable 'Venice of the East' where the gondola is replaced by it."

The Hānjī.

With the house-boat of Kashmīr, the Hānjī is so inseparabely connected that a few lines about him cannot be resisted.

The Hānjīs are a muscular, active, hardy people. Their children commence the work of towing or paddling at a very early age. The paddle used is heart-shaped, and so clever are they with this that the riskiest situations are safely manoeuvred. Not only that, the Hānjī can do most things from a big business in grain to cooking a visitor's food—be he Hindu, Muslim, Pārsī, Jew, or Christian. But though the Hānjī's cleverness in craft earns him money and he caters to the convenience and comfort of the visitor, yet his quaint stories and habits of lying, subtle exploiting of the ignorance of the new-comer, and quarrelling are chiefly responsible for the evil repute of the Kashmīrī in the eyes of the outside world. The foreign visitor takes his hurried impression of the people of the Valley from the boat-man and his ways of dealing, and his accounts in talk and in print have been most disastrous to the good name of the people in general. The Hānjī presents an extraordinary spectacle in that, though he actually has the status of the landlord of the visitor, he is virtually the visitor's servant.

Mat-Making, etc.

Matting is said to have been introduced by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt.* Lawrence says that the excellent matting (*waggū*) of Kashmīr is made from the *pech*, a swamp plant, found mostly in the Ānchār lagoon to the north of Srīnagar, and in most of the swamps of Kashmīr. All boats except, of course, the house-boats, are roofed with *pech* matting. Mats are mostly employed as coverings for floors and numerous other purposes. The industry of mat-making gives employment to a large number of the people. The villagers of Lasjān, to the south of Srīnagar, are perhaps the best mat-makers in the Valley.

The reader will read about the willows of Kashmīr in Chapter X.

Wicker-work.

The wicker-work industry is also worth consideration. For a long time past, certain articles of wicker-work have been in common use in local homesteads. A few years ago, experiments were made in growing English willow in Kashmīr, with a view to establishing a regular wicker work industry. The experiments met with success. The English willows took very kindly to the fertile soil of Kashmīr, and yielded willow with longer twigs than they produced even in England. Lunch and flower baskets, chairs and tables and various other articles of common use are being produced in elegant designs and perfect workmanship. And it is expected that, in course of time, this industry will grow and the articles produced will find a ready market locally as well as in other places in India.

The Kangri

It may be of interest, at this stage, to say a word about the *kāngar* or *kāngṛī* or the chafing vessel. G.T. Vigne described it in 1835 as follows: "The Kāngrī is a basket with a handle, containing a red vessel of earthenware about the size of a 42 lb. shot, into which is put a small quantity of lighted charcoal." It generally consists of two parts: the inner earthenware bowl of a quaint shape called *kuṇḍal* in which the fire is placed, and its encasement of wicker-work, sometimes simple, sometimes pretty and ornamented with rings

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**Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, page 160, under—"Houses of Kashmīr."

and colours. A little wooden or silver spoon, *tsālan*, tied to the handle, *kānij* completes the *kāngar*. The kāngar with its hot embers is slipped under the Kashmīrī *pheran*. The word may have been derived from *kānī*, a switch, and *gar*, the maker, or from Sanskrit *kut angāra*, or Stein's *Kāsṭhāngārikā*, *ku* signifying littleness and *aṅgāra* or *aṅgārī*, comprehending a portable fire-place. Dr. W. F. Elmslie, M.D., a well-known missionary of Srīnagar, observed that the Kashmīrīs probably learnt its use from the Italians who were in the retinue of the Mughul emperors. During the winters in Florence, no women of the lower classes walks abroad without carrying a *scaldino*, which is an exact reproduction of the *kāngṛī* of Kashmīr. Colonel Torrens thinks it is "possible that it may have been introduced into Kashmīr by one of those Jesuit Fathers who were the first wanderers in these parts; or that *vice versa*, the Italian priest may have introduced the Kashmīrī custom into Italy on his return," as a precisely similar custom prevailed in Italy. (*Travels*, page 310). A similar vessel is also used in Japan, and the French have one corresponding to it in their *chauffer chamic*, or pot of charcoal fire. The observation of Dr. Elmslie is nullified by the argument that if the Italians really introduced the *kāngar* into Kashmīr, they would be as likely to have introduced their own name for it. The use of portable fire-places or braziers was known in Kashmīr as early as the twelfth century A.C., as Maṇkha's *Çrikaṇṭhacharita* (iii, 29) seems to show that braziers or *hasantika* were in general use then. The word *hasantika* occurs also in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (iii, 171). We have the use of braziers in Īrān (and if Delle Valle's word *tennor*, or perhaps, *tannūr* be right, in Arabia) as well as in Spain and Italy, in a manner which implies a long previous history. The brazier (*brasero*) was and is still prepared in many places as a heating apparatus.

The value which a Kashmīrī sets upon his *kāngṛī* may be known by the following distich:

اے کانگری ! اے کانگری ! قُربان تُو حُور و پَری

چُوں در بغل می گیرمت درد از دلِ من می بَری

[O Kāngrī! O Kāngrī! You are dear to me like a Houri and Fairy;

When I take you under my arm, you drive away pain from my heart.]

Chaudhrī Khushī Muhammad *Nāzir* reproduces these sentiments in Urdu verse :

قُوتِّ بازو جوان کو اور عصا ھے پیر کو
بچۂ کاشُر کو ھے پستانِ مادر کانگڑی
خانہ آبادی زمستان میں اِسی کے دم سے ھے
شوھرِ بانو ھے اور بانُوے شوھر کانگڑی
اِسکا دامن گیر ھے کشمیر کا میر و وزیر
ھے نشاطِ مُفلِس و عیشِ تونگر کانگڑی

نغمۂ فردوس - حصہ اوّل - صفحات ۱۳۹-۴۰

Many houses are destroyed by fire every year in Srīnagar and in villages due to the careless use of the *kāngar*. Scores of patients are treated at hospitals for epithelioma, a kind of cancer generated from *kāngar* burns,[1] even though it may be said, in a way, the use of the *kāngar* aids digestion as an external heater for the stomach.

Leather

William Moorcroft has spoken in high praise of the leather of Kashmīr. He was a well-known Veterinary Surgeon of London in the service of the East India Company in Bengāl, and was in Srīnagar in 1821. Moorcroft[2] wrote : "A fabric of much greater importance to Great Britain than that of damasked sword-blades, is that of Yirak leather, or leather suited for saddlery. Such pieces of this as came in our way were usually old narrow slips employed as reins and head-stalls ; but the leather was strong, solid, heavy and pliable, without any disposition to crack. Some of the pieces had been in use eighteen or twenty years, and were none the worse for constant wear." There is no doubt that there is abundance of raw material, and the tanners of the country can turn out excellent leather when they choose. The leather portmanteaux and valises made in Srīnagar,

1. *The Indian Antiquary*, October, 1885, page 265 footnote.
2. *Travels*, Vol. II, pages 213-4.

Lawrence thinks,[1] stand an amount of rough usage, which few English solid leather bags would survive. It is claimed that the leather saddles of Srīnagar last very long.

Furs

The furriers of Srīnagar chiefly depend for their livelihood on the business given to them by sportsmen, who send in skins to be cured. Though the law for the protection of game, under which the sale of skins and horns is prohibited, has curtailed the business of the furriers, yet their skill in preparing a variety of furs has elicited the admiration of those who have availed themselves of their service. Kashmīr furs, indeed, warm the bodies and decorate the shoulders of the fair sex.

Arms

Kashmīr has been famous for the manufacture of swords and gun barrels. Egerton[2] says that the Kashmīr swords are frequently ornamented with incised figures in relief of men and animals, and the outline heightened with gold. Shields with beautiful designs on them vieing with the embroidered work of a shawl are also made. The figures of sportsmen on foot and on elephants are usually represented pursuing the tiger and the antelope. For the manufacture of barrels, the Kashmīrīs use the smelted iron of Bājaur (in the Yūsuf-zaī country). Blades for daggers are also prepared. Specimens of old Kashmīr daggers *pīsh-qabz*, and mousquetoons or *sher bachcha* (young tiger) may still be seen in Indian museums in London.

Dīwān Kirpā Rām in his *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* (pages 456-461) gives a long list of instruments that Kashmīrīs have been using in the manufacture of arms, specially swords and gun barrels.

Pistols are now made in admirable imitation of European work. Lawrence, writing about a Musalmān firm of Srīnagar, says that they could turn out good guns and rifles, and replace parts of weapons in so clever a manner that it is difficult to detect the difference between Kashmīrī and English workmanship.

1. *The Valley of Kashmir*, Oxford University Press, 1895, page 379.
2. *Handbook of Indian Arms*, London, 1880, page 141.

TRANSPORT OF ARTS AND CRAFTS IN KASHMIR

A meeting of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, on March 30th, 1939, when a paper entitled "The Economic Potentialities of Kashmīr" was read by Pandit Rādha Krishna Bhān, M. A., of the Economics Department of Sri Pratāp College, Srīnagar (now Dr. R. K. Bhān, M.A., Ph. D., Principal, Amar Singh College, Srīnagar). The paper was followed by a highly interesting discussion, in which several retired officials of note took part. Sir Edward Blunt was in the chair. Sir William Barton said that the idea of the industrialization of Kashmīr, the loveliest of earth's lands, seemed to him almost a sacrilege. "One feels almost that the gods who haunt these majestic mountains," said Sir William, "would rise in wrath and sweep away the tentacles of mass production sprawling over the vale of Kashmīr and factory chimneys belching forth smoke in beautiful Lolāb. The climate of Kashmīr and its soil is suitable for the production of the finest fruits in the world. There is an insatiable market for fruit in India. If only Kashmīr had a proper system of cheap transport to enable the fruit to be got out quickly, the industry might be enormously expanded. Like Switzerland, Kashmīr has great attractions for the tourist. In Gulmarg, the winter sport industry has been initiated. Here is a very valuable invisible export, but again cheap transport facilities are essential. To obtain cheap power and transport, the best means is to develop a cheap supply of electricity. Kashmīr possesses a very valuable asset in the great rivers that pour through her gorges and make the development of enormous supplies of electricity a possibility. There is a small installation about fifty miles away from Srīnagar. There is a still smaller one near Jammu. I would venture to suggest that what is wanted is a very much larger installation, perhaps developing 50,000 h. p. at Srīnagar and a similar one for Jammu. There is, I am told, a magnificent site on the Chenāb at a place called Riāsī, close to Jammu, where at least 50,000 h.p. could be developed. With those two installations, it should be possible to put a grid over the provinces of Jammu and Kashmīr, which would facilitate the very important cottage industry of weaving of wool. It would enable the industries of Srīnagar to develop, and, what is more, it would help very greatly in the development of mineral wealth. You might have a small-gauge electric railway. You might have electric tramways. Trolley buses driven by electricity would solve the passenger problem, and would carry the lighter stuff. The main problem seems to be to develop cheap power. For that you want capital and also technique."

Sir Edward Blunt said that Kashmīr has two troubles. The first is the lack of transport. The matter has been dealt with already. The second seems to me to be finance. " For your large scale industries, where are you going to get your capital? Is it in the State, or would you have to get it from outside, and, if so, what is the general feeling about that ? Another point in which I am extreme-

ly interested is the hydro-electric installation, because in the United Provinces we have a very large one of our own. We use it there for domestic purposes. It is a very large and a very cheap one. We had no need to build a flume. We simply put our power-houses across the falls of our canals, and so make them serve two purposes. The result is that we have got away with a very large installation at a cost of about three crores. There are six or seven power-houses and about two thousand miles of wire, and it covers ten districts. I think it is true that the larger the scale the cheaper the installation will be. I am sure Sir William Barton was right in saying that an extension of this would be a tremendous benefit to Kashmīr. There are some minor points. First, the question of fruit. We all know that there is fruit in Kashmīr but it is not easy to get it in the plains. The transport difficulty in the case of fruit, of course, is very great. Unless you have fast transport down your hill roads, I can quite imagine that one of the reasons why Kashmīr fruit is not better known is because it perishes before it gets to the railhead in the Punjāb. There is only one point more I want to mention, the question of carpets. Small-scale carpets can be most excellent products, and in the circumstances of Kashmīr I should say that the small-scale carpet was probably the better." Mr. F. H. Andrews speaking about crafts and craftsmen writes: "During my close association with them for some years I found the craftsmen unrivalled in skill and artistic taste in their traditional crafts. The art of the weaver, shown in the exquisite quality of Kashmīr shawl, has enjoyed world-wide admiration. The fine woollen cloth—*pashmīna*—is unsurpassed, as are also the very beautiful embroidery and the papier mâché painting. Lesser known but equally fine in their way are *gabba*—a kind of refined patchwork—and embroidered *namdah*. The craftsmen are highly skilled in silver and copper repoussé and chasing, in enamelling on metal, and on wood-carving."

The above discussion showed that the need of transport was most imperative. But the problem of transport is not easy to solve. Kashmīr is cut off from the rest of the world because of its situation and its environments. Known as the highest valley on this earth, being about 5,000 feet above sea-level, it is surrounded by steep high mountains more than 10,000 feet in some places. The Bānihāl Pass, in one place where the Jammu-Srīnagar road crosses the inner range, is 8,984 feet above the sea-level. It is because of these natural barriers that this wonderful bit of country has been so difficult to reach up to now.

A century ago the journey could only have been done with palanquins and dandies carried on the shoulders of coolies, or on ponies, with mules and coolies for the luggage of the wealthy, while all others would have to walk along the narrow paths skirting the hillsides. This can still be seen.

Later came the roads, one from Rāwalpindī and the other from Jammu. Both are subject annually to being more or less badly blocked by landslides, due to the treacherous nature of the hill slopes during the rainy seasons.

At first, on these roads, tongas drawn by the ponies ran the distance of more than 200 miles, carrying those who could pay. Later, as the motors improved, they took up the task. For them the roads were considerably improved. Even so the journey from the plains of India is an undertaking, although it is frequently done by a good motor car in one day. Still, for the actual distance as the crow flies, the costs that have to be incurred are very heavy and therefore are a severe obstacle against the economic development of the country in general and the mineral wealth in particular.

There is only one way in which this can be altered and that is by building a railway with its consequent tunnels. Such an undertaking would reduce the distance down to about 120 miles with economic gradients. For instance, the road over the Bānihāl Pass is 42 miles from the point where it starts to climb on one side till one reaches the bottom on the other. Whereas, for a railway, a tunnel would be cut through, which would only be about 7 miles or less to connect the same two points, or a saving of 35 miles in one place alone. It must be noted here that while a tunnel would be expensive to build, the recurring maintenance charges would be very small.

It has been said that the building of a tunnel through the hill will be costly because of the water due to the snow on the hills! This would not be like building a tunnel under a river, because in the latter case there is water constantly flowing. In this case, there would only be some percolation into the mass of the hill through the fissures when the snow thaws, but most of it would run off outside. Even if there is a reservoir in the hill above the tunnel line, it would soon drain out if tapped.

Such a project, once completed, would bring down transport rates to an economic level comparable with conditions in the rest of India, and the development of the country would commence at once, growing prosperity would soon be visible, while tangible proof would be got from the rapid annual increase in the revenue of the State. Two very good examples of improvement due to giving transport facilities by building railways can be cited here. One is the Jodhpur State and the other is the Bīkāner State. In both cases, the improvement in the revenues has been over a crore of rupees during the last fifty years mainly due to the railways.

A few months ago, details were released of suggested schemes to link Srīnagar with British India by rail. The matter was first taken up by Colonel Sir Oliver St. John, the British Resident in Kashmīr, in the year 1886, when he drew the attention of the Government of India to Kashmīr's fine system of water communications and suggested the construction of the railway line to Srīnagar.

This important matter has received the consideration of the State Government and 10 or 12 different surveys costing over Rs. 20 lakhs, have been carried out with the object of finding the most suitable alignment for a railway to connect the Vale of Kashmīr with the sub-continental Railway system. One of the proposed routes, which was recommended by the former Government of India and several of the experts engaged on the surveys, would directly connect the cities of Jammu and Srīnagar.

In all, four possible routes have been selected and reconnaissance surveys made. The Bānihāl route, joining the cities of Jammu and Srīnagar, is considered a costly project but the most useful. The distance from Lāhore to Srīnagar by this route is estimated to be 291 miles. The three other possible routes would join Srīnagar with what is now Pākistān *via* the Jhelum Valley Road, the first running through Poonch, another through Kohāla, and the third through Abbottābād.

The huge mountains surrounding the Valley of Kashmīr present unusual difficulties in the matter of communications. It has been pointed out that in no place are conditions so favourable for a tunnel as in the neighbourhood of the Bānihāl Pass. The range here is not only considered to be at its lowest but at its thinnest, being steep and precipitous on both sides, so that a tunnel can be driven of minimum length.

It is considered by some engineers that no difficulty, as already mentioned, would be experienced on the line from snow or other climatic conditions, that the line could be satisfactorily and economically worked by electric power, and that in this special case there would be, no doubt, that the saving by the use of the electric power would be very great.

Various estimates of the cost of the railway have been made. It is estimated that a Bānihāl Electric Line would take five years to complete at a capital cost of 3 crores. If worked out, the scheme will be very profitable to the State in developing trade and encouraging tourists.

A new transport system known as 'Guideways' and styled by the inventor, an Engineer Administratrator, Mr. C. Skeleton, INDIA'S OWN TRANSPORT SYSTEM which has been tested and approved by the Railway Board (of the former Government of India) and also the Government of Bombay, for the carriage of passengers and goods, can be installed for less than half the capital cost of the railway, while the maintenance and operating costs will be about half. This system will give the cheapest, most comfortable and quietest transport into and out of Kashmir, because all the vehicles run on rubber tyres, using only half the number required by the bus for the same work. Anyone who has travelled between Bombay and Poona on the G.I.P. Railway will appreciate the advantage of having no noise

in the tunnels. The inventor estimates it ought to be possible to carry third class passengers for about Re. 1-8 and goods for about Rs. 5 per ton from Jammu to Srīnagar or *vice versa*. This system, it is claimed, can be operated by steam, electricity or oil engines whichever suits a locality to be served, most economically.

"The want of proper communications with the outer world has hindered the development of the commercial resources of the country," say the Neve brothers,* the well-known Missionaries of Kashmīr whose knowledge of the Valley is close, intimate and intelligent. "Although railway surveys have been carried on for twenty years at great expense," they add, "nothing points to the actual undertaking of construction." "Schemes are taken up and dropped" is their sad comment, and conclusion!

The House of Commons rejected six schemes during past years for the electrification of the picturesque Highlands of Scotland. But on February 25th, 1943, Labour and Conservative alike, agreed that time had come to accept the industrialization of these Highlands, and accepted the Government measure to establish a non-Profit Earning Public Services Board to harness power estimated to be capable of producing 4,000 million units of electricity yearly. Large-scale industries will thus be encouraged to settle in the Highlands of Scotland. Should not this give us hope for Kashmīr?

**The Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, etc.*, edited by the late Major Arthur Neve, F. R. C. S., Edinburgh, R. A. M. C., Surgeon to the Kashmīr Medical Mission, Fifteenth Edition, 1933, Revised by Dr. E. F. Neve, F. R. C. S., *The Civil & Military Gazette Ltd.*, Lāhore, Pākistān, p. iv.

CHAPTER X

CIVIL AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION UNDER MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMĪR.

Part I

Civil Organization.

Introductory. Supremacy of the Shari'at, p. 599. Head of the Islamic State elected, p. 600. The Vazir, p. 601. The Qazi, 602 The Shaikh-ul-Islam and other Officials, p.604-7. Regency in Kashmir, p. 607. Islamic Law, p. 609. The condition of women, p. 613. Legal Education, p. 615. Application of Islamic Law in Kashmir, p. 617. The attitude of Islamic Law towards Non-Muslims, p. 619. Administration of Hindu Law under Muslim Rule, p. 624. Administrative Units, p. 628. The Revenue System of Kashmir, p. 630. The Coinage of Kashmir, p. 637. Weights and Measures, p. 643. Agriculture, p. 645. Saffron, p. 646. Floating Gardens: 'Stealing Land' in Kashmir, p. 650. Irrigation, p. 652. Famines, p. 653. Roads, p. 653. Routes and "Rahdari," p. 654.

"The administrative systems of the Muslims both civil and military," to use the words of the late S. Khudā Bakhsh, "are the most powerful witnesses of their culture and civilization," as "unfolding not only their great adaptive and absorbing capacity, but also their original and creative powers." In the Islamic state, the sovereign is the supreme head. Next to him are his executive officials and holders of the most important offices, the prime minister, the commander of the forces, and the chief justice, the heads of the departments of police, of finance, taxation and land laws.

Supremacy of the Sharī'at.

Muslim jurists and theologians believe in the supremacy of the *Shar'* or the Islamic law, and hold that it is eternal and immutable in its essence. Public opinion in all Muslim lands holds firmly to the supremacy of the *Sharī'at.*

"Neither the law nor its interpreters and jurists belonged exclusively to any one country. They belonged to the entire world of Islam, and their influence was felt everywhere. There are no local variations of the Muslim Law. The Sultān's authority was always limited by Divine Law which he could not supersede." Herein lies the great difference between European and Muslim theocratical theories of state.

Head of the Islamic State elected.

The jurists whose outlook is truly Islamic are of the opinion that it is the duty of Muslims to elect and appoint their ruler. Originally the head of the Islamic state, therefore, owed his authority to general election. But powerful rulers undermined this institution of election. And, under cover of the notion that 'the king is the shadow of God,' they sought to establish the principle of 'divine right' with regard to succession to the throne. But more often than not, the principle of might was paramount.

The ruler appointed and accepted by the Muslims was the Caliph who alone was the chief executive officer and supreme judge in the world of Islam. The Caliphate, after the Prophet, devolved upon his Four Companions one after the other. It then went to the Umayyids of Damascus. Later came the 'Abbāsids of Baghdād. They were supplanted by the Fātimid Caliphs of Egypt. The Fātimids were, in turn, replaced by the 'Usmānlī Turks of Istanbūl (or Islāmbūl). Finally, Kamāl Atāturk abolished the Caliphate on account of the retrogression of some of the Sultāns of Turkey, the misdemeanour of Arab chiefs, and as being a drain on the resources of the Turks.

The legal representative of the Caliph of Islam was the Sultān in India to whom were delegated all the powers wielded by the Caliph. Legally, the Caliph had the right to overrule the Sultān, but the Sultān in India was so powerful and at such distance that it could not be practical politics for the Caliph to meddle with Indian affairs. Moreover, the 'Abbāsids were weak when the Sultānate of Delhī was established. The Sultān at Delhī was thus the supreme human agent in India interpreting the law of Islam, and performing its functions accordingly.

In addition to his duties of governing his state, the sovereign was expected to hold courts of justice, and to try select cases personally. Naturally, his court was the highest tribunal of appeal.

The Vazīr.

Next to the sovereign was the office of the *vizārat*, which came into existence in the Islamic state for the first time under the 'Abbāsids. The Vizierate* was not borrowed by the Muslims as a fixed and well-defined institution from the Sāsānians or anybody else. The use of the Arabic word *vazīr* in the sense of helper and assistant is found from pre-Islamic times down to the last years of the Umayyid period. *Vizr* in Arabic means 'a burden.' The possibility of Īrānian or Indian influence on some aspects of the Vizierate is, however, a different thing.

The position of the *Vazīr-i-A'zam* in the East corresponds to that of the prime minister in England, or other countries in pre-Dictatorship days. Like the Prime Minister in the West, the Vazīr-i-A'zam controls the entire administrative machinery of the state. He is responsible to his chief, the Sultān, for the efficient working of all the departments. By virtue of his position as the king's premier counsellor, all the heads of the various departments look up to him for guidance. In fact, the *Vazīr* of a Muslim ruler, in advising his master in all the great affairs of state, virtually bears the full load of government, while at the same time he must possess all the arts of an accomplished courtier. It was of considerable advantage to him if he were "conversant with the games of chess and polo," skilled in playing the guitar, and was "proficient in mathematics, medicine, astrology, poetry, grammar and history, in the recitation of poems, and in the narration of tales." Above all, he must always be a practical psychologist, understand the situation, and deal with it with the utmost tact. The *vizārat* was of a variable character. It took its tone and colour from the ruler who allowed to his minister a larger or smaller measure of independence and personal initiative as the case might be. Hence we have the unlimited *vizārat*, and the limited *vizārat*—terms which sufficiently explain themselves.

**The Origin of the Vizierate and its True Character* by S. D. Goitein of Palestine, *Islamic Culture*, July and October, 1942.

In Kashmīr, during the rule of the Sultāns, the prime minister was designated *Madār-ul-Mahāmm*, as has been the case in the Hydarābād State. During Mughul rule, the Valley was governed by *subadārs*. During Afghān rule the *sūbadār's vazīr* or deputy was called *pēshkār* or the Chief Secretary. Sometimes the chief minister combined with his own duties those of the commander-in-chief of the military forces, as we find in the case of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn in the days of Sultān Sikandar. But normally the commander-in-chief was the head only of the military department of the state. He was well trained in the art of warfare then known, and was familiar with the use of all kinds of weapons then existing. It was his duty to attend to the training and efficient organization of the army, the enforcement of proper discipline among the soldiers, and the condition of the beasts of burden. In brief, the commander-in-chief was to see that the troops were ready for march, or actual engagement at the shortest possible notice. He was to maintain, particularly in Kashmīr, the frontier outposts, to garrison them and to equip them for all emergencies. In active service, his place was in the centre of the army when the king did not command in person, otherwise next to him.

The Qāzī.

The *Qāzī*, or the *Qāzī 'l-quzāt*, or, in other words, the Chief Justice was the highest judicial authority in the state. He was entrusted with ecclesiastical affairs also. It was his duty to see that religious observances were properly respected and performed by Muslims. He was assisted in his duties by an official known as the *Muftī*, the canonical jurist, who pronounced *Fatāwā*, or religious rulings, according to Islamic law. The *Qāzī* was subordinate to the prime minister. Under his orders, the *Qāzī* received his appointment, or, through him, if the appointment was made by the sovereign himself. The post of the *Qāzī* was generally held by a highly learned man, well-versed in Islamic law, and of reputed sanctity of character. Today, points out a well-known Muslim lawyer,† we insist that a judge should possess 'character.' So did Islamic society, but with this difference that 'piety' or 'the fear of God' as

†Principal Āsaf 'Alī Asghar Fyzee of the Government Law College, Bombay, in his P.E.N. Bombay Lecture, March, 1943. Mr. Fyzee is now a member of the Public Services Commission, Bombay Presidency.

understood in Islam was a condition precedent to an appointment. He was sometimes appointed directly from among eminent lawyers or promoted from the post of a provincial or local Qāzī.

Usually the duties of a Qāzī were—(*a*) to decide disputes and resolve animosities; (*b*) to put into execution the penal laws; (*c*) to contract matrimony on behalf of those who had no guardians; (*d*) to partition inheritance; (*e*) to protect the property of absentees, orphans, minors, idiots and lunatics; also to control their guardians, if any; and to appoint administrators for such property; (*f*) to determine legatees; (*g*) to administer justice; (*h*) to supervise and administer *waqf* (endowment) properties; (*i*) to lead congregations and to preside over Friday and 'Īd prayers, and hence no non-Muslim could be a Qāzī as this was the most important duty of the Qāzī. As a rule, the Qāzī took no fee of any kind from the people. He was maintained by the income of a grant of land, which was conferred on him by the state for this purpose, or was paid a salary. The Qāzī was naturally charged with the supervision of law officers and the subordinate Qāzīs whom he could appoint or dismiss. In the matter of fresh taxation, the opinion of the Chief Justice was invariably taken.[1] The installation of a Sultān was usually done in the presence of the Chief Justice or the Qāzī'l-quzāt.[2] Under the Mughuls in India, the Sadr or the Sadr-us-Sudūr was the designation of this great functionary.

In England the king delegates certain powers to the Lord Chancellor. The Lord Chancellor, in turn, delegates certain of his powers to the Chancery Judges. "The powers and appointments of Qāzīs in the early days of the Caliphate remind one[3] of the Chancery Judges of modern England." In the Sultānate of Delhi the offices of the *Sadr-us-Sudūr* and the *Qāzī-i-Mamālik* were combined and given to the same state dignitary. Under the Mughuls these posts were separate involving separate duties.

According to Ibn Battūtah, a Chief Justice was required to administer the oath of office to the Sultān.

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1. *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, page 144.
2. *Elliot*, III, page 591.
3. Principal Āsaf Ālī Asghar Fyzee in his P.E.N. Bombay Lecture, March, 1943.

The Chief Justice was himself installed by the Sultān. Ibn Battūtah's salary as a Judge of the Bench was 12,000 *dīnārs* a year, which would be equivalent to £12,000 a year today. The Chief Justice naturally got very much more. A Chief Justice was also given oversight of the educational organizations.

The *Sadr* (or the head) was judge and supervisor of the endowments of land by the sovereign, or the prince, for the support of pious men, scholars and hermits. He was to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose, and also to scrutinize applications for fresh grants. Charities during the Ramazān were distributed through him. The chief *Sadr* was called the Sadr-us-Sudūr, or Sadr-i-Kul, or Sadr-i-Jahān. The institution of Sadr-us-Sudūr existed in the Hydarābād State till recently.

The Shaikh-ul-Islam in Kashmīr.

In Kashmīr, however, we find that the highest judicial and ecclesiastical authority in the state was designated Shaikh-ul-Islam. And it is recorded* that Mullā Ahmad 'Allāma was appointed Shaikh-ul-Islam by Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn (Shāh Mīr). Now, this Sultān began to rule in about 1339 A.C., while the office of Shaikh-ul-Islam was created in the Ottoman Empire in about 1453 A.C. by Sultān Muhammad II. If this testimony is to be given credence, Kashmīr was ahead of Turkey in this respect by about a hundred years. If there be any doubt about the exact date of the establishment of the office of Shaikh-ul-Islam, the fact that the office did exist about this time is proved by several references to it in a number of histories of Kashmīr. Most probably the office was imported from Central Asia. In the villages, the Mullā acted as a Qāzī in small cases and gave decrees.

Shaikh-ul-Islam is, according to the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (Volume IV, 1934, pages 275-278), one of the honorific titles which first appears in the second half of the fourth century A.H. In the fifth century, Ismā'īl bin 'Abdur Rahmān and Abū Ismā'īl Ansārī held this title. In the sixth century, Fakhr-ud-Dīn Rāzī was called the Shaikh-ul-Islam. In Īrān the Shaikh-ul-Islam became a judicial authority who presided, in each important village, over the ecclesiastical tribunal composed of Mullās and Mujtahids.

*Hājī Muhyi'd Dīn Miskīn's *Ta'rīkh-i-Kabīr*, page 289.

The title gained special significance after it became applicable to the Muftī of Istanbul. Sultān Muhammad II, called the Great (855 A.H.=1451 A.C. to 886 A.H.= 1481 A.C.) after taking Constantinople, gave the official capital, Khizr title of Shaikh-ul-Islam to the *Muftī* of the new Beg Chelebi.

The Shaikh-ul-Islam of Istanbul was regarded as the Abū Hanīfa of his time. Only the Grand Vazīr was higher than he. The political function of the Shaikh-ul-Islam was first confined to his power of issuing *fatāwā*. But enormous importance was attached to *fatāwā* relating to questions of policy and public discipline.

In the Sultānate of Delhi, the Shaikh-ul-Islam exercised only very limited authority, and looked after the award of stipends to Sūfīs, faqīrs and darvishes and allowances to monasteries.*

The Muhtasib.

The duty of the head of the police, or the censor of public morals, who was called the *Muhtasib*, was the maintenance of good morals and, as far as possible, the prevention of crime. He was responsible for the prevention of fraud in goods offered for sale, and in all weights and measures. He was to test articles of food. He was expected to make regulations conducive to general security, and was to investigate complaints regarding paternity. He was to protect slaves and servants from acts of cruelty on the part of their masters, and to punish owners of beasts of burden for ill-feeding or overloading them. It was also his duty to see that foundlings committed to his care were properly looked after. It was he who granted permission for the erection of balconies, projections to buildings, and the construction of latrines. Under Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, the Muhtasib was also to see to prevention of dirt and sweepings on the road, and encroachments on public land. Police regulation forbade the public sale of liquors and the playing of musical instruments in public places, and authorized the arrest of drunkards. Charges of extortion also came within his cognizance. The Muhtasib's representative in a city was the *Kōtwāl*, or Prefect of the City Police, who would go through the streets with a party of soldiers

**The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 179-80.

demolishing and raiding liquor-shops, distilleries and gambling dens, wherever he found them. Sometimes, of course, "his retainers had armed conflicts with ruffians who showed fight." In Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's time, as Dow[1] has quoted, "no insidious old women, pimps or jugglers who led the wives and daughters of honest men into the ways of evil were tolerated." No nuisances were permitted in streets, or before residential buildings. The *Muhtasib* was, however, not given the power of violating the privacy of homes, nor was he allowed to spy on others. He was concerned only with flagrant violations and open misdemeanours. Under Muhammad bin Tughluq, the *Muhtasib* was an officer of great dignity and drew a salary of eight thousand *tankas*. "Markets were kept low. And the people were not to suffer any combinations amongst Banias." The Kōtwāl was also responsible for the detention of prisoners and their being produced in the court of the Qāzī for trial.

The Vazīr-i-Māl

The control of public finance was vested in the *Mushīr-i-Māl* or *Vazīr-i-Māl* sometimes called the Dīwān, who combined the functions of the collector-general and the treasurer-general. The finance minister divided the country into several districts for purposes of revenue, and classified the villages according as they—(*i*) were exempt from the payment of taxes; (*ii*) supplied soldiers for the defence of the country in lieu of taxes; (*iii*) paid taxes in kind, that is to say, in grain, cattle or raw products; (*iv*) supplied free labour. The Dīwān was expected to know all details of income and expenditure of the state. For the proper administration of the finances, it was necessary to have a good system of keeping accounts, and all details were entered in the books, and subsequently audited by competent auditors. The chief sources of revenue were the property tax, capitation tax, land-tax and war booty. These are discussed under the revenue system of Kashmīr.

Under the Mughuls, the Sūbadār, or governor, was the representative of the sovereign. The Sūbadār was officially called the *Nāzim* or administrator of the province. His essential duties[2] were to maintain order, to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue, and to execute the

1. *The History of Hindostan*, London, 1772, Volume III, page 412.
2. Sir J. N. Sarkār's *Mughal Administration*, 1920, page 81.

royal decrees and regulations sent to him. Under the Sūbadār were the provincial Dīwān[1] or the Receiver-general of the revenues of a province, and the Faujdār or the military commander. The Karōrī, or the collector of revenue, was in charge of an area analogous to our large district or a group of small districts. His duty was the collection of revenue without negligence and at the right time. He was not to demand *mahsūl* (duty) from places not yet capable of paying. He was to urge his subordinates like Qānūngos and Jāgīrdārs, not to realize anything in excess of the regulations. The Karōrī was also "to study the economy in his department during Aurangzīb Ālamgīr's[2] reign. The subjects were to be encouraged by him to apply themselves diligently to their various occupations and that the annual collections may increase yearly as well as the happiness of the inhabitants." The treasurer of the district was called the Fūtadār.

According to Lawrence,[3] the institution of village officers in Kashmīr dates from the times of the Mughuls, though Stein remarks that a system of village administration is alluded to in more than one passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

The news-writer or *waqā'i-navīs* or *savānih-niqār* or the *khufya-navīs* kept the central government informed of all that transpired in the province.

Handbooks were compiled for the guidance of subordinate officials and were called the *Dastūr-ul-'amal*. These contained forms for official documents and reports, condensed abstracts, facts, figures and lists, and could be revised and brought up to date in successive reigns. In a sense, they took the place of the *Lokaprakāça* in Pre-Muslim Kashmīr.

Regency in Kashmir

Kashmīr, under the Sultāns, had experience of the system of regency administration. Sultān Sikandar was a minor when he succeeded his father Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn. Sikandar's mother acted as the Regent, and later Sūhbaṭ

1. The *Dīwān* is analogous to the steward or fiscal agent of feudal days in the West.
2. *Dow's History of Hindostan*, Vol. III, page 414.
3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, 1895, page 197. See also the footnote on the same page for Dr. Stein's remark.

or Malik Saif-ud-Dīn performed the duties of the same office. On the death of Sultān Hasan Shāh, when his son Muhammad Shāh was about seven years of age, a regency was again set up under the direction of Sayyid Hasan Baihaqī, the prime minister of the state. "Regencies" remarks Rodgers,* "have always been prolific in disturbances, even in advanced countries where there is settled law." Therefore, it is not strange that there were disturbances in Kashmīr during this regency. It is said that when the treasury was opened to the young king and the wealth of the state and its resources were exhibited to him, he laid hold of a bow rather than any of the gold and silver.

تھا محمد شاہ تیرا ایک کم سن تاجدار
دل سے ہوں لاکھوں مُسن جسکے تہوّر پر نثار
سب نفائس دیکھ کر بیکار اپنے ہاتھ میں
اِک کمان رکھلی تو اِک تلوار اپنے ہاتھ میں

—محمد الدین فوق

From this the people augured that the prince would prove a brave and war-like ruler. It was at this time that the rājā of Jammu was a refugee in Kashmīr, from the tyranny of Tātār Khān Lodī.

On the death of Sayyid Hasan, the regent, his place was taken by the uncle of the Sultān, who, in turn, was again supplanted by Sultān Fath Shāh. Just about this time in England, Edward V and his brother were murdered in the Tower. Fath Shāh, however, points out Rodgers, did not prove as bad as Richard III, in this respect. On the contrary, he arranged that the food and drink of the prince were prepared under his directions, and the prince was permitted to enjoy his palace life. Shaikh or Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī made his appearance in Kashmīr during those days. Fath Shāh was on the throne but, in course of time, Muhammad Shāh established himself on the same throne when Fath Shāh fled towards India but died at Naushahra. Muhammad Shāh, in gratitude for services during his early minority, brought back the dead body of Fath Shāh,

The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmīr.—J.A.S.B., No. 1885, page 109.

and had it buried near the tomb of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn in 925 A.H. (1519 A.C.). Muhammad Shāh was the contemporary of Ibrāhīm Lodī of Delhī.

Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt may also be said to have set up a regency in Kashmīr during his ten years' stay, beginning with the 2nd of August, 1541 A.C. Sultān Nādir or Nāzuk Shāh was a puppet in his hands. And Mīrzā Haidar, in reality, held sway as the vicegerent of Humāyūn, who was then struggling against adverse circumstances.

Islamic Law.

Islamic *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) is a great and independent science of the Muslim people. Islamic jurisprudence is proud of a glorious history of independent life and progress. Its great achievements and principles comprehend the entire province of the individual and social life of man. It was this "scientific art of life of Islam" which supplied the framework of Islamic civilization in its brightest periods of history.

The Arabs, says Von Kremer,[1] were the only people of the early Middle Ages who, in the development and scientific treatment of legal principles, achieved results which approached in their magnificent splendour those of the Romans, the law-givers of the world. Muslim jurisprudence accordingly occupies, in the words of Ameer Ali, a pre-eminent position among the various systems which have, at different times, been in force among different communities. And considering the circumstances under which it originated, the difficulties it had to contend with, and the backward condition of the people among whom it attained its development, it may be regarded as one of the grandest monuments of the human intellect. According to the late Rev. Dr. D. B. McDonald,[2] the Muslims regarded the administration of justice as a duty, and with their "armies everywhere went Law and Justice such as it was. Jurists accompanied each army and were settled in the great camp cities which were built to hold the conquered land." The sacred fountain of the laws of the Muslim state was the Qur'ān. But, as the empire grew, the need for judicial formulæ and judicial

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1. *The Orient under the Caliphs*, S. Khudā Bukhsh's English Translation of Von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, University of Calcutta, 1920, page 367.

2. *Muslim Theology*, page 83.

rules, adapted to the new conditions of life, was keenly felt. And the pronouncements of the Prophet who combined in himself the offices of ruler and judge, "filled up the gaps which are to be found in the Qur'ān from the legislative point of view."[1] These are called the *Hadīth* (literally, the word or narration). Besides this, the entire public and private life of the Prophet served as a model to the Muslim as something to which he should aspire. Thus the life of the Prophet, his discourses and utterances, his actions, his tacit approval, and even his passive conduct constituted, next to the Qur'ān, the second most important source of law for the Islamic Empire. The entire body of such traditions as were actually practised by the Prophet or repeatedly urged or emphasized by him in his lifetime is called the *Sunnah*. In brief, the *Hadīth* is the word or statement made by the Prophet. The *Sunnah* (literally the *path* or *practice*) is the actual practice or an urge or emphasis for action demanded repeatedly by the Prophet in the light of his word or statement. The observance of the *Sunnah* created self-control and responsibility, promoted stability in society, and made the spiritual influence of the Prophet a real factor in the life of a Muslim.

When, however, (*i*) the Qur'ān—the Word of God—and (*ii*) the Hadīth—the record of the Prophet's action and saying—was not clear on a point, the use of (*iii*) analogy and the deductive method under the Prophet's instructions and in the light of (*i*) and (*ii*) became necessary. This is technically called *Qiyās* in Muslim law. Supplementing the above (*i*), (*ii*) and (*iii*) we have—(*iv*) the *Ijmā'-al-Umma* or consensus of opinion among the learned. When a number of persons, learned in Muslim law and holding the rank of jurists, agree on a particular point, their agreement has the force of law. These four above constitute the *Sharī'at* or Islamic law. And this is the *Fiqh* (literally intelligence, understanding or knowledge) or the Canon Law of Islam. The first two are laid down by God and his Prophet. The edifice of *Fiqh*, raised by human endeavour, supplemented the first two in the light of the Qur'ān and the Hadīth.

In Islam, as Principal Āsaf 'Alī Asghar Fyzee says,[2] "there is no distinction between law and religion, civil and

1. *The Orient under the Caliphs*, page 268.
2. P. E. N. Bombay Lecture in March, 1943.

criminal law, judges and magistrates. The law is to be obeyed not for temporal reasons but to achieve a spiritual end, for the purpose of man's salvation. The sanctions are moral rather than legal. Legal considerations and individual rights are secondary. The supreme tendency is towards a religious and ethical evaluation of the facts of life."

Imām Abū Hanīfa (A.H. 80-150=A.C. 699-766), "the greatest jurist not merely of his age, but of the entire Islamic world,"[1] appears to have been the first to lay the foundation of constitutional law, which has been "the accepted basis for all later times."[2] It is said that he instituted a committee consisting of forty men from amongst his principal disciples for the codification of the laws. It took thirty years to complete the task, but the entire code is now unfortunately lost. The *Qudūrī*, however, gives us the best exposition of Imām Abū Hanīfa's system. He was, in the words of Von Kremer,[3] the first to set up the principle that the life of an unbeliever or a slave was just as dear as that of a Muslim. He strove to mitigate the severity and harshness of the law of theft, which was extremely severe in Islam. He also took a lenient view of other offences ; for instance, of blaspheming the Prophet. As regards the law of pre-emption, Imām Abū Hanīfa made no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. These facts go to show that "he was a champion of leniency, toleration and mercy in an age of unbridled fanaticism."[4]

The school of theology and jurisprudence which Imām Abū Hanīfa founded became dominant in Baghdād shortly after his death. It was officially recognized by the Caliphs of Baghdād and bore the name of the Hanafite system, after Abū Hanīfa. Two of Abū Hanīfa's disciples, Qāzī Abū Yūsuf and Muhammad Shaibānī, were the most learned doctors of this school. Imāms Mālik (A.H. 95-179=A.C. 713-795,) Shāfi'ī (A.H. 150-204=A.C. 767-820) and Ibn Hanbal (A.H.164-241 =A.C. 780-855) also founded schools of law, which are known after them. These four schools are

1. *The Orient under the Caliphs*, page 394.
2. *Ibid.*, page 395.
3. *Ibid.*, page 398.
4. *Ibid.*, page 401.

authorities of the first rank, whose decisions in legal matters are unchallenged, and make *Fiqh.* We have, therefore, the Holy Qur'ān, the *Hadīth,* the *Qiyās,* and the *Ijmā'* as previously explained, constituting the *Fiqh*—or the collective or canonical law of Islam.

The commercial law of Islam shows traces of the Roman-Byzantine law on account of constant commercial intercourse between Arabia and the bordering Roman provinces. The criminal law, though based essentially on the old Semitic foundation—common alike to the Hebrews and the Arabs—has been considerably toned down by the Arabs. The Arab laws of marriage and inheritance, in spite of the fact that the Hebrews and the Arabs are supposed to belong to the same family of nations and to possess common Semitic institutions, are, says Von Kremer, essentially the original product of Islam. The Muslim law of inheritance, he adds, is bolder in its outline, more definite in its assignment of shares, more considerate to the other sex, and far more humane and refined than the Hebrew law.

Islamic Law and the Swiss Civil Code.

If we compare the four sources of the Islamic law with a modern statement of fundamental principles such as the Swiss Civil Code, which, by the way, Atāturk adopted for his new Turkish state, we shall find that Article I of the Swiss Code follows, more or less, the same course. "The Statute governs all matters within the letter or the spirit of any of its mandates. In default of an applicable statute, the judge is to pronounce judgment according to the customary law and, in default of a custom, according to the rules which he would establish if he were to assume the part of a legislator. He is to draw his inspiration, however, from the solutions consecrated by the doctrine of the learned and the jurisprudence of the courts *par la doctrine et la jurisprudence.*" If the Qur'ān is an Act and the Prophet's practice the initiation of tradition or customary law we have, as it were, the other two concomitants of Article I of the Swiss Code, *viz.* inspiration from solutions already consecrated and the jurisprudence of the courts, in the *Qiyās* and the *Ijmā'* respectively of Islamic law.

The Condition of Women.

As there is considerable misapprehension in India and Europe and America about the position of Muslim women, due to the un-Islamic attitude of the Indian Muslim himself towards his women-folk, a brief discussion is imperative. The status of the Muslim woman is secure under Muslim law and practice—perhaps more secure than that of a woman in Europe and America—but her own ignorance of this law and practice has brought on her certain disabilities which happily are disappearing, albeit slowly.

It is notorious that the condition of women among the Arabs and the Jews before the advent of Islam was "extremely degraded." Among the Athenians, the most civilized and most cultured of all the nations of antiquity, writes Ameer Ali,* the wife was a mere chattel, marketable and transferable to others and a subject of testamentary disposition. She was regarded in the light of an evil indispensable for the ordering of the household and procreation of children. An Athenian was allowed to have any number of wives, and Demosthenes gloried in the possession by his people of three classes of women, two of which furnished the legal and semi-legal wives. Among the Romans, also, polygamy flourished in a more or less pronounced form, until forbidden by the laws of Justinian. But the prohibition contained in the civil law, continues Ameer Ali, effected no change in the moral ideas of the people, and polygamy continued to be practised until condemned by the opinion of modern society. Even the clergy, frequently forgetting their vows of celibacy, contracted more than one legal or illegal union. The German reformers, even so late as the sixteenth century, admitted the validity of a second or third marriage contemporaneously with the first in default of issue and for other similar causes. Among the Hindus, polygamy prevailed from the earliest times. There was no restriction as to the number of wives a man might have. A high-caste Brāhman, even in modern times, is privileged to marry as many wives as he chooses. Islam, however, restricts the number to four, and the conditions imposed are such as to make it extremely difficult for the husband to have them at the same time.

**The Spirit of Islam*, 1922, page 223.

Under the Islamic laws, points out Ameer Ali,[1] a woman occupies a superior legal position to that of her English sister. As long as she is unmarried, she remains under the parental roof, and until she attains her majority she is, to some extent, under the control of her father or his representative. As soon, however, as she is of age, the law vests in her all the rights which belong to her as an independent human being. On her marriage, she does not lose her individuality. She does not cease to be a separate member of society, and her existence does not "merge" in that of her husband. No doctrine of "coverture" is recognized, and her property remains hers in her individual right. A Muslim marriage, continues Ameer Ali,[2] is a civil act, needing no Mullā, requiring no sacred rite. The rights of a wife as a wife, or as a mother, do not depend for their recognition upon the idiosyncracies of individual judges. She can enter into binding contracts with her husband, and proceed against him at law, if necessary. But, of course, remarks Ameer Ali, there may be secret tyrannies in Asia as there may be in America, but the excesses of a Muslim husband find no sanction either in the silence or in the provision of the actual code. If he does wrong, he does it as wrong, and with the fear of punishment in his heart. The whole history of Muslim legislation, concludes Ameer Ali, is a standing rebuke to those who consider that the position of women under the Islamic laws is one of inferiority and degradation.

The Seclusion of Women.

In contrast to the considerable legal status of women in Islam, it is often asserted that Islam is responsible for the introduction of the system of their seclusion. This is really contrary to fact, as this system had been in practice among most of the nations of antiquity from the earliest times. The Athenians, whom Europeans extol so much, observed the custom in all its strictness. The Prophet recommended its observance as he perceived some advantages in it on account of the state of society existing at the time. But it is a mistake to suppose that there is anything in the law which tends to the perpetuation of the custom, though it must be admitted that the Prophet's

1. *Mahommedan Law* by Syed Ameer Ali, Fifth Edition, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1929, page 15.
2. *Ibid.*, page 16.

recommendation undoubtedly stemmed the tide of immorality, and prevented the diffusion of the custom of disguised polyandry. Depravity of morals was then sapping the foundations of society among pre-Islamic Arabs, and among Jews and Christians. The *haram* or *harem* is the sanctuary of conjugal happiness. It is prohibited to strangers, not because women are deemed unworthy of confidence, but on account of the sacredness with which customs and manners invest them. Within the sacred precincts of the zanāna or *zenana*, the wife reigns supreme. The husband has little authority within that circle, and frequently he cannot enter it without his wife's permission. The present backward condition of Muslim women in India, rightly remarks Ameer Ali, is the result of want of culture rather than of any special feature in the Islamic laws or institutions. The question of the veil or the *pardah* and the seclusion of women is being discussed at some length in the writer's book entitled: *Sughra—Being a Discussion of the Status and Schooling of Muslim Women in India.*

Legal Education.

"The vital connexion between the system of legal education and that of judicial organization has, in no legal system of the world, been so clearly emphasized as in the Islamic legal system," said Colonel T. J. Kedār, Vice-Chancellor, Nāgpur University, at the opening of the Law College, Nāgpur, in October 1940. "It began as early as the second century after Prophet Muhammad's death, under Hārūn-ur-Rashīd. But it was perfected in the Ottoman Empire, about 1500 A.C., under Sulaimān the Magnificent, the contemporary of the Emperor Charles V, and Queen Elizabeth of England. Sulaimān was known in the Orient as Al Canouni (Qānūnī) the legislator. He has been described by historians as the Justinian of Islam. The Sulaimāniyya University was his special achievement for law. The highest judicial officers in the Ottoman Empire were required to be graduates of the Sulaimāniyya University. The office of the Shaikh-ul-Islam, the chief of the entire juristic body, was in the north-east corner of the University building.

LL.B., LL.M., and LL.D. Degrees in the Islamic System of Legal Education.

"The Islamic system of legal education was framed according to a highly organized plan of judicial training.

No one could hold judicial or legislative office until he had received an appropriate higher education in law. It was a degree analogous to our LL.B. that qualified a man to hold the post of Nā'ib or Justice of the Peace. The degree, analogous to our LL.M., qualified one to become a Qāzī or Superior Court Judge. In the degree which has its counterpart in our LL.D., there were twelve grades that qualified one to become a provincial judge or to become a Muftī (a Jurisconsult). The twelfth grade made a Mullā and qualified him to become a Supreme Court Judge or a professor in the highest faculties.

"It is said that it was a brilliant century in Christian Europe," quotes Col. Kedār. "An Italian traveller of that day at Stamboul is recorded as saying—'one would be very fortunate in Europe if one could appeal from our courts to the Sultan's Supreme Court.' "

Administration of Law.

This much about law. Now a word about its administration. The right to administer the laws, as well as the affairs generally of the community, says Sir 'Abdur Rahīm,[1] belongs to the community itself, which may exercise the right through its chosen representatives. The administration of the state in the olden days was entrusted to Imāms or Caliphs. The Imām or the Caliph was the executive head or chief of the Muslim state. He was not vested with legislative power, and was bound by the *Sharī'at* like any other person. He was subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts, though it may be that, as he was the chief of the executive and had thus control of the administrative machinery, it practically depended upon his pleasure whether he would submit to the decrees and sentences of the courts or not. The Muslim law, continues Sir 'Abdur Rahīm,[2] does not concede to any individual any of those powers and prerogatives which are ordinarily the essential attributes of sovereignty, which in the Muslim system primarily belongs to God. But as God has delegated to the people powers of legislation and of absolute control over the administration, it

1. *The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* by 'Abdur Rahīm, Luzac & Co., London, 1911, page 59.
2. *Ibid.*, page 60.

must be held that, next to God, the sovereign power resides in the people. It would also appear that the Islamic law does not admit of the sovereign power being dissociated from the people, however they might choose to exercise it.

The law apparently contemplates that there should be a single Muslim state, and that the Caliph, as its chief representative, should administer the executive affairs of the community living within such state through his delegates and governors. But where there is no *de jure* Imām or Caliph, there seems to be nothing in the law which precludes the recognition of politically independent Muslim states, as in fact has been the case after the extinction of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate.

The history of the administration of justice during Muslim rule in India discloses a combination of different judicial systems of 'Irāq, Spain, Egypt and Turkey. The Indian system during Mughul rule is a combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements, or, more correctly, it was the Perso-Arabic system in an Indian setting.

Application of Islamic Law in Kashmīr.

We have, so far, briefly discussed the development of Islamic law and some aspects of its salient features. We shall now see what form of Islamic law was introduced into Kashmīr. Hamilton* wrote in 1780 A.C.—"Many centuries have elapsed since the Musalmān conquerors of India established in it, together with their religion and general maxims of government, the practice of their Courts of Justice. From that period, the Musalmān code has been the standard of judicial administration throughout the countries of India which were subjugated by the Muhammadan princes and have since remained under their dominion."

The particular forms of Islamic faith and practice now prevalent in India, writes Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī in his Historical and Descriptive Introduction to *Wilson's Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, are naturally those followed by the bulk of the original immigrants. The first Arab conquerors of Sind came from 'Irāq, which was the cradle of the Hanafī School, as we have seen already. Then, Mahmūd of

*The *Hidāyah*, page 14.

Ghazna, who invaded India, was a Persian-speaking Turk, and the Turks were generally Sunnīs of the Hanafī school. Moreover, Mahmūd was a nominal vassal of the Caliph of Baghdād, who was also a Sunnī. By the time that the Muslim conquest of Hindustān was completed, continues Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī, Hanbalism and Shāfi'īism had ceased to count for much in the great law-schools of Khurāsān (Īrān) and Māvara-un-Nahr (Trans-oxiana) which were the chief recruiting grounds of the *'ulamā'* of Islam in India. The real struggle in those regions was between Hanafīs and Shī'as. Sayyid 'Abdur Rahmān *Bulbul Shāh*, who introduced Islam into Kashmīr, appears to have been a Sunnī of the Hanafī school. Firishta* also points out that Shāh Mīr favoured the Hanafī doctrines of Islam. Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī or Shāh Hamadān, exercised tremendous influence in the spread of Islam in Kashmīr. Though he was of a different persuasion, namely, Hanbalī, he is said to have urged the continuance of the Hanafī law in reverence to the memory of Bulbul Shāh. This explains the presence of the followers of Abū Hanīfa in such overwhelming numbers in Kashmīr. Shaikh or Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī's arrival introduced Shī'a doctrines, and his followers adopted the Shī'a law. Bulbul Shāh was a Sayyid of Turkistān. And, as he was the first to preach Islam in Kashmīr, we can easily understand the introduction of Muslim law from Central Asia into the Valley of Kashmīr.

At the advent of Islam in Kashmīr, law may be said to have had two broad divisions. These were the *sharī'at* or the religious law and the positive law. In the beginning both the divisions were dealt with together. No sharp line was drawn between the two, the distinction being more or less clearly understood. People must have been cognizant of the fact that the sanction for the first kind was religious and that for the second social or political. Executive and judicial functions were separate except that the king combined them in his person. Qāzīs and executive officers functioned independently of each other. The Qāzīs had no executive duties. The executive officers were not invested with judicial powers. The Qāzīs were considered to hold office under the *Sharī'at* with which no one, not even the Sultān, could interfere.

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*Bombay University copy of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta*, page 648.

The making of laws.

Direct legislation, through popular legislature as we understand it now, was obviously non-existent in early times, but indirect methods were available. Law could not be made, but it could be declared. The Sultān, with or without consulting his dignitaries, issued ordinances. For instance, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn made a law according to which no bad woman was to have any inheritance from her husband. This became effective in restraining such women, and is said to have worked well. Sikandar's law forbade *satī* and the use of liquors throughout his dominions. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had his cabinet for consultation regarding the framing of important laws. A noteworthy feature of this cabinet was the presence in it of the leading scholars of the day. He accordingly drew up a code, and had most of his commands inscribed on copper tablets, and sent them to every town and village. Muhammad Khān, the brother and the Prime Minister of Baḍ Shāh, was his "counsellor in matters of policy and a judge in the investigation of law." The king "revised the disregarded laws of previous kings as the spring revives the plants destroyed by the winter."[1] The Sultān's law against theft is noteworthy. If any theft occurred, the headman of the village, or town where the theft occurred, was held responsible. The result was that theft was banished from the country. Akbar issued ordinances about revenue and other features of administration. With other important ordinances we shall deal later on.

The attitude of Islamic Law towards non-Muslims.

When Muhammad bin Qāsim conquered Sind, his superior, Hajjāj Ibn Yūsuf-as-Saqafī, the celebrated Governor of Arabia and 'Irāq, passed a decree applicable to Hindus. Hajjāj decreed: "As they have made submission and agreed to pay taxes to the Khalīfa, nothing more can properly be required of them. . . . . Permission is given to them to worship their gods. Nobody must be prevented from following his own religion. They can live in their houses in whatever manner they like." Which modern Government of today, asks Mīrzā Bāqir 'Alī,[2] in these days

1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 26.
2. *Hindu-Muslim Problem* by Mīrzā Bāqir 'Alī, B.A. (Oxon.), Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1944, *Patna Extension Lectures in December*, 1938, page 23.

of individual liberty can improve on it ? The much-abused tax, the *Jizya*, was a very light and graded tax, ranging from Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 10-0-0 (in modern currency) per annum according to income, and formed part of the Muslim system of taxation that was levied on non-Muslims for the maintenance of the army, and was sometimes levied on non-combatant Muslims also. It stands no comparison with what was India's foreign contribution, or the capitulation taxes of Egypt and China. It is also forgotten that Muslims had to pay *Zakāt*, the 2½ per cent of their revenue, from which non-Muslims were exempted, and that there were no other taxes besides the land revenue under Muslim rule. As taxation was simple, Muslim kings sometimes had to levy the *Jizya* for additional revenue. Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, for instance, having to maintain a large army in the Deccan for fighting, for which his ordinary revenue was insufficient, and, being ignorant of our modern system of taxation, could only have recourse to the *Jizya* as a source of additional revenue. While coupling religion with taxation it is worth noting that in Islam the Salt Tax is forbidden. It is nevertheless imposed on the people and they are paying it today.

In reading history, it is also necessary to take into account the spirit of the age, continues Mīrzā Bāqir 'Alī.* The history of the Middle Ages is a history of religious persecutions: the map of Europe was coloured red with religious warfare. And during that period of religious mania the toleration of Hindus and Muslims is a glorious chapter in world history. This does not mean that every Hindu or Muslim king was a saint. Possibly one or two were mad or religious maniacs who played into the hands of priests. Perhaps some did destroy idols. But what of that ? You must remember that when Brāhmans gained ascendancy over the Buddhists, they wiped out completely all the Buddhist temples. Some of that also is tagged on to Muslims. If Brāhmans' destruction of Buddhists is pardonable, then why should it be such a crime if some Muslim king destroyed idols ? And if history ignores the former and gives prominence to the latter, then surely that history is propaganda. It must also be remembered that temples were store-houses of wealth and money more than the gods. This was a great attraction. Did not

* *Hindu-Muslim Problem*, page 24.

Rizā Shāh cast greedy eyes on Muslim shrines in December 1938? It must be quite understandable if some Muslim kings could not resist the temptation for treasures that temples offered. We must not lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with a period when there was personal rule and limitless power in the hands of individuals, and who were unaware that posterity was going to judge them with the then unknown standard of religious tolerance. And to give emphasis to isolated acts and allow them to colour the whole period of history is like judging America by the Ku-Klux-Klan, the one organization hostile to all alien influences. The historian who does that lends himself to the suspicion that he has some ulterior motive in writing history. With this perspective in mind, compare the tolerance that pervaded the whole of the Hindu-Muslim period with the Danish massacre of monks and of nuns in England, the Inquisition in Spain, the persecution of Jews and Catholics in modern Germany and of Freemasons (that secret society of Protestants which has become a social ornament in Protestant England) in modern Spain.

Five concrete cases of strict justice in Muslim courts against Muslim Monarchs and a Muslim Empress.

Muhammad Tughluq sued by two Hindu complainants.

Muhammad ibn 'Abdullāh, commonly known as Ibn Battūtah,* states in his well-known *Travels* (originally edited, on dictation by Ibn Battūtah, by Muhammad ibn 'Juzayy, the principal secretary of the Sultān of Fez, whither Ibn Battūtah returned after his adventures) that Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq, on summons issued on the plaint of a Hindu charging the Sultān with his brother's murder, presented himself, unaided by any attendant, in the court of the Qāzī, who had been previously instructed not to stand up on the Sultān's arrival, or to show him any respect, but to treat him like other accused. The Qāzī decided that the Sultān must pay with his life unless the complainant was satisfied and withdrew his complaint. The Sultān satisfied the Hindu complainant who, then, withdrew his complaint. On another occasion, the son of a nobleman accused the Sultān of giving him 21 stripes. On

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*Urdū Translation of Volume II, by Maulavī Muhammad Husain, M.A., 1898, Dār-ul-Ishā'at, Lāhore, page 130.

the Qāzī's judgment, the Sultān offered to receive the same number of stripes at the hands of the boy, and actually was given these stripes in open court, when the Sultān's cap also fell off his head while receiving these stripes.

Sher Shāh Sūr's drastic action against his own son on a Hindu plaint.

A thrilling instance of justice by Sher Shāh Sūr noted by the almost contemporary historian, 'Abbās Sarwānī,* is here reproduced in the words of William Erskine from *A History of India* (Longman, London, 1854, volume 2, pp. 444-5):—One day, Sher Shāh Sūr's eldest son, 'Ādil Khān Sūr, "riding on an elephant through a street of Agra, in passing a house the walls round which were in disrepair, observed the wife of an inhabitant, a shopkeeper, undressed and bathing herself. Struck with her beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her, threw her a *bīṛā-pān* (beetle-leaf), and passed on. The woman, considering that, by this freedom, he had treated her as a wanton, and feeling her honour wounded, resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the incident, had great difficulty in preventing her intention. He went straight to the levee of Sher Shāh, and, among other suitors, proffered his complaint. The King, having investigated the circumstances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be enforced; and that the shopkeeper, mounted on an elephant, should, in his turn, throw a *bīṛā-pān* (beetle-leaf) to the prince's wife, when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to mollify the King, but in vain. Such, he said, was the law of their religion, and in administering justice, he knew no difference between prince and peasant: that it should not

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*'Abbās Khān, son of Shaikh 'Alī Sarwānī, was descended from 'Abbās Khān, whose son, Hasnū Khān, married a sister of Sher Shāh's. He himself received a command of 500 horse from Akbar. 'Abbās Sarwānī is the author of the *Tuhfah-i-Akbar Shāhī*, better known as the *Ta'rīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* and written by order of Akbar, probably soon after A.H. 987=A. C. 1579. It is a valuable biography of Sher Shāh Sūr. The author, a contemporary, was well-informed regarding the life and character of this chief who rose to be the ruler of India. (*Note.*—Sarwān or Sharwān—which should not be confused with Shirwān of the poet Khāqānī, and is in Russian Āzarbāijān—is a city about 60 miles south-west of Qandahār, Afghānistān, and is also the headquarters of the district of that name.)

be said that a man, because his son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. The complainant, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now he had gained his right, his character was restored, and he was satisfied; and, at his entreaty, the matter was ended."

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn of Bengāl sued by a woman.

Another case is worth mentioning. It is that of the literary but luxury-loving Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn A'zam Shāh who ruled over Bengāl from 795 to 813 A. H.=1393 to 1410 A.C., and corresponded with the great Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn *Hāfiz* of Shīrāz, Īrān, when enjoying royal honours in Sonārgāon, Bengāl, before his father's death. The *Cambridge History of India*, Volume II, 1928, page 265, narrates this case in the following words:—"One day, while practising with his bow and arrow he accidentally wounded the only son of a widow. The woman appealed for justice to the *qāzī*, who sent an officer to summon the king to his court. The officer gained access to the royal presence by a stratagem and unceremoniously served the summons. A'zam, after concealing a short sword beneath his arm, obeyed the summons and, on appearing before the judge, was abruptly charged with his offence and commanded to indemnify the complainant. After a short discussion of terms the woman was compensated, and the judge, on ascertaining that she was satisfied, rose, made his reverence to the king, and seated him on a throne which had been prepared for his reception. The king drawing his sword, turned to the *qāzī* and said, 'Well, judge, you have done your duty. If you had failed in it by a hair's breadth, I would have taken your head off with this sword !' The *qāzī* placed his hand under the cushion on which the king was seated, and, producing a scourge, said, 'O King ! You have obeyed the law. Had you failed in this duty, your back would have been scarified with this scourge!' A'zam, appreciating the *qāzī's* manly independence, richly rewarded him. If this story be true Bengāl can boast of a prince more law-abiding than Henry of Monmouth and of a judge at least as firm as Gascoigne."

The Empress Nūr Jahān accused of murder.

We have noted four instances. We shall refer to a fifth. Jahāngīr passionately loved Nūr Jahān. It is so well known. But when Nūr Jahān shot a casual

intruder in her private garden, and the dead man's wife complained to the Emperor, law took its course. The Empress had to appear as an accused. She was exonerated only on satisfactory indemnification of the complainant, supported by the ruling of the Qāzī of the realm. Only then was the case against the Empress withdrawn. This exciting theme was graphically versified by the Muslim historian of our day, the late Maulānā Shiblī Nu'mānī.

Muslim rule maintained itself on the strict enforcement of strict justice, which could call to account even the medieval Muslim monarch or his consort to stand his or her trial in open court. And this was not confined to India. In Christian Europe we have already referred to the Italian traveller, who wished one could appeal from a European court to the Sultān Sulaimān, the Magnificent's Supreme Court at Istanbul (*See* p. 616). When that high sense of justice declined, Muslim rule declined too.

Administration of Hindu Law under Muslim Rule.

It may be stated on the authority of Sir Roland Wilson[1] that schools of Hindu law flourished continually all through the Muslim period in India. The careful preservation of old, and the very extensive production of new, commentaries is another factor. It may be safely inferred from both that there was plenty of work for Brāhman judges to do. The threat of excommunication would usually suffice to secure obedience to their decisions within their self-centred caste bodies without resorting to the Muslim Qāzī. The Hindu authors of some of the commentaries held high posts under Muslim rulers. The Brāhman lawyer who explained the personal law of the Hindus was designated *Pandit* or *Shāstrī*. And the status of such a Pandit or Shāstrī was the same as that of a *Muftī*. Iltutmish instituted the office of the Pandit in India on the 'Abbāside model.[2] Disputes between Hindus and Muslims would naturally not turn upon family relations or inheritance, but would arise either out of contracts at the great centres of trade or out of personal wrongs. These could, of course, come under the cognizance of Muslim tribunals. In the department of contract, points out Sir Roland

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1. *Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, page 75.
2. Ameer Ali's *A Short History of the Saracens*, London, 1896, pages 188 and 422.

Wilson, the Hindus had no special reason for clinging to their own usages in preference to the full and clear precepts of the Muslim law. Mr. Neil B. E. Baillie, in his *Muhammadan Law of Sale,* thinks that the Muslim law of sale regulated the dealings not only of Muslims with Hindus, but of Hindus with each other. It is certain that one of its rules, at all events, that of pre-emption, governed—as it governs today in the Punjāb—all sales of land irrespective of the creed of the proprietors. As regards criminal law, the *Sharī'at* itself made provision for the exemption of non-Muslims from some of its penal rules, for instance, from the punishment for drinking wine.

Under Baḍ Shāh in Kashmīr.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn ruled the Hindus according to their own laws. This is provided for by the Muslim *Sharī'at.* "We are commanded," says the author of the *Hidāyah,*[1] "to leave them (non-Muslim subjects) at liberty in all things, which may be deemed by them to be proper according to their own faith." The Prophet of Islam by granting a charter of liberties to non-Muslims had set the example of recognizing the personal law of non-Muslims. History affords numerous instances, points out Mr. Muhammad Bashīr Ahmad,[2] when assurances given by the Prophet were repeated by his successors. On one occasion, as Dr. Vesey Fitzgerald relates (in his *Muhammadan Law,* p. 11), a non-Muslim was granted a decree against the Caliph of Baghdād by his own court of law.

Under Akbar.

Akbar's attitude towards non-Muslims is clear from his proclamation[3] :—"No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion if he liked. If a Hindu woman fell in love with a Muslim and changed her religion, she should be taken from him by force and be given back to her family. People should not be molested if they wished to build churches and prayer-rooms or idol temples or fire temples."

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1. S. G. Grandy's edition of Hamilton's *Hidāyah,* 2nd edition, 1870, Ch. 57, Vol. II, lines 59.

2. *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India* by Muhammad Bashīr Ahmad, M.A., M. LITT., I.C.S., Aligarh University, 1941, page 90.

3. Blochmann's English Translation of the *Ā'in,* Vol. I, page 207.

Akbar's Chief Trade Commissioner was remorselessly strangled by the Emperor's orders for violently debauching a Brāhman girl.

Under Jahāngīr.

In 1620 A.C. Jahāngīr saw Rajaurī Muslim women buried alive along with their dead husbands. A girl of ten or twelve was put alive into the grave along with her dead husband of the same age, at the times of his visit on a Friday in the fifteenth year of his reign. When a daughter was born to a man without means she was put to death by strangulation. Jahāngīr promulgated an ordinance declaring such crimes punishable by death.

Under Shāh Jahān.

On one of his birthdays when Zafar Khān *Ahsan*, the governor of the time, brought the hardships of the people with regard to the plucking of saffron and the levying of taxes to the notice of the Emperor, an ordinance put a stop to these impositions. And this ordinance is inscribed on the gate of the Jāmi' Masjīd, Srīnagar (*supra page* 268).

Under Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr.

Under Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, non-Muslims continued to "fill public offices and posts of trust," as the Emperor thought matters of state were separate from religion.

The exact words of the *Waqā'i-'Ālamgīr* (p. 59) are :—

امورِ دنیا را از مذهب چه نسبت ؟

Though this dictum of 'Ālamgīr, taken literally, may be controversial in the opinion of those who hold that, in Islam, State and religion are not separate, nobody would raise his finger against the appointment of non-Muslims to high posts under the Mughul Government. As a matter of fact, it was both just and politic to make such appointments.

No capital punishment under Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr.

"Capital punishments were almost totally unknown under Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr. The adherents of his brothers who contended with him for the empire, were freely pardoned when they laid down their arms." *

* Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, John Murray, Vol. III, p. 424.

On the subject of punishment Pringle Kennedy, the author of *A History of the Great Moghuls*, observes : " My reader will note with surprise that Aurangzīb was slow to punish, but the history of his whole reign shows that, save in cases where he feared for his throne, particularly from his relations, he was exceedingly lenient. Pyramids of skulls had no fascination for him. We read nowhere in his reign of massacres, nor of cruelty such as is to be found in the annals of the earlier Mughals." (Vol. II, 1911, p. 75).

Dow, in his *History of Hindostan*, points out that though Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr rewarded proselytes, he did not persecute the adherents of other persuasions in matters of religion. "It does not appear," says Elphinstone, "that a single Hindu suffered death, imprisonment or loss of property for his religion, or indeed, that any individual was ever questioned for the open exercise of the worship of his fathers."[1]

Captives of war—women and children exempted.

Muslim Law prohibits killing or putting to death children, women and aged men, and those who are bed-ridden, blind, decrepit, or paralytic, also those, who have lost their limbs, are lunatic, insane, etc.[2]

Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr followed this rule strictly. " He never allowed the capture of women and children during war, as was the common practice in Asia in those days. In all his wars and conquests the life and property of the subjects were protected and respected. Prisoners of war were never punished. The great rebels and traitors were immediately pardoned on their repenting.[3] He never made slaves of the prisoners of war. In judicial matters, civil or criminal, he never interfered, and left every case to be tried by judges and decided according to law on its merits.

Suits against the State. Government Advocates.

Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr issued an edict permitting all subjects and private persons to sue Government in courts of law if they had any claim upon it and wanted satisfaction.

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1. Elphinstone : *History of India*, June 1866 Edition, p. 672.
2. The *Hidāyah*, Vol II, Chapter II, pages 148-49.
3. Jaswant Singh and the supporters of Dārā Shukūh were pardoned and restored to favour.

Government advocates were appointed in every district to plead for the government in law-suits brought against it by subjects."[1] Under Muslim Law the state and the subject stand on the same footing. The Caliph is regarded as one of the subjects. The Law allows the subject to sue the state. There are innumerable instances of suits being filed in the court of law against the Caliphs, the Sultāns or the sovereigns. When the king was summoned by the court, he had to appear and take his trial like an ordinary suitor, and the decree, passed against him, was enforced by the court.[2] Already five concrete cases to this effect have been cited.

During Mughul and Afghān rule, Kashmīr was a province subject to laws administered in important matters from the Mughul and Afghān capitals. Provincial governors issued regulations which were in the nature of bye-laws.

Administrative Units.

The whole Valley of Kashmīr was subdivided for administrative purposes into a considerable number of smaller units, known during Hindu rule as *vishaya*, and *pargana* during Muslim rule. Abu'l Fazl's account is the first, says Sir Aurel Stein,[3] which presents us with a systematic statement of Kashmīr parganas. It is of special interest, because it shows us how their number could be increased or re-adjusted within certain limits according to fiscal requirements or administrative fancies. The return of Āsaf Khān, reproduced by Abu'l Fazl, shows thirty-eight parganas, while the earlier one of Qāzī 'Alī indicated forty-one. The difference is accounted for by the amalgamation of some, and the splitting-up of other, parganas. The parganas varied greatly in size, as shown by the striking contrasts in the revenue assessments. Thus, for instance, Paṭan was assessed at about 3,500 *kharwārs*, while the revenue from Kamrāj amounted to 4,46,500 *kharwārs*.

The number of parganas, continues Stein, had changed but little during Afghān times. For, the Sikhs on their conquest of the Valley, seem to have found thirty-six as the accepted traditional number. But there have been various

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1. Sādiq 'Alī: *A Vindication of Aurangzīb*, pages 142-43.
2. Wāhid Husain's *Administration of Justice during Muslim Rule in India*, Calcutta University, 1934, pages 53-55.
3. *The Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, pages 134-35.

changes in the names and extent of these parganas. Frequent changes and re-distribution of the parganas continued during Dogrā rule. The list for the year 1865 A.C. shows a total of forty-three. Subsequent reforms introduced *tahsīls* after the fashion of Indian Provinces in order to reduce the number of subdivisions. In Lawrence's time, in 1889, there were fifteen *tahsīls* which, in the map at the end of his *Valley of Kashmir* (1895), are shown as eleven only. In their constitution little regard was paid to the historical divisions of the country.

The present day distribution of the Valley is into two districts or *wizārats*: the Bārāmūla or the Northern Wizārat and the Anantnāg (Islāmābād) or the Southern Wizārat which includes Srīnagar. These two Wizārats consist of seven Tahsīls. The Wizārat-i-Anantnāg comprises: 1. Srīnagar Khās, 2. Pulwāma (or Avantipōra), 3. Anantnāg (or Islāmābād), and 4. Kulgām. The Wizarāt-i-Bārāmūla embraces: 1. Bārāmūla, 2. Baḍgām (or Sri-Partāp- Singhpōr) and 3. Hanḍwāra. The Tahsīldārs who are in charge of these *tahsīls* are under the Wazīrs or Collectors or Deputy Commissioners. The Tahsīls have *Niyābats* with Nā'ib Tahsīldārs in charge of them. They all form the revenue collecting agency of the State.

The population was much larger in olden days in Kashmīr than it is at present. According to the Vijayeçvara Māhātamya[1] (handbook dealing with the greatness of the Vijabrōr Tiratha), Kashmīr had, in prehistoric times, 6,063 villages. Deserted village sites and remains of extended systems of irrigation left by Muslim rulers tend to prove it. A series of appalling famines and epidemics wrought terrible havoc in the mass of rural population particularly. The famine of 1878 alone is supposed to have removed a large part if not actually three-fifth of the population from the Valley. It is noteworthy, at the same time, that the population which, in 1835 A.C. during Sikh rule, was estimated at about 2 lakhs rose to 8 lakh and 14 thousand in 1891.[2]

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1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, April 1910, Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 197.

2. *The Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, page 136.

The Revenue System of Kashmir

In order to be able to understand the revenue system of Kashmīr, it would be well to have a glance at the system of revenue in India under Muslim rule. The period of the Tughluqs would perhaps give us a better idea, as the early Sultāns of Kashmīr were the contemporaries of the Tughluqs of Hindustān. We shall single out the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, the contemporary of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn of Kashmīr, as a type for its peace and plenty, and orderly government. Apart from the land revenue in Fīrūz Shāh's time, there were the following sources of state income, by means of imposts:[1] (1) market dues; (2) brokerage (of bāzārs); (3) slaughter-houses; (4) amusement tax; (5) perfumery; (6) betel; (7) octroi on cereals; (8) tax on scribes; (9) indigo; (10) fish; (11) cotton cleaning; (12) soap manufacture; (13) silk; (14) oils; (15) parched gram; (16) ground rent of stalls in markets; (17) gambling houses; (18) tax on balconies; (19) town dues; (20) tax on brick kilns or potteries; (21) house-tax; (22) pasture-tax; (23) fines and amercements; (24) *zakāt*, that is 2½ per cent. of property on Muslims or *māl-i-nisāb*; (25) *jizya* or capitation-tax on non-Muslims;[2] (26) *res-relicta* or *māl-i-lāwāris*; (27) one-fifth of all spoils and produce of mines. The land revenue was assessed at one-tenth on the cultivated land.

In general the same broad, general heads of revenue must have obtained in contemporary Kashmīr.

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1. From the Persian Ms. فتوحاتِ فیروز شاهی or *Achievements of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh*, which has since been printed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1941, and the Aligarh Muslim University. See *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire* by Edward Thomas, London, 1871, page 5. The first twenty-three were abolished by Fīrūz Shāh in 1375 A.C. The *Futūhāt* has been translated and edited by Shaikh 'Abdur Rashīd, M.A., and Muhammad Akram Makhdūmī, M.A., M. ED., of Aligarh. The year of publication is not given.

2. It must be noted here that the *jizya* was sometimes collected, sometimes not (*vide* Sir Roland Wilson's *Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, London, 1894, page 75). It was just like the *zakāt*, due from Muslims though, as a matter of fact, as Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī puts it, it was rather the exception than the rule for the *jizya* to be exacted.

Sir Walter Lawrence has, however, given in his *Valley* (page 236), the heads of revenue in Kashmīr for the year 1871-72 A.C. These I give below for the information of the reader, to enable him to construct, by inference, in the light of contemporary Indian practice, his own picture of the sources of income available to the state during Muslim rule in Kashmīr.

(1) Government's share of rice crops (2) Revenue in cash (3) Receipts from the Shawl Department (4) Tribute from petty chiefs (5) Town duties and customs (6) Timber (7) Sheep and goats (8) Offerings of pious Hindus (9) Cows and buffaloes (10) Ferries (11) Tobacco (12) Courts of Justice (13) *Charas* or hemp drugs (14) Saffron (15) Silk (16) *Khutna* or circumcision fee (17) Receipts from the Ḍal Lake (18) Singhāṛa or water-nuts (19) Government ponies hired (20) *Zar-i-Qazāya, i.e.*, fines on petty quarrels, and wedding fees (21) Mint (22) Stamps (23) Miscellaneous fines (24) Post Office (25) Sale of wild fruit (26) Sale of Government horses (27) Sale of Chinār leaves (28) Fruit of Government gardens (29) Taxes on shops, artificers and others. The details of this last are:—(1) Sugar makers (2) Fruiterers, makers of pickles and sweetmeats (3) Bakers (4) Corn-chandlers (5) Porters (6) Masons (7) Carpenters (8) Sellers of betel-nut (9) Butchers (10) Cotton-carders (11) Blacksmiths (12) Goldsmiths (13) Braziers (14) Dyers (15) Sellers of woollen thread (16) Prostitutes (17) Cloth merchants (18) Sellers of glass bangles (19) Menial Muslims or Halāl-Khōrs (20) Soap-boilers (21) Polishers of arms (22) Gardeners (23) Fringe and tape makers or *hāshiya* and *fīta* makers (24) Farmers and saddlers (25) Cloth brokers (26) Turners in wood (27) Cloth dressers (28) Knife makers (29) Painters (30) Basket-makers (31) Shoe-makers (32) Grave-diggers (33) Boatmen who carry stones (34) Earth cutters (peat) wood-cutters (35) Money-changers (36) Cutters and polishers of precious stones (37) Leather sellers (38) Makers of woollen garments (39) Bow-makers (40) Cowherds (41) Weavers (42) Friers of grain (43) Leech-sellers and dealers in medicine (44) Comb-makers (45) Sellers of Firewood (46) Mungrīs (makers of rice-bread) (47) Paper-makers (48) Miscellaneous.

We may first begin with land-revenue.

According to the *Hidāyah*, the well-known treatise on Islamic law, there is due an *'ushr*, or tenth, upon everything

produced from the land, whether the soil be watered by the annual overflow of rivers or by periodical rains, excepting wood, bamboos or grass, which are not subject to tithe. Lands watered by means of buckets or machinery, such as the Persian wheel, or by canals, are subject to only half tithes. This rule of taking one-tenth the produce as land revenue was, however, scarcely followed in India and rulers realized what they could. The immemorial tradition in Kashmīr was that the whole of the land was considered the property of the ruler. Of some portions of the *khālisa*[1] lands *viz.* lands belonging to the state, the sovereigns divested themselves by grants in *jāgīr* for various periods. Since we are concerned with the Muslim period, we shall begin with Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, as we can hardly get material for the reign of Rīnchan or Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn.

According to Firishta, Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn fixed the revenue at one-sixth of the produce in 1341 A.C., while Abu'l Fazl says that the Sultān levied a tax of one-sixth[2] on all imports into Kashmīr. During the reign of Sikandar, Saif-ud-Dīn (Sūhabhaṭṭa) had imposed food rates of which no details are given, which Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, however, abolished altogether.

It is on record that Zain-ul-'Ābidīn revised the land assessment. He fixed it at one-fourth of the total produce in some places and at one-seventh in others. As Shams-ud-Dīn had fixed his revenue at only one-sixth of the produce, it either was enhanced by his successors, or

1. W. H. Moreland defines *khālisa* as land reserved for the state as opposed to land assigned or granted to individuals. This is land administered directly by the Revenue Ministry for the benefit of the Treasury. A Superintendent of Reserved Lands is mentioned in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* (p. 249). The word *khālisa* means "pure" or "free," here, "unnencumbered," and its use in this special sense would be natural in the Revenue Ministry, but "reserved" gives the actual position more clearly, because, at any moment, certain lands were kept apart for the Treasury, while the remainder was assigned. The common rendering "Crownlands," Mr. Moreland thinks, is misleading, because in modern use the phrase carries with it the idea of permanence, while throughout the Muslim period, he says, there was no permanence whatever, reserved land being assigned, and assigned land being reserved, at the will of the ruler or his minister concerned: the distinction between the two classes was permanent, but a particular area might pass from one to the other at any moment.—*The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Heffer, Cambridge, 1929, p. 29.

2. This is from Firishta, *vide* the *A'īn*, Vol. II, page 387 note.

perhaps Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's long and peaceful rule, by extensive irrigation works, enormously increased the area of cultivation and promoted the prosperity of the people. The rice crop alone is said to have gone up to 77 lakhs of *kharwārs*.[1] The village folk and farmers were protected from the exactions of revenue officers by a law which prohibited the latter from accepting any gifts, or, as Rodgers puts it, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn forbade the acceptance of gifts by *tahsīldārs* or revenue collecting officers. The length of the *jarīb*, says Abu'l Fazl,[2] was added to for the benefit of the landholder, but no detail is forthcoming.

According to Mīrzā Haidar,[3] there were four kinds of land: (*i*) *ābī*—cultivated by irrigation, (*ii*) land not needing artificial irrigation, (*iii*) gardens and (*iv*) level ground. "On the level ground, on account of excessive moisture the crops do not thrive, and for this reason the soil is not tilled which constitutes one of its charms."[4] A broad division of land in modern days is: *Sailāba* or land subject to flood; *darmiyāna* is central or *maidānī*; and the *kandī*, that is, land bordering on hills and liable to extensive damage by cold winds.[5]

Abu'l Fazl notes that the system of revenue in Kashmīr was by appraisement and division of crops. "Assessments by special rates, and cash transactions were not the custom of the country." (*Ā'īn*, Vol. II, p. 366, also the Persian text, p. 570). Some part of the *sair jihāt* cesses, (which means a variety of imposts, such as customs, transit dues, house fees, market taxes), were, however, taken in cash. Payments in coin and kind were estimated, in *kharwārs* or ass-loads of *shālī* or unpounded rice. "Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the state, more than two shares was actually taken." But it appears that Akbar reduced the assessment to one-half, and also remitted the cess known as *bāj tamgha*, signifying inland toll. The whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions, Marāj on the east, and Kamrāj on the west. Srīnagar itself, curiously

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1. Literally, as explained on page 251*n*, ass-loads. See also p. 644.
2. The *Ā'in*, Volume II, page 388.
3. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation, page 425.
4. *Economics of Food Grains*, pages 10-11.
5. *Ibid.*, page 366.

enough, being known as Yamrāj. Incidentally, we read in the *Akbar-nāma*: "In India, the land is divided into plots each of which is called a *bīghā*." In Kashmīr "every plot is called a *paṭṭa*. This should be one *bīghā* one *biswa* according to the Ilāhī *gaz*, but Kashmīrīs reckon 2½ *paṭṭas* and a little more as one *bīghā*." (H. Beveridge, Vol. III, pp. 830-31). In the 34th year of his reign, Akbar visited Kashmīr, and issued several ordinances regarding the taxation of the country, and fixed the land-tax at one-fourth. This was during the governorship of Yūsuf Khān Sayyid Rizavī Mashhadī.

In Chapter VI, on page 247 of *Kashīr*, we have mentioned the fifty-one days' rebellion caused by the excessive assessment of the Valley in the time of Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī. While discussing the revenue system of Kashmīr, we have here to take note of the nature of this rebellion of the peasantry, shortly after the annexation of the Valley by Akbar, due to the oppression exercised by the new assignees, who (besides other mistakes) had foolishly demanded the full *jama'*, *viz.*, valuation. The point is, as W. H. Moreland,* points out that the original valuation on which the assignments were granted was excessive; and the attempts of the assignees to realize their full expected income, without consideration of the actual position, drove the peasants into rebellion. That this is the true reading is clear from the action taken by the Emperor. First, in order to deal with the actual emergency, he limited the assignees' income to one-half the produce, in accordance with the local standard of demand, and ordered them to refund to the peasants whatever they had collected in excess of this amount; next, in order to provide for the future (*Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī of* Mu'tamad Khān, ii, 453), he ordered the preparation of a new valuation, which should be in accordance with the facts, and would thus prevent the recurrence of similar trouble.

In the 39th year of Akbar's reign, Āsaf Khān was sent to Kashmīr, Yūsuf Khān having been recalled. Āsaf Khān re-distributed the lands of the jāgīr-holders. The cultivation of *z'afrān* (saffron) and hunting were declared monopolies. The revenue was fixed according to the assess-

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**The Agrarian System of Moslem India* by W. H. Moreland, C. S. I., I. C. S., W. Heffer & Son Ltd., Cambridge, 1929, p. 214.

ment of Qāzī 'Alī, the Mīr Bakhshī or the treasurer-general.

Early in Akbar's time, the total revenue of Kashmīr was fixed at 22 lakh *kharwārs*. The revenue of Kashmīr is explicitly given by the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (English Translation, Vol. II, p. 368) as 6,21,13,040 *dāms*, but Qāzī 'Alī's assessment, on the preceding page, is 7,46,70,411 *dāms*, while Āsaf Khān's was less than that amount by 8,60,034 *dāms*. This ought to yield a revenue of 7,38,10,377 *dāms* (Rs. 18,45,259-6-10). Probably the first one is correct, says Sir Jādū Nāth Sarkār in his English Translation of the *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh*, etc., entitled *The India of Aurangzīb* (Calcutta, 1901, page xxxi). Again, the revenue of Kashmīr, according to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* was Rs. 15,52,826 in the year 1594 A.C. In 1648, in Shāh Jahān's time,[1] it was 15,00,00,000 *dāms* or Rs. 37,50,000; in 1654 during Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's rule, it was 11,43,90,000 *dāms* or Rs. 28,59,750. The revenue of Kashmīr, according to the *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh* of Sujān Rāi Khattrī of Batāla (district Gurdāspur, East Punjāb), was Rs. 31,57,125, in the year 1695. According to the *Dastūr-ul-'Amal* (MS.), or the Revenue Manual, it was Rs. 69,47,784 about the year 1700, while in 1707, before 'Ālamgīr's death, it was 22,99,11,397 *dāms* or Rs. 57,47,734. According to the *Chahār Gulshan*, which is also known as the *Akhbār-un-Nawādir* of Rāi Chatar Bhān Rāi Saksena Kāyasth, the revenue of Kashmīr was Rs. 53,20,502 about the year 1720. Sir Walter Lawrence,[2] however, states by calculation that the total revenue of Kashmīr under the Mughuls was Rs. 14,47,114, of which the city of Srīnagar contributed Rs. 1,77,733, and, therefore, for the Valley minus Srīnagar, Rs. 12,69,381, the value ascribed to a *kharwār* being 8 annas 3 pies. It must be pointed out that the Kashmīrī rupee remained different from the Chaghtai rupee for long time. And money-changers must have made money in these transactions. Also the figures of revenue cannot be very instructive unless one is certain of the exact value of the rupee as it was in 1594 and the rupee as it was in 1700.

During Afghān rule, the system of the Mughuls was generally adopted but their exactions appear to have been

1. E. Thomas, *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, pages, 52-53.

2. *The Valley*, pages 234-5.

rather heavy. According to George Forster,[1] who visited Kashmīr in 1783 A.C., a revenue of between twenty to thirty lakhs of rupees was collected from Kashmīr, of which a tribute of seven lakhs was remitted to the treasury. A portion of this tribute was transmitted to the Afghān capital at Kābul in shawl goods.[2] The revenue return of Kashmīr under Zamān Shāh[3] was—

		Rs.
The Treasury	..	22,50,000
Ta'luqadārs	..	6,28,000
Establishment	..	11,40,000
Total	..	40,18,000

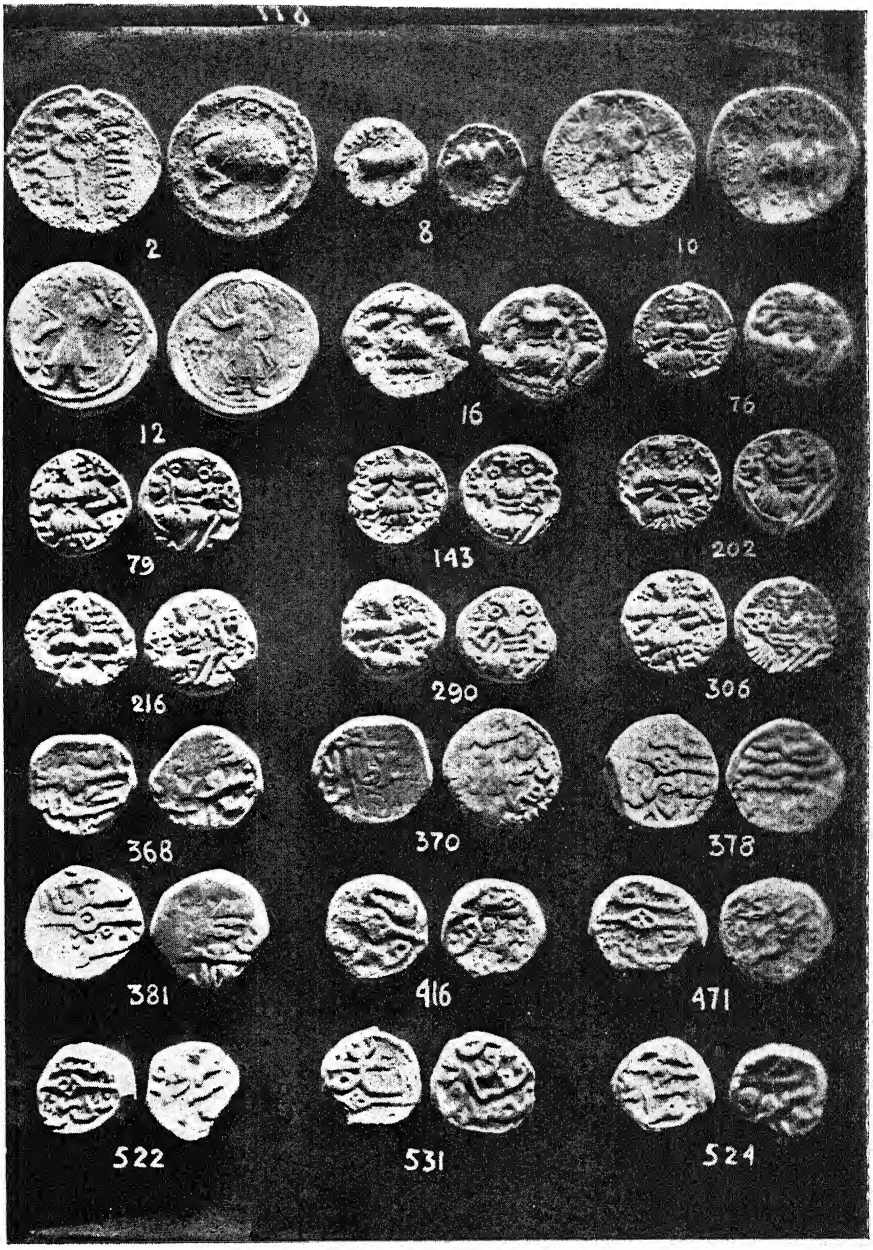
Mīr 'Izzatullāh[4] notes that ten lakhs of rupees per annum were realized by duty on every boat-load of rice during his visit in 1812-13 A.C. The average price of rice, he says, was about Rs. 3 per *kharwār*.

The Sikhs made a general resumption of all jāgīrs and ousted their owners with the result that thousands were reduced to destitution. Vigne[5] notes that during Sikh rule two lakhs were paid "in alms and wages to Hindu feasts, processions, shrines and fakirs, etc. Another lak (lakh) for expenses and repairs, and one which the governor was allowed to retain as his salary. So that from seven to ten laks (10 laks of small rupis, about 66,600*l*) was, as I have stated, the annual amount received by Runjit from this rich but exhausted province.

"The revenue being framed, the governor of course takes all he can get, without diminishing the chances of a sufficiency to meet the demands of next year; and, amongst other modes of filling his own coffers, I was informed that he probably takes many rupis in bribes for decisions, and 3,000 or 4,000 more in casual offerings and presents. There is, of course, the greatest difficulty in collecting information

1. *Journey*, page 32.
2. *Ibid.*, page 21.
3. Information based on Ghulām Sarwar's papers preserved in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi. Ghulām Sarwar was deputed by the British Government to Afghānistān during 1793-95 A.C. when Lord Cornwalis was Governor-General of India. Ghulām Sarwar's account, in the words of Sir John Shore, is "the best procurable account of the dominions, forces, revenues and character of Shāh Zamān."
4. *Travels*, page 4.
5. *Travels in Kashmir* by G. T. Vigne, 1842, London, Vol. II, p. 120.

Copper Coins of the Kings of Kashmīr, Non-Muslim Rājās and Muslim Sultāns.



[See the reverse for details.]

COPPER COINS OF THE KINGS OF KASHMIR

Non-Muslim Rajas and Muslim Sultans.

RAJAS

2. Maues.
(Second half of the 1st Century B.C.)

8. Kujula Kadphises

10. Vima Kadphises.

12. Kanishka (*Circa* 125 A.C.)

Kushan Coins.

16. Toramāṇa.

76. Didda-Khsēmaguptā.
(950—958 A.C.)

79. Bhima-Gupta (975—980 A.C.)

143. Samgrāma-rājā (1003—1028 A.C.)

202. Ananta (1028—1063 A.C.)

216. Kalasha (1063—1089 A.C.)

290. Harsha (1089—1101 A.C.)

306. Jayasimha (1128—1155 A.C.)

SULTANS

368. Sikandar.

370. Zain-ul-'Abidīn.

378. Haidar Shāh.

381. Hasan Shāh.

416. Fath Shāh.

471. Muhammad Shāh.

522. Nādir (Nāzuk) Shāh.

531. Husain Shāh Chak.

524. Ibrāhīm Shāh.

about the revenue. The shawl manufactory, so I am informed, pays a revenue of 25 per cent ; but this is probably much less than the reality and, in fact, there is little regularity in the system of taxation. Every trade and profession is taxed, even that of the dancing girls, who reside in companies, which are taxed at 4 or 10 rupis each in the month.

"In Kashmir the expenses of a peasant do not amount to more than 2 Huri Singhi or small rupis—2*s*. 8*d*. a month."

The State took half[1] the share of the *kharīf* crop, in addition to four *traks* per *kharwār*. In the words of Mr. A. Wingate, who wrote the Preliminary Report of the Settlement of Kashmīr commenced in 1887, "traces of disused irrigation and of former cultivation, ruins of villages or parts of villages, of bridges, etc., local tradition, all point to a greater prosperity, which by the end of Sikh rule in 1846 A.D. had well nigh disappeared."[2] Lawrence's calculation works out the revenue under the Sikhs at 13 lakhs (page 238).

Under Ranbīr Singh, in 1870,[3] the revenue of Kashmīr was estimated at 50 lakhs of rupees. But Lawrence notes 15 lakhs for 1861, and 16,07,542 as the estimate for 1887, the actual being unknown. In 1888 the actual revenue was 12,31,258 (p. 238) or just a little over that of the Sikhs.

The Coinage of Kashmir

The standard coin type of Kashmīr, according to Cunningham, remained unchanged from the type introduced by Kanishka in 78 A.C. down to the Muslim conquest in 1339 A.C., or for 1261 years ; but it is unfortunate that, like the Kashmīr mason of Muslim rule, the die sinkers of that period are disappointing.

Coins of the Sultāns and Bādshāhs of Kashmīr.

The oldest Muslim coin available in the Srī Pratāp Singh Museum at Srīnagar is that of Shāh Mīr (1339-42 A.C.), while the oldest copper coin available is that of Sultān Sikandar. The complete legend on Shāh Mīr's coin is السلطان الاعظم شمس شاه and in the central lozenge is ضرب كشمير Sultān Sikandar's follows the same legend and lozenge except,

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1. *Economics of Food-Grains* by Jīyalāl K. Jalālī, M.A., 1931, page 36.
2. *Ibid.*, page 36.
3. *Letters from India and Kashmir*, written in 1870, page 187.

of course, the change in the name of the Sultān. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole[1] refers to the forty-two Kashmīr coins in the British Museum, and says half of them are of silver. The copper issues are round, thin, of the average diameter of ·8 in., with the loop or knot of arabesque design in the midst. The silver coins are square in shape with an average weight of 94 grs., and a breadth of ·6 to ·65 in.

The late Mr. Chas. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, had made a detailed study of the coins of Kashmīr. His contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*[2] are valuable for the Islamic period of Kashmīrian history. Two adverse statements emerge out of his criticism: (*a*) that the coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr have very little artistic value and (*b*) their dates, in many cases, are confusing. Even the most casual observer would agree with Mr. Rodgers and accept his criticism on the first point. But as regards the second, I believe some of the coins examined by him must have been spurious, as the craze for coin-collection appears to have led cheats to find scope for their activities by counterfeiting old coins, just as the craze for stamp-collection, at times, may give rise to the preparation of counterfeit stamps. At any rate, the Sultāns could not have been so foolish as to give the same dates on the coins of different rulers. But, it is not improbable that rival factions, who set up rival Sultāns on the throne struck coins, or even gave currency to their respective coinage, as we shall presently note in the case of Salīm Shāh Sūr and Akbar, much before the latter's conquest of Kashmīr. Mr. Rodgers[3] is also wrong in asserting that the coin of 1162 A.H.=1748 A.C. is that of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. The fact is that it belongs to the Mughul Emperor Ahmad Shāh, as shown by Mr. R. B. Whitehead, ex-Secretary of the Numismatic Society of India. Sultān Habīb's coins bear the name Mahmūd. The British Museum collection too has a coin of 961 A.H.=1553 A.C. in the name of Sultān Mahmūd (page xlviii). Nāzuk Shāh is read as Nādir Shāh in the British Museum collections also.

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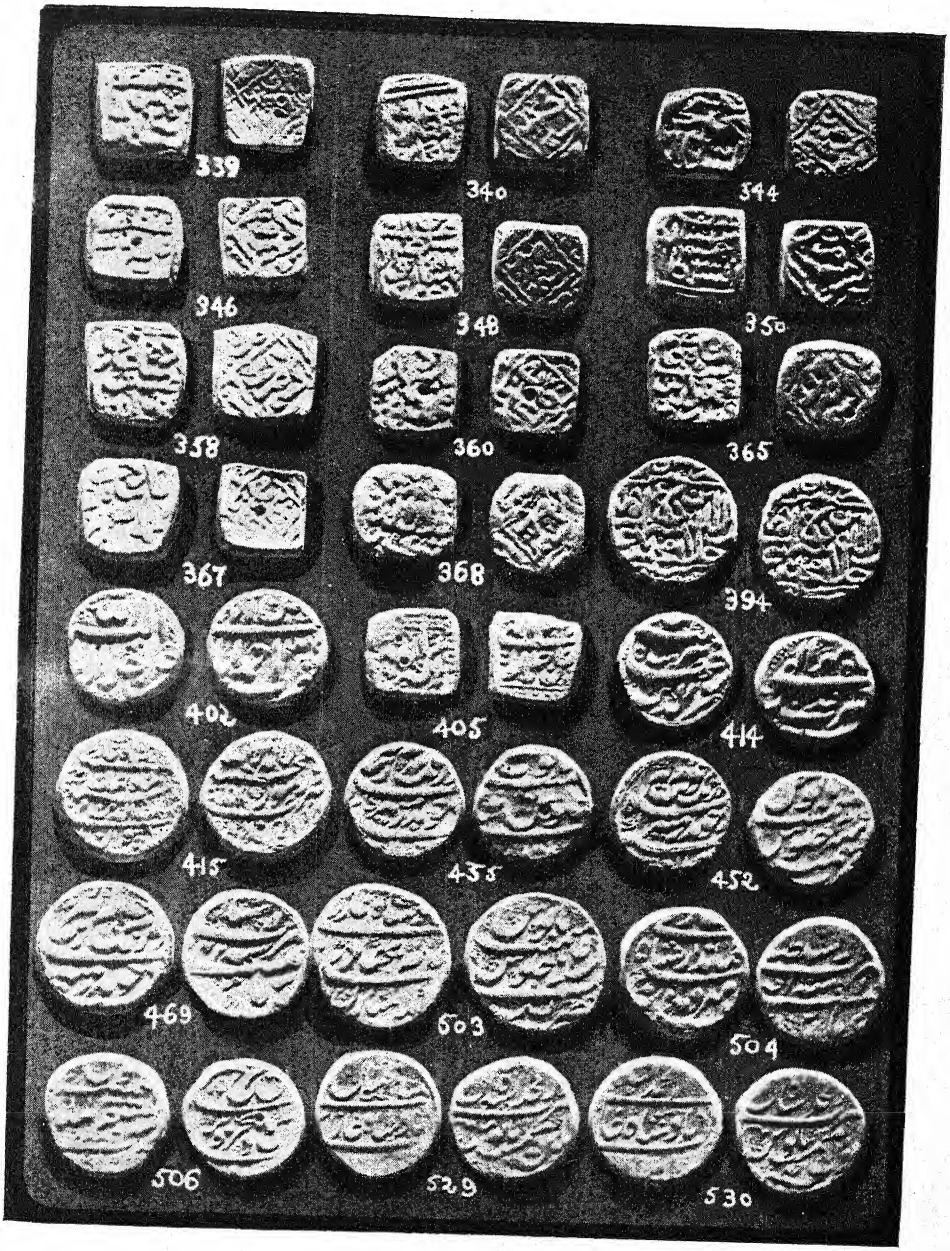
1. *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1885, page xlvii.

2. *The Copper Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr*, J. A.S.B., Volume XLVIII, Part 1, No. IV—1879, pages 2822-85.

3. *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr*, J.A.S.B. Volume I, IV, Part I, No. 2.—1885, pages 92-139.

Coins of the Sultāns, Pādshāhs and Shāh-in-Shāhs of Kashmīr.



[See the reverse for details.]

COINS OF THE SULTANS, OF CHAK PADSHAHS AND SHAH-IN-SHAHS

[Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar].

SHAH MIRIS :

339. Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn.
340. Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidīn.
344. Sultān Muhammad Shāh.
346. Sultān Nāzuk or Nādir Shāh.
348. Humāyūn's nominal coin during the days of Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, when Nāzuk Shāh sat on the throne of Kashmīr.
350. Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh.

CHAKS :

358. Husain Shāh Chak
360. Zahīr-ud-Dīn Ghāzī (?).
365. Yūsuf Shāh Chak.
367. Ya'qūb Shāh Chak.

MUGHULS

368, 394, 402 & 405, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar.
414. 415 & 529, Shāh Jahān.
435, 452 & 469. 'Alamgīr Aurangzīb.
503. Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh.
504. Jahāndār Shāh
506. Farrukh Siyar.
530. Muhammad Shāh of Delhi.

Husain Shāh Chak, 'Alī Shāh Chak, and Yūsuf Shāh Chak took the title of *Bādshāh*, in rivalry of the Mughul emperors, and not that of *Sultān* used by the descendants of Shāh Mīr, as is shown by their coins. Some of the points calling for notice in the coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr may be summed up as follows:—(1) On some coins, dates are given in figures as well as in words. Some have them only in words. (2) In some cases, the date is in Arabic, in others in Persian. (3) The coins vary very little, and there is a certain monotony about them. (4) They are all square, and have the same kind of lozenge on the reverse, namely, *Zarb-i-Kashmīr*. (5) *Nā'ib-i-Khalīfa-tur-Rahmān* appears on some, since the ruler looked upon himself as the lieutenant of the Caliph of the time. In some, *Nā'ib-i-Amīr-ul-Mū'minīn*, and in others the regal title is used. In some of the coins, the honorary titles of *Munīr-ud-Dīn* and *Nāsir-ud-Dīn* have also been noticed. (6) Srīnagar, or as it was called Kashmīr,[1] was the only mint town during the Hindu and the entire Muslim rule. The Sarrāfa Mahalla in Zaina Kadal, Srīnagar, is believed to be the locality of the royal mint. Some coins give *Khitta* as the title of the mint town, others Shahr.[2] (7) At the close of Hindu rule, copper coins were the only coins, but in Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's reign, silver coins were struck. According to Rodgers, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn is the only Sultān who calls himself *Nā'ib-i-Amīr-ul-Mū'minīn*. Some of this Sultān's coins are of brass. (8) The weight of the square silver coins varies from 91 to 96 grains. The weight of the copper coins averages about 83 grains. Stein says that Sultān Hasan Shāh re-issued the old *pūntshu* (derived from *puntsh*, 'twenty-five') or *punsu* in a debased form owing to financial pressure. Çrīvara writes that when Sultān Hasan Shāh found that the *dinnāras*[3] of Toramāna had ceased to be current, he gave currency to the new coin *dvitinnāri* made of lead which was impressed

1. *See the footnote No. 3 on the preceding page.*

2. Dr. Codrington's *Musalman Numismatics*, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904.

3. Samskrt Dinnāra is derived from the Roman Denarius which is still used for the coinage current in modern Czecho-Slovakia. In old Kashmīr the term Dinnāra was used generally for any coin as well as for coins of specific value. Dinnāras were coined in gold and silver as well as in copper. A hundred shells or cowries were equal to one copper Dinnāra. When Kalhaṇa refers to salaries of high officers and others R. S. in terms of thousands of Dinnāras, he means the copper Dinnāras.—Pandit's *River of Kings*, page 67, footnote 103. Stein spells Dīnnāra.

with the figure of a *nāga*. The old-copper coin was equal to twenty-five *gaṇḍas* (or one hundred *kowrīs*, shells); but owing to the dearness of articles, its value had become somewhat reduced (p. 228). (9) In the case of the halves of some coins, each Sultān seems to have had a style of his own.

Mughul Coins.

It is curious that coins have been discovered of Islām Shāh Sūr (952 to 960 A.H.=1545 to 1552 A.C.) who never ruled in Kashmīr. Probably they are evidence of the conspiracy against Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, who was then in Kashmīr (948 A.H. to 958 A.H. = 1541 A.C. to 1551 A.C.), in a sense, a deputy of Humāyūn, whom he was urging to come to Kashmīr rather than go to Īrān. These coins of Islām Shāh naturally remind us of the medals struck by Napoleon in anticipation of his imaginary conquest of England. Mīrzā Haidar also struck a coin in the name of Humāyūn, which is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.* Lane Poole also refers (on page xlviii) to Humāyūn's coin dated 953 A.H.=1546 A.C. in the British Museum collection. Again, Mr. Rodgers came across Akbar's coins struck in Kashmīr as early as 965 A.H.=1557 A.C., and another one of 987 A.H. =1579 A.C. The explanation is that these coins were either complimentary, or else struck by factions, who were plotting against their Chak rulers, and were desirous of having Akbar as their king. Akbar's coin struck in Kashmīr in 994 A.H.=1586 A. C., has the Arabic legend, and the date is given in Arabic—a practice which he did not follow in India.

Akbar had a fine currency in gold and silver. Srīnagar retained its seat as a mint-town under the Mughuls. The finest Mughul currency was that of Jahāngīr, some of whose coins are of great artistic merit. With the accession of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, a standard type of coin was adopted, which endured till the end of the Mughul dynasty.

Afghān Coins.

Afghān rulers made no departure from the later Mughul coinage.

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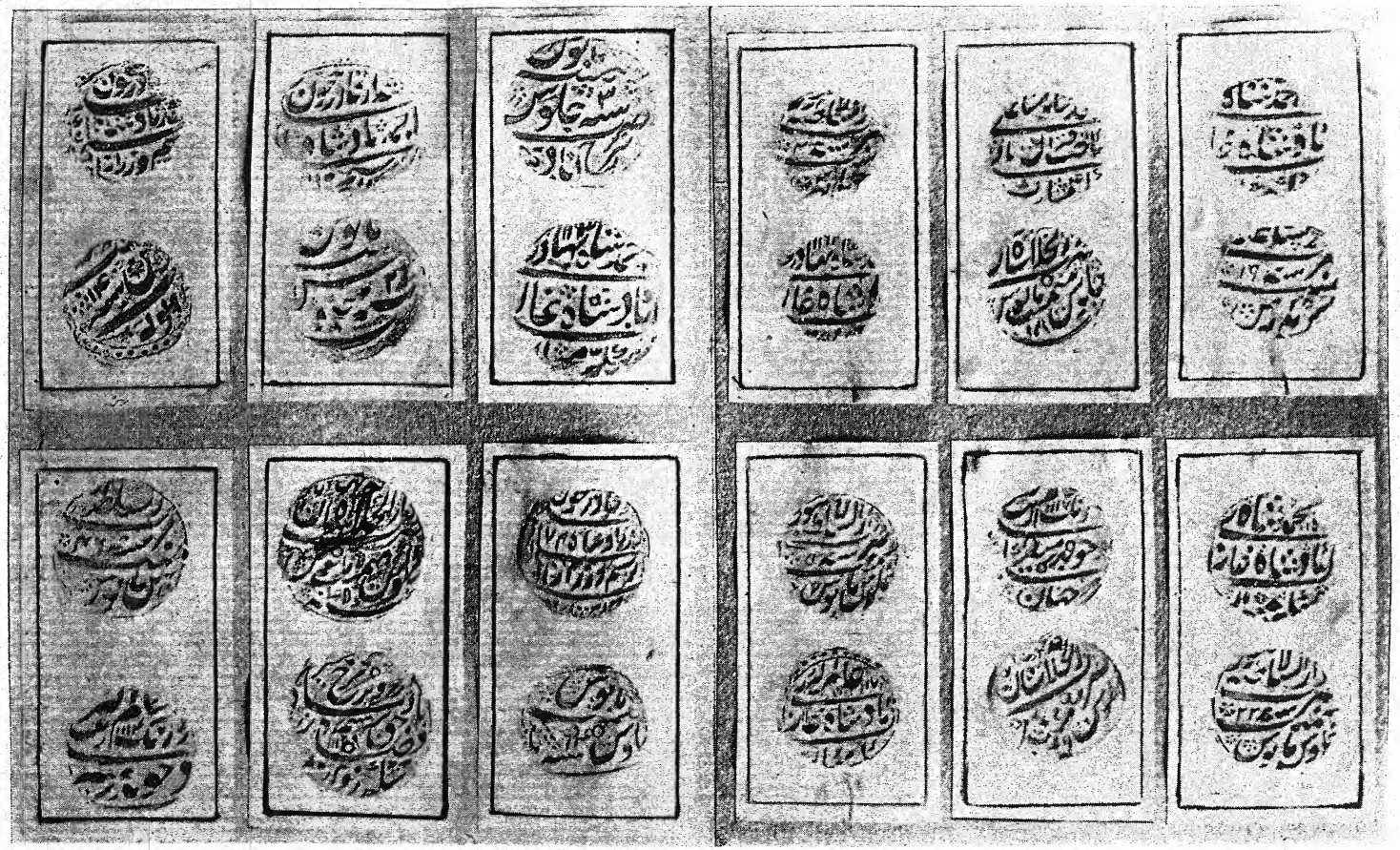
*Coin No. 27, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. 2, page 192.

Some Mughul Coins found in Rihārī, near Jammu.



Mughul coins found in Rihārī, a quarter of the Jammu town, in November, 1937. Aurangzīb's coins shown above were struck at Lahore and Shāhjahānābād; of Farrukh Siyar at Shāhjahānābād; of Muhammad Shāh at Lahore; and of Ahmad Shāh at Farrukhābād and Surat. While digging foundation for a house, these coins were found in earthen pots which were broken by the digger's axe. The coins are deposited in the Jammu and Kashmīr State Treasury.

Ahmad Shāh's coin bore the following legend—

حکم شد از قادرِ بیچون به احمد پادشاه

سکّه زن بر سیم و زر از موجِ ماهی تا بماه

[God the inscrutable commanded Ahmad, the King,
To stamp silver and gold currency from the legendary Fish to the Moon.]

Ahmad Shāh had a seal made in the form of a peacock bearing the following line—

یا فتّاح
الحکم لله

احمد شاه دُرّانی

[O Bestower of Victory.
Government is God's
Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.]

چرخ می آرد طلا و نقره از خورشید و ماه

تا کند بر چهره نقشِ سکّهٔ تیمور شاه

[The sky brings gold and silver from the sun and the moon.
In order that it may stamp on the face of the coin the name of Tīmūr Shāh.]

قرار یافت بحکمِ خدای هر دو جهان

رواجِ سکّه و دولت بنامِ شاه زمان

[By dispensation of the God of both the Worlds
The coinage became current in the name of Shāh Zamān.]

قرار داد ز الطافِ خویشتن یزدان

نگینِ حکمِ جهان را بنامِ شاه زمان

[The Lord by His own favour ordered the seal-ring
For world sovereignty in the name of Shāh Zamān.]

Coins struck in the name of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī.

In 1223-1225 A.H.=1808-1810 A.C., 'Atā Muhammad Khān Bāmīzaī,* the Afghān governor (grandson of Shāh Valī Khān, Vazīr of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī),

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**Travels in Central Asia* in 1812-13 by Mīr 'Izzatullāh, English Translation by Captain Henderson, page 4.

who rebelled in the latter half of 1223 A.H.=1808 A.C., issued coins in the name of the popular Patron-Saint, Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, after he had thrown off the yoke of the king of Kābul, because the two rulers, Shāh Shujā' and Mahmūd Shāh, in turn, sent expeditions against him during 1225-1228 A.H.=1810-1813 A.C. These coins are reproduced in Chapter III, p. 101. The special nature of the occasion is marked by the issue of a handsome silver coin weighing 224 grains, the only piece of this weight in the entire Durrānī series in the Punjāb Museum, Lāhore.* Fine double *muhurs* of a unique character were struck later. In the central square on the flowered field on the obverse the legend is—

یا شاهِ نُورالّدین یا مخدُوم جهان

[O Shāh Nūr-ud-Dīn ! O Lord of the world.]

On the reverse is : الدُّنیا جیفة و طَالِبُها کِلاب

[The world is carrion and the seekers thereafter are dogs.]

The couplet, appropriately enough on the same, is—

سِکّہ شُد روشن ز شاهِ نُورِ دین رائج از مخدُومِ قُطبُ العارفین

[The coin became bright through Shāh Nūr-ud-Dīn.
It became current through the revered Chief of the Pious.]

In another set there is—

یا مخدُوم شاهِ نُورالّدین

The Srī Pratāp Singh Museum at Srīnagar has a collection of Kashmīrī coins during the rule of the Sultāns, the Bādshāhs, Mughul emperors, and Afghān rulers. Several of these are reproduced in two plates on the opposite page.

Sikh Coins.

The Sikh rulers continued Persian legends on their coins. So did the early Dogras. The Sikh coin of Ranjīt Singh struck in Srīnagar in 1819 A.C., or 1876 Samvat, had the following couplet on the obverse :

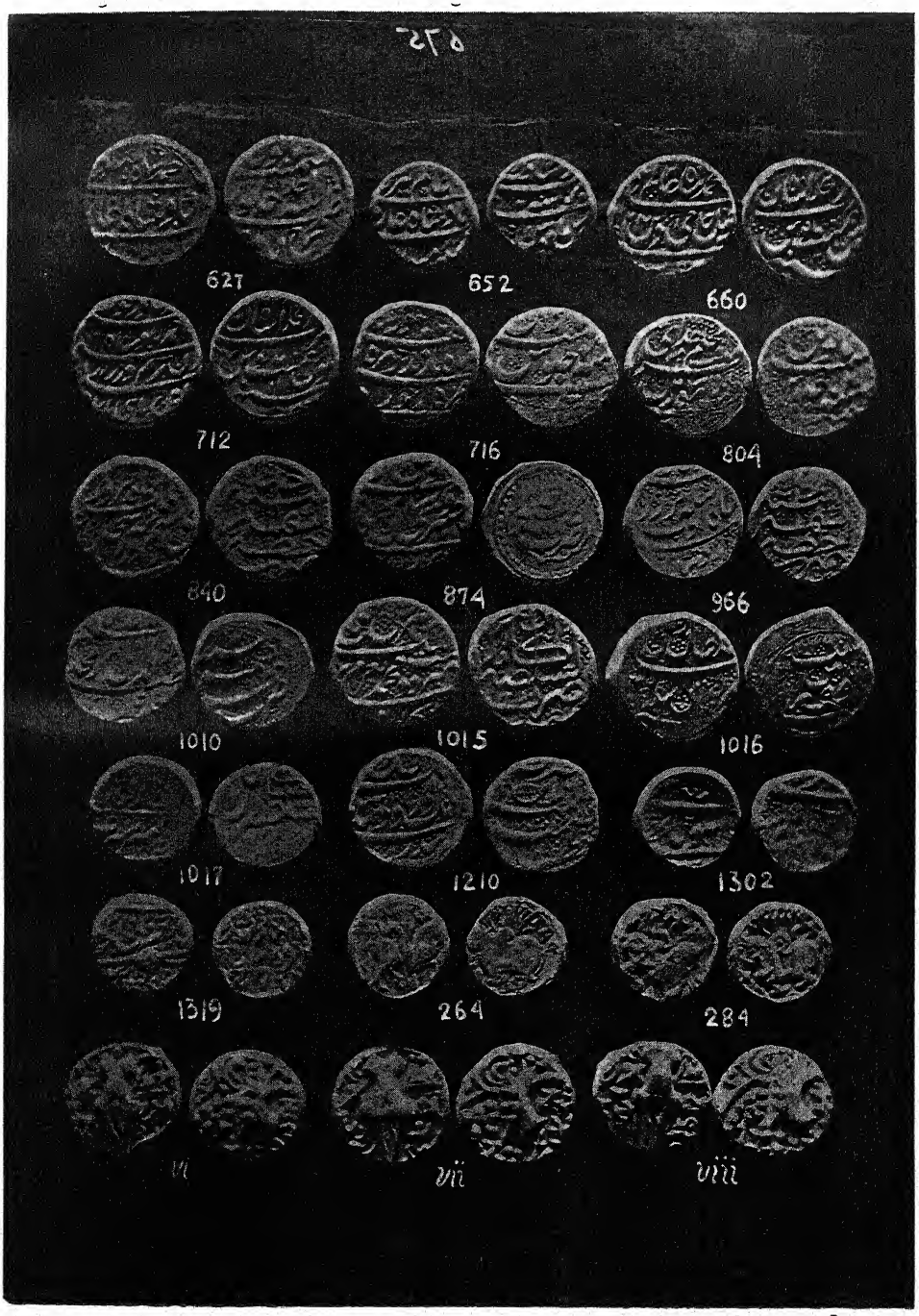
دیگ و تیغ و فتح و نُصرت بیدرنگ

یافت از نانک گُرو گوبند سِنگ

[Abundance, the sword, victory and ready help
Gurū Gobind Singh obtained from Nānak.]

**Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, by R.B. Whitehead, I.C.S., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1934, pages 174-6.

Miscellaneous Coins of Mughul, Afghān, Sikh and Dōgrā Rulers and some old non-Muslim Rājās.



[See the reverse for details.]

COINS OF MUGHUL, AFGHAN, SIKH AND DOGRA

also

Some old non-Muslim Rulers of Kashmir

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627. Emperor Ahmad Shāh.
(Farrukhābād Mint)

652. Emperor 'Alamgīr II.
(Dār-us-Saltanat Mint)

660. Emperor Shāh 'Alam II.
(Shāhjahānabād Mint)

712. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.
(Shāhjahānabād Mint)

713. Tīmūr Shāh Durrānī.
(Kashmīr Mint)

804. Zamān Shāh Durrānī.
(Kashmīr Mint)

840. Shāh Shujā' Durrānī.
(Kashmīr Mint)

874. Mahmūd Shāh Durrānī
(Kashmīr Mint)

966. Aiyūb Shāh.
(Kashmīr Mint)

1010 Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rishī.
(Kashmīr Mint)

Nos. 1015, 1016, 1017 are of the Kābul Mint struck in the name of Amīr Dūst Muhammad, Sultān Muhammad Bārakzaī and Amīr Sher 'Alī respectively.

1210. Sikh Coin.
(Kashmīr Mint, 1876 Samvat)

1302 & 1319 Dogrā Coins.
(Srīnagar Mint, one of Samvat 1901 and the other of 1946 Samvat)

264. (1) *Two Brāhman Kings of Kābul.*
Spalapatideva (875 A.C.)

284 (2) Samantadeva.

vi. Durlabhavardhana of Kashmīr.

vii. Vinayāditya (8th Century.)

viii. Vigraha or Vishramshadeva.

Dogrā Coins.

Mr. Rodgers' *Catalogue* (page 49) gives the legend of the Dogrā coin as :

سری رگھو ناتھ جی سہاے
ضرب سری نگر

The date is 1927 Samvat=1871 A.C.

The Value of Coins.

As for the value of coins, the *kowrī* was, from early times, used as a monetary token in Kashmīr, as elsewhere in India. Eight *kowrīs* in Kashmīr were equal to one *bāhagain*, two *bāhagains* were equal to one *punsu*, four *punsus* made one *hath*, ten *haths* were equal to one *sāsūn* (or *sās*), a hundred *sāsūn* equal to one *laksa*, hundred *laksas* equal to one *koṭī* (crore). The *hath* is represented now by the pice or one-sixty-fourth of a rupee. In Akbar's time, the term *hath* applied to a copper coin equivalent to one *dām* or one-fortieth of a rupee. The *sāsūn* was equal to ten *dāms* or ¼th of a rupee. The payments in kind were all reduced to equivalents in *dāms*. It may be noted that, in ancient Kashmīr, the value of a *dīnār* was so small as to be equal to one-twelfth of a *bāhagain*. Mīr 'Izzatullāh in his *Travels* in 1812-13, during Afghān rule, states that 'the rupee of Kashmīr is equivalent in value to 9 or 10 annas ; 15 *tankas* go to a rupee' [page 4].

Weights and Measures

Edward Thomas* has extracted the following weights, current in Kashmīr, from Gladwin's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 156; (also compare Col. Jarrett's *Ā'īn*, Vol. II, p. 354) :—

1 *tola*=16 *mashās* of 6 *ratīs* each, or 96 *ratīs*.

1 gold *muhur*=16 *dāms* of 6 *ratīs* each, 96 *ratīs*, or 4 *ratīs* more than the Delhī gold *muhur*.

Rabsāsnū is a small coin of 9 *māshas* or 54 *ratīs*.

Punchī is a copper coin, in value ¼ *dām*, also called *kussarah* (*Kasīras* ?)

Bāhagain is ½ the *punchī* or ⅛ *dām*.

Shukri (or *Shakrī* ?) is ¼ *bāhagain*.

4 *Punchīs or kussarahs*=1 *hath*

40 *Punchis or kussarahs*=1 *sāsnū* and 1½ *sāsnū*=1 *sikka*.

100 *Sāsnū*=1 lak=1000 royal *dāms*.

* *The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, London, Trübner & Co., 1871, page 222.

According to Abu'l Fazl,[1] seven-and-a-half *pals* in Kashmīr were considered equivalent to one *sēr*, two *sērs* equal to half a *man* (a maund), and four *sērs* to a *tarak*, sixteen *taraks* to one *kharwār* (or ass-load), abbreviated as *khar*. A *tarak*, according to the royal weights of Akbar, was equal to 8 *sērs*. The actual *sēr* was not above one pound avoirdupois. A horse-load equalled 22 *taraks*.

The measures are as follows :—

1 *gira* $=2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
16 *giras*=1 *gaz*.
20 *giras*=1 *gaz* [in measuring *pashmīna* (shawl) cloth.]

The Kharwār.

As explained in the footnote on page 251 of *Kashīr*, a *kharwār* means an ass-load. A kharwār, equal to three maunds and eight seers in Akbar's time, is now equal to two maunds and sixteen seers. Seers in Kashmīr are of two kinds. One is *pukhta* or standard, equal to 80 *tolas*. The other is *khām* or local, equal to 56 *tolas*. During the Pre-Muslim period, the *khar* was the old *khārī* mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Taranga Fifth, verse 71, which the late Mr. R. S. Pandit says (p. 164, footnote 71, *River of Kings*) occurs in the Rg. Veda IV, 32-17. The Persian form *kharwār* is differently derived, *viz.*, *khar-bār* or *kharwār*, an ass-load.

One Kashmīrī *kharwār* has 16 *taraks*. A horse-load is equal to 22 *taraks*. A *tarak* is equal to $5\frac{3}{16}$ seers. It equalled eight seers of Akbar, or four Kashmīrī *man*, one Kashmīrī *man* being equal to four Kashmīrī seers, and one Kashmīrī seer being equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ *pals* (a *pal* means a stone). A kharwār of 16 *taraks* is equal to 83 seers. A *kharwār* of land, *i.e.*, the area requiring a *kharwār* weight of seeds, is equal to four British acres, when the seer is equal to 90 *tolas* or a little more, as it is in Peshāwar today.

A Kashmīrī kharwār is equal to $177\frac{129}{175}$ lbs. Wilson's *glossary* puts the ordinary kharwār at 700 lbs. It may here be noted that in Arabic كُرّ *kurr* means a measure equal to six ass-loads. It is, however, not clear if كُرّ is derived from خر *khar*, or *vice versa*. Kharwār in Irān is the measure of a hundred Tabrīz maunds.

1. Jarrett's *Ā'īn*, Vol. II, page 366.
2. The *Akbar-nāma*, English Translation by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, page 831, footnote. Also, Lawrence's *Valley of Kashmir*, page 243.

Land measures are commonly calculated not by length and breadth, but by the amount of seed required by certain areas of rice-cultivation. Lawrence found by measurements that the *kharwār* of land, that is, the rice area which is supposed to require a *kharwār* weight of rice-seed, exactly corresponds to four British acres, as noted on the preceding page.

[A *bīgha* is a measure of land, $\frac{5}{8}$ of an acre, or 3,025 square yards. This is the standard *bīgha* as fixed by the Emperor Akbar, but at different times and in different parts of India it has varied considerably. The *tanāb*, *jarīb* and *bīgha* seem to have been used as nearly interchangeable terms. Akbar's *bīgha* equalled 3,600 *Ilāhī gaz* or 3,025 square yards of the *bīgha* of Hindustān. Jarrett, in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, vol. ii, footnote on page 61, has a reference: 3,600 square *gaz*=3,025 square yards=0·539 or $\frac{5}{8}$ an acre. In this context, the *gaz*, a yard, also standardized by Akbar and termed the *Ilāhī gaz*, equals 33 inches. A *gunṭha* equals 121 square yards, or the fortieth part of an acre. Then, again, one acre consists of 8 *kanāls*, one *kanāl* equalling 20 *marlas*, and one *marla* equalling $30\frac{1}{4}$ yards. One acre has 4,840 square yards. A *bīgha* has four *kanāls*. The term *kanāl* is commonly used in the Valley of Kashmīr, where it is pronounced *kunāl*.]

In Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's time, the length of the *gaz* or the yard and the *jarīb* or the chain was increased, but the exact addition is not known. Possibly the reference is to the standardization of the *gaz* in his time.

Agriculture

RICE.—Kashmīr possesses a large area of alluvial soil owing to its system of rivers. But the Kashmīrīs have given the greatest attention to the rice crop. It is their staple crop from times immemorial. The *Chronicles* refer to it as *dhānya*, 'grain.' There is, however, no record to show its produce in the past, except that in Baḍ Shāh's time the annual produce is said to have come to about 77 lakhs of *kharwārs*. After Bengāl, Kashmīr has the next highest percentage area of the rice crop in India, though it is *ēk faslī* or one-cropped.

[According to *Jammu and Kashmir Information*, November-December, 1945 (p. 14), the Department of Agriculture has, for some years past, experimented with a large number of foreign varieties of paddy. Experiments conducted at Khudwanī, Tahsīl Kulgām, District Islāmābād, have shown that a number of Chinese varieties of paddy can adapt themselves to the Kashmīr soil and its environmental conditions. On the Farm, three of the Chinese varieties have yielded 50 to 60 maunds of paddy per acre, against an average

of 35 maunds per acre yielded by the local varieties. Small quantities of the seed were distributed to the neighbouring *zamīndārs*; the yield is reported, in some cases, as having been about 50 maunds per acre. The paddy makes good, white rice].

Some of the other crops are maize, wheat, cotton, saffron, barley, pulses, etc. Steep mountain-sides have naturally terrace agriculture.

Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr[1] was very interested in agriculture which he both understood and encouraged, and when hunting would study the nature of the soil from this point of view. By way of encouragement to farmers, he issued an edict that the rents should not be raised on those who by their industry had improved their farms. To do so, he rightly considered, was both unjust and impolitic as it checked the spirit of improvement and impoverished the State.

Saffron

As the cultivation of *koñg* or *za'frān* or saffron in India is confined to Kashmīr alone, it deserves to be specially noted. "The chief seat of its original cultivation appears to have been the town of Croycus, modern Korghoz, in Cilicia, which is a part of Asia Minor above Syria. From this central point of distribution it may not improbably have spread out east and west."[2] Saffron was cultivated by the Arabs in Spain in 961 A.C. The Crusaders introduced it into England. The story is that a pilgrim from Tripoli, Syria, secreted a corm of saffron in the hollow of his staff, and brought it to England. It is being cultivated as an irrigated crop in South America. Kalhaṇa says that the saffron flower in Kashmīr dates from the time of King Lalitāditya (725-753 A.C.).

Hiuen Tsiang or Yüan Chwang wrote: "Its flowers were long ago used to adorn the necks of oxen at the autumn festival in the country, and they were boiled in aromatic spirits to make a perfume. This, or some preparation of the flowers, was largely used in northern countries in the service of worship offered before images in Buddhist temples. The flowers of the saffron plant are still largely used in decoctions, both as a condiment and as a pigment, by many of the inhabitants of Kashmīr."[3] "In early Greek

1. *The Emerald set with Pearls* by Florence Parbury, page 36.
2. "Saffron Cultivation in Kashmir" by Mr. M. R. Fotidār, Director of Agriculture, Kashmīr, in *Agriculture and Live-Stock in India*, Vol. IV, Part III, May, 1934, pp. 242-247.
3. *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, by Thomas Watters, page 263.

times orange red colour was a royal colour," perhaps not unlike Hydarābād, Deccan. As a perfume it was strewn in Greek halls, courts and theatres and in Roman baths. Mr. R. S. Pandit notes that the streets of Rome were sprinkled with saffron when Nero made his entry into the city (*River of Kings*, p. 11, last part of the footnote 42).

There is a reference to saffron in the *Akbar-nāma*.[1] where Abu'l Fazl writes : "Formerly each seed yielded less than three flowers and the amount received by government did not exceed 20,000 *taraks* but was not less than 7,000. Once in Mīrzā Haidar's time it was 28,000 *taraks*. This year, 1595 A.C., when it became *khālisa* (land under government management), the ruler's share was 90,000 *taraks*. Though there was more land under cultivation, yet the flowers were also more than usual. Every seed yielded up to eight flowers." The annual crop of saffron in Jahāngīr's time was 500 maunds by Hindustān weight, equal to 5,000 Vilāyat (Persian) maunds.[2]

Pāmpar alluvial *karewa* lands, 5300—5400 feet above sea level, on both sides of the Srīnagar-Islāmābād road between miles 7 and 14, are the fields where it is largely cultivated. Saffron is grown in Kishtwār also, where the fields are flat and not raised in chess-board system as in Pāmpar. The soil is prepared as for other crops. The Kishtwār[3] saffron, however, lacks the sweet smell of Kashmīr saffron, though it is rich in dye and spilling properties.

A dry soil is necessary for the growth of *koñg*. In from eight to twelve years, the soil becomes so exhausted that eight years are often allowed to elapse before growing it again on that same ground.[4] It is noteworthy that saffron does not require any manure. Abu'l Fazl's description below holds good today too.

"In the beginning of the month of Urdībihisht (April)," writes Abu'l Fazl, "the saffron seeds are put into the ground, which has

1. English Translation by Beveridge, Vol. III, 1920, pages 996-7.
2. *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* or Memoirs of Jahāngīr, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909, Vol. I, page 93. In another place, Jahāngīr states that a seer is bought and sold for Rs. 10.—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, page 178.
3. A place in the Udhampur district of the Jammu Province. See the footnote on pp. 67-68.
4. *The Abode of Snow*, page 411.

been carefully prepared and rendered soft. After this, the field is irrigated with rain-water. The seed itself is a bulb resembling garlic. The flower appears in the middle of the month of Ābān (September); the plant is about a quarter of a yard long; but, according to the difference of the soil in which it stands, there are sometimes two-thirds of it above, and sometimes two-thirds below the ground. The flower stands on the top of the stalk, and consists of six petals and six stamens. Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour, and stand round about the remaining three petals. The stamens are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour standing round about the other three, which are red. The latter yields the saffron. Yellow stamens are often cunningly intermixed. In former times saffron was collected by compulsory labour; they pressed men daily, and made them separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and gave them salt instead of wages, a man who cleaned two *pals* receiving two *pals* of salt. At the time of Ghāzī Khān, the son of Kājī Chak, another custom became general; they gave the workmen eleven *taraks* of saffron flowers, of which one *tarak* was given them as wages; and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarshāhī *sērs* of clean, dry saffron, *i.e.*, for two Akbarshāhī *mans* of saffron flowers they had to give two *sērs* of cleaned saffron. This custom, however, was abolished by His Majesty on his third visit to Kashmir, to the great relief of the people.

"When the bulb has been put into the ground, it will produce flowers for six years, provided the soil be annually softened. For the first two years, the flowers will grow sparingly; but in the third year the plant reaches its state of perfection. After six years, the bulbs must be taken out; else they get rotten. They plant them again on some other place; and leave the old ground uncultivated for five years.

"Saffron comes chiefly from the place Pāmpar, which belongs to the district of Marāj (areas on both sides of the Jhelum above Srīnagar). The fields there extend over nearly twelve *kōs*, and comprise ten or twelve thousand *bīghas*. Another place of cultivation is in the *parganah* of Paraspōr (old Parihāsapura), near Indrakāl, far from Kamrāj (areas on both sides of the Jhelum below Srīnagar), where the fields extend about a *kōs*"—English Translation of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, by H. Blochmann, M.A., Calcutta, Second Edition, revised by Lieut.-Colonel D.C. Phillot, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Volume I, 1942, New Series, pp. 89-90. Dr. King is of the opinion that it takes from 7000 to 8000 flowers to yield 17½ ounces of fresh saffron which by drying is reduced to 3½.—English Translation by Jarrett, Volume II, p. 357 *footnote*.

In *Jammu and Kashmir Information* for November-December, 1945, Mr. Jiā Lāl Raina, M.Sc., of the Department of Agriculture, says: "For a long time and even till recent years this industry (saffron cultivation) was a State monopoly. But the ban has

been removed now, and it is being extended to different parts of Kashmīr with success" (p. 11). Saffron cultivation experiments in other parts of the Valley are in progress, and no definite conclusion can be derived at this stage. At present, it has been noticed that the corms can come to flower in any soil, but its multiplication in such soils is yet to be seen (p. 12). Rats play havoc in saffron fields. They thrive best in raised beds and cause great damage to corms which they use as food in winter months. But by an ingenious local method resembling fumigation rats are now being checked.

Pure honey from saffron.

Apart from the use of saffron as a condiment, a colouring material, and a pigment for the *forehead marks* of Hindus, it is being used in the Āyurvedic and Ūnānī systems of medicine. Nectar is found in saffron flower at the base of the style and droplets of a sweet liquid ooze out from the peduncle after the flowers have been cut. Bees collect this liquid. The old bee-keepers of the Valley believed, write Messrs. M. R. Fotedār and S. N. Fotedār in the *Indian Bee Journal*, that no honey is ripe for removal from the hives till the bees have collected their harvest from the saffron flower.—*Jammu and Kashmīr Information*, November-December, 1945, p. 15.

The flowering time of saffron is the middle of October. And if the weather is calm, as it usually is at this time of the year, there is a distinctly noticeable fragrance pervading the whole atmosphere, which is delightful to the senses and produces a subtle vivacity of spirits. This is the origin of the traditional reputation that saffron fields, when in flower, promote a spontaneous uncontrollable mirth in the visitor.

زعفران زار کی خوبی نہ بیاں ہو کبتک

جسکے ہر پُھول میں ہے لعلِ بدخشان کی جھلک

ہمسر اِسکا کوئی پیدا نہ ہوا زیرِ فلک

کِھلتے ہی پھیل گئی گُلشنِ عالم میں مہک

فرطِ بہجت سے لبِ لعل بھی خندان دیکھا

رشک سے زرد رُخِ مہرِ دُرخشان دیکھا

بابو رام فرخ - جمالِ کشمیر - صفحہ ۴۹

But Jahāngīr's experience is different and accords with Andrew Wilson's. Speaking of the crocus-flower, Jahāngīr,

wrote: "Their appearance is best at a distance, and when plucked they emit a strong smell . . . . . My attendants were all seized with a headache; and although I myself was intoxicated with liquor at the time, I also felt my head affected."

Floating Gardens. 'Stealing Land' in Kashmir.

A peculiar and very interesting form of cultivation is provided by the floating gardens on the Ḍal, which produce several kinds of vegetables, *e.g.*, melons, tomatoes, water-melons, cucumbers, gourds, etc. Dr. Honigberger's description is well worth reproduction here: "I may mention a curious species of theft which is perpetrated here. On the lakes in Cashmere are large numbers of floating gardens, or masses of twigs, upon which earth is thrown, and they serve as beds for cultivating melons, cucumbers, turnips, carrots, cabbages, egg-plant-apples and different other culinary vegetables. If, however, the gardener does not keep a watch over this immovable property, he may perhaps find that, during the night, the garden itself has been cut from its fastenings and removed; and as, in these cases, the thief joins the stolen mass to a similar one of his own (thus completely altering its shape, position, etc.), it is rarely possible to identify the garden, or discover the perpetrator of the robbery."[1]

These floating gardens in Kashmīr consist of strips about five feet wide of the matted roots of reed-grass which, along with the soil adhering, are cut out and then actually floated on the water. Strength enough to bear the weight of a man is imparted to them by super-imposing one strip over another. These strips function like ordinary soil in productivity, even though they have no sub-soil to rest upon. They produce vegetables in abundance, but as these are very watery, they have a slightly inferior flavour.[2] These strips can be towed about, hence the somewhat mystifying saying that 'land can be stolen' in Kashmīr.

Nawwāb Zafar Khān *Ahsan*, in poetic vein, attributes, this theft of land to the scarcity of land in Kashmīr thus:—

زمین از بسکه نایاب است اینجا ز هم دُزدند مردُم شب زمین را

1. *Thirty-five Years in the East*, 1852, page 180.
2. Jammu and Kashmīr State *Handbook*, 1924.

Floating Gardens viewed from the heights of the Harī-parbat, Srīnagar.

It is said that there is nothing like it elsewhere in India. A parallel has, however, been quoted by Lawrence in the "Chinampas" of Old Mexico. The Chinampas are floating gardens of Lake Xochimilco to the south of Mexico City. The waters of this lake are no more than a few inches deep. The lake is supplied largely by fresh water springs opening within the lake itself. The gardens were originally planted on mats of interlaced twigs covered with dirt, and were rowed out on the lake.

Fruits.

Kashmīr is the country of fruits. Perhaps no country, says Lawrence, has greater facilities for horticulture, as in the case of the indigenous apple, pear, and the celebrated *baggu gosha* or William Pear, vine, mulberry, walnut, hazel, cherry, peach, apricot, raspberry, gooseberry, currant and strawberry can be obtained without great difficulty in most parts of the Valley. And they come in a pleasant and changing succession. The delicious cherry called the *gilās*, which is said to be a corruption of *cerasus*,* was introduced from Europe *via* Arabia, Īrān and Afghānistān. The *Pādshāh-nāma* calls it *shāh ālu* and prefers the same to that of Kābul (page 30).

Tea is said to have been introduced into the Valley by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt but is not grown. The climate of the Valley does not favour sugar-cane, mango, orange, plantain and such other fruits as require a warmer atmosphere.

Arboriculture.

Among arboricultural trees, the place of honour belongs to the native magnificent chinār (see *Kashīr*, page 252, *footnote* 2), the planting of which throughout the Valley was encouraged by the Mughuls. The Nasīm Bāgh is entirely a chinār grove. The chinār trees make delightful camping grounds, where they afford a cool and very welcome shade in the hottest part of the day.

In addition to the mulberry and the walnut, which are extremely useful, the one for purposes of sericulture

*Modern Kerasun was the ancient colony of Pontus, the ancient kingdom of north-east Asia Minor on the Black Sea. It is a sea-port of the Black Sea with a population of 11,000. The Turkish variant is Kiresūn which is pronounced *Kerūsūn*. It was famous in ancient times for its cherry trees. Lucullus (c. 110 B.C., to 57 B.C.), the Roman general of Sulla, and governor of Roman Asia, carried a variety of this fruit to Italy.

and the other for the wood-carving industry, there are two other very common trees, the poplar and the willow. Poplars are found chiefly alongside of roads, and are often planted along the boundary lines of orchards and small holdings.

The willows for human limbs.

The willow is grown along the river banks in most of the swampy grounds, and close to dwelling houses in villages. It is now used for important industries. "The picturesque weeping willows of Kashmīr felled between the seventh and the tenth years", writes Mr. Malcolm Gasper, in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, (Sunday, November 17, 1946, pages 32-33), under the caption, *The Walking Willow*, "make fine artificial limbs for disabled soldiers, since artificial limbs of metal that have hitherto been in common use, suffer from the disadvantages of rust and corrosion. The strong, light, close-grained wood of these willows has few knots and can thus be easily fashioned, besides artificial limbs, into bats and other articles which demand lightness and durability. The Kashmīr willow is not inferior to the famous English willow. In pre-war days willows exported from Kashmīr to Australia alone exceeded 120,000 bats annually." Mr. Gasper has filmed the entire process of fashioning the willows in a Siālkot factory. I saw this film in Bombay in January, 1947.

Irrigation.

The long and peaceful reign of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, according to Stein (*Rāj.*, vol. 2, page 428), was productive of important irrigation works, and the chronicles of Jonarāja and Çrīvara give a considerable list of canals constructed under the Sultān. Among these, deserving special mention, was the canal which distributed the water of the Pohur[1] river over the Zaina-gīr pargana, so also was that by which the water of the Lidar[2] was conducted to the arid plateau of Mārtaṇḍa near Islāmābād (Anantnāg).

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1. The Pohur (or Pohru) empties itself into the Jhelum, about 3 miles south-west of Sopōr.

2. The Lidar, or "the yellow river," flows into the Jhelum, north of Islāmābād.

Famines.

Native historians, says Lawrence, record nineteen great famines regarding which they give gruesome details. But the important fact on which they are all agreed, is that these famines were caused by early snows or heavy rain, occurring at the time when the autumn harvest was ripening. The systematic deepening of the Vitastā by Suyya, King Avantivarman's able engineer (see pp. 55-56), very largely reduced the extent of the waterlogged tracks along the banks of the river and the damage to crops by floods. A Kashmīr *Pīr* once remarked to me at Dalhousie (East Punjāb) that Kashmīr never suffered famine from want of water, but invariably from excess of it. His remark fully supports what Lawrence wrote. This is how famines occurred in Kashmīr.

ز آب و اتش است آباد کشمیر از اینها میشود برباد کشمیر

How they were met, we have no definite means of knowing. A severe famine, however, is recorded in 1460 A.C. in the time of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. The Sultān distributed amongst the people the contents of the granaries and, although the famine was severe, it was successfully met. The Sultān reduced taxation thereafter to a fourth part of the produce in some places, and to a seventh in others.

In 1646 A.C., in the time of 'Alī Mardān Khān, one of Shāh Jahān's governors of the Valley, there was also a severe famine in Kashmīr. But the governor took energetic steps to import grain from the Punjāb, and saved the Valley from starvation (see p. 272). In 1756, during Afghān rule, at the time of Sukh Jīwan Mal's *nizāmat*, Khwāja Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe, the Nāzim's Nā'ib, distributed grain from state stores (see p. 310).

Roads.

Roads, in Kashmīr, in the sense in which we understand them now in the twentieth century, never existed. Probably the waterways were most frequently used. For purposes of traffic, however, there were thoroughfares along which ponies, bullocks, palanquins and elephants could pass. Villages were connected by means of paths. What roads, however, did exist, as for example, the Mughul route from Srīnagar by way of Khānpur, Shupiān, etc., would now be

really tracks. These tracks were nevertheless well-shaded by trees. The traveller could always find rest underneath the shady planes and walnuts, and delicious water from the innumerable springs. Mulberries, apricots, apples, pears and walnuts were in abundance on the roads, and supplied sumptuous food for the wayfarer to whom nobody grudged these delicious fruits. In Mīrzā Haidar's time, it appears, that the streets of Srīnagar were paved with cut stone (Briggs, vol. iv, page 445). Magnificent poplar avenues run east and south of Srīnagar.

The oldest and finest poplar avenue, says Lawrence, was planted by 'Atā Muhammad Khān, the Afghān governor, and leads almost to the foot of the Takht-i-Sulaimān.

Bridges we have already discussed under architecture in Chapter IX, on pages 521-2.

Routes and Rāhdārī.

In Abu'l Fazl's time, twenty-six different roads led from the Valley, but those by Bhimbar* and Pakhlī (see p. 87 *footnote*, and p. 238) were the best. The first one, he says, was considered the nearest and had several routes of which three were good, *via* (1) Hastivanj which was the former route for the march of troops; (2) Pīr Panjāl (or Pantsāl), 11,400 feet high, which was traversed by Akbar and his successors, and (3) Tangtala. "The old imperial route to Kashmīr passed through Bhimbar and Rajaurī, and crossing the Pīr Panjāl pass, entered the Valley of Kashmīr at the prosperous town of Shupian," says the Kashmīr Archaeological Report for 1920 (page 3).

[Akbar's expedition to Kashmīr followed this route from Lāhore: Shāhdra, Aimanābād, Talwandī (re-named Nankānā Sāhib), Gunakor Dikri, Jaipur Kheri (near the pass of Bhimbar) *via* the defile Ghatibadu, Rajaurī, Pīr Pantsāl, or Panjāl, Laha, and Thanna at the foot of the defile of Ratan Pantsāl or Panjāl. On crossing the Ratan Panjāl pass (8,200 feet), he arrived at Bahrām-qullah, now pronounced Bahrāmgalla. From here the route was to Pushiānā, across the valley of Dunts, near the pass of Natti Biravi. Akbar then halted at Hūrapōr, whence he marched *via* Kusu to Khānpōr to reach Srīnagar.

This expedition was assisted by three thousand stone-cutters, mountain miners, and splitters of rocks. Two thousand *beldārs*, or diggers, were employed to level the ups and downs of the route.]

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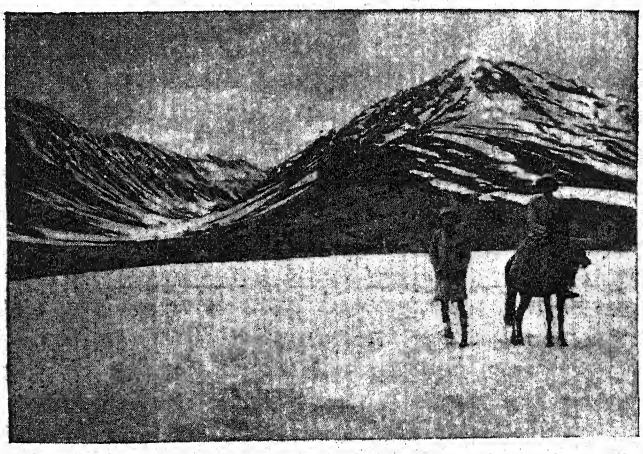
*For Bhimbar see the back of the photograph showing the Mosque at Bhimbar in Chapter VI, page 251. Bhimbar to Bārāmūla is fifteen marches.

"The Mughals not only constructed the most frequented caravan route, which until recent times held its own against all other roads to Kashmir, but they also built sumptuous rest-houses at every stage, and often, even at temporary halting places, between the main stages. Most of these are in a fair state of preservation."—*Kashmir Archaeological Report.*

Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, the author of the *Zafar-nāma,* noted three principal highways into Kashmīr. The one leading to Khurāsān, however, is such a difficult route that it is impossible for beasts of burden with loads to be driven along it ; so it is that people carry loads upon their shoulders for several days, until they reach a spot where it is possible to load a horse. The road to India offered the same difficulty. The accident to Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's camp and Qudsī's couplet have already been noted in Chapter IV, page 273. The route which leads to Tibet is easier than these two.

Details of the routes from Kashmīr to Turkistān and China are given by William Finch, whose description, according to Stein,* is based upon carefully collected information. Finch says that a caravan takes some two or three months from Kābul to Kāshghar. The chief city of trade is Yārqand. From here come silk, porcelain, musk, rhubarb, and other merchandise. These are brought



THE BURZAL PASS.
Dr. Sufi on horseback, Prof. Abdul Hamid Beg of the Islamia College, Lahore, standing.

**The Panjāb Historical Journal,* Vol. VI, No. 2, pages 144-5.

from China, the gate of entrance (*meaning* the entrance of the Great Wall near Su-Chou on the border of Khan-su) of which is some two or three months' journey from Kashmīr. It is further related that when merchants come to this entrance, they are forced to remain under their tents, and by licence send some ten or fifteen of their folk to do business. On their return, as many more are allowed in, but the whole caravan cannot enter at once.

From Lāhore to Kashmīr, the way was as from Gujrāt (Punjāb) to Kābul, namely from Gujrāt to Bhimbar and then *via* Hastivanj. It may be summed up as follows :— From Lāhore to Gujrāt (Punjāb) there is one road. From Gujrāt this road divides: one branch leads to Kashmīr *via* Bhimbar, and the other route continues from Kashmīr to Yārqand. According to Lawrence, the distance from Srīnagar to Yārqand *via* Margan (11,600 feet high), Zōjī-Lā (11, 300 feet), Qāra Quram (18,317 ft.) and Sugit Dawan (18,137 ft.) passes is 777 miles. Drew, however, had noted five routes (summer route, winter route, western route, middle route, and eastern route) from Srīnagar to Yārqand, all *via* Leh. In addition to these, he mentions two more routes one *via* Pālampur and the other avoiding Leh. These were the routes which brought Kashmīr into contact with Central Asia and imported its learning, culture, and crafts into the Valley. Some portions of the old routes have been altered in time, through the action of glaciers, the shifting and erosion of rivers, landslips or by other natural causes.*

None of the natural features of Kashmīr geography, says Stein, has had a more direct bearing on the history of the country than the great mountain-barriers that surround it. The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has, at all times, been duly recognized both by the inhabitants and foreign observers. Anxious care was taken to maintain this natural strength of the country by keeping strict watch over the passes. We have, on page 17 in *Kashīr*, quoted from Abū Raihān al-Bīrūnī that in ancient times, none except Jews were admitted. Small forts were constructed which guarded all regularly used passes leading into the Valley. A high State officer known by the title of *Dvārapati*, Lord of the Gate, or some equivalent term, controlled all frontier stations in Hindu times. During Muslim times, feudal chiefs known as Maliks

*Major-General F. de Bourbel's *Routes in Jammu and Kashmir*, Thacker, Calcutta, 1897.

were responsible for guarding the routes through the mountains. These Maliks held hereditary charge of specific passes, and enjoyed certain privileges in return for this duty. The fortified posts were known as *Rāhdārī* (*Chowkīs*) in the official Persian. Nobody was allowed to pass outside them coming from the Valley, without a special permit or pass, called the *Parvāna-i-Rāhdārī*. The system served as a check on unauthorized emigration, and was withdrawn only during the seventies of the last century on account of famine.

PART II

Military Organization

Introductory. The Army in Kashmir, p. 621. Foreign Relations, p. 665. The Raja of Jammu a refugee in Kashmir, p. 666. Local Militia, p. 668. The Afghan method of attack and encampment, p. 668. The Soldier's Pay, p. 670. Troops stationed in Kashmir, p. 670. Vicissitudes in the political conditions of Kashmir, p. 671. System of Government to blame for making people coward, p. 672. Mughul Rule began to break the spirit, p. 675. Afghan Rule rough and harsh, p. 676. Sikh Rule tyrannical, brutal and barbarous, p. 676. Heartlessness of early Dogra Rule, p. 679. The dawn of awakening, p. 684. Need for Tawhid, p. 685. Right form of education necessary, p. 688. Hygiene and Sanitation, p. 691. Existing signs of awakening to be consolidated, p. 697.

In the early days of Islam, Muslims, in their wars with the Byzantines, realized the advantages of Roman military methods and adopted them. The Arabs copied the Romans also in tactics and in strategy. By the tenth century of the Christian era, however, Muslim armies had acquired an art of war of their own. They had advanced very considerably in fortification. They had learnt how to lay out and entrench their camps, and how to place pickets and vedettes. The royal body-guards formed regular troops, while the rest of the army consisted of the war bands of chiefs, miscellaneous bands of mercenary adventurers, and the general levies of tribes, etc. The army made itself formidable on account of its numbers and extraordinary powers of locomotion. The formation of the troops was generally like this. Over every ten soldiers was an *'Arīf*, over every 100 a *Naqīb*, over every ten *Naqībs* of 1,000 soldiers a *Qā'id*, and over every ten *Qā'ids* of 10,000 men an *Āmir*. The arms consisted of sword and shield, bow and arrow, lance and javelin, and, later on, *minjanīq* and *'arrādah*

(ballista, catapult). There were suitable arrangements for baggage and provisions. During operations in the field, the army was accompanied by a staff of physicians, and a well-supplied hospital, to which were attached ambulances for the wounded in the shape of lifters carried by camels.

As, however, Turks and Īrānians began to enter the armies, they gradually transformed the system into military fiefs, as was then the custom in the West. Every Āmir, as it were, received a town or a district as a fief, in which he exercised unlimited powers and the privileges of a feudal lord like a Baron. He had to pay to the sovereign yearly tribute, and, in time of war, supply a fixed number of troops, which had to be maintained and equipped at his own cost. This same system was set up throughout the Islamic world, including India.* In Kashmīr, as we already know, feudal chiefs known as *Maliks* (the Sanskrit equivalent for which, according to Stein, is *Mārgeça—Rāj*. Vol. II, p. 391) were responsible for guarding the routes of the Valley, and held fortified posts with garrisons all over the frontier stations, and acted as the 'wardens of the marches', called in Persian *Marzbān*. Nature protected the Valley by an encircling and impregnable wall of hills, and from an early period, the people of Kashmīr have been wont to pride themselves on their country's safety from foreign invasion, a feeling justified by the strength of their natural defence. We find it alluded to, says Stein, by Kalhaṇa, who speaks of Kashmīr as unconquerable by force of arms, and of the protection afforded by its mountain walls. Abu'l Fazl has expressed himself similarly. This feeling is also very clearly reflected in all foreign records of the country as the reader will note hereafter, for instance, in the remarks of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī.

The rulers of Kashmīr took advantage of these natural defences, and bestowed anxious care on constructing fortified posts all over the frontiers, on all regularly used passes leading into the Valley. The forts were committed to the charge of feudal chiefs known as *Maliks* of whom we have spoken above.

Filing of armies in the field.

Ordinarily armies were arranged in the field in the following order: *Quddām-i-Lashkar* (Vanguard), *Maimana* (Right),

*S. Khudā Bukhsh, *The Orient Under the Caliphs*, Calcutta, page 266.

Maisara (Left), *Qalb* (Centre), and *Sāqah* (Rear). *Talī'ah, Muqaddama-i-Paish*, and *Yazk* were the terms applied to a squadron which served as road guides or scouts. They were specially trained to reconnoitre and obtain news of the opposite camp. They also sometimes had preliminary encounters with the enemy. Each rank of the army was under a officer of its own. The Vanguard was led by the *Muqaddam* or the *Salār-i-Lashkar-i-Muqaddama*. The right and left wings were under the *Sar-i-Fauj*. The centre was usually commanded by the King or the Chief, surrounded by the '*Ulamā*,' physicians, astrologers, favourite attendants, and expert archers. The royal standard, the military band consisting of drums, trumpets, *damāma*, *nafīrī* and *sarnā*, etc., were placed in front of the King or the Chief. If the King did not take the command in person, the *Sar-i-Lashkar*, who was either a prince of the blood royal, or the prime minister, or some other noble of the state, occupied that position. The Vanguard, the Right, the Left and the Rear were held by *Khāns*. The *Khān* had under him a *Malik*, and the Malik had an *Amīr* who was a superior officer to the *Sipāh Sālār*. The Sipāh Sālār had under him a *Sar-i-Khail*. A Malik commanded ten thousand horsemen, an Amīr one thousand, a Sipāh Sālār one hundred, and a Sar-i-Khail ten horsemen. Boy slaves accompanied the King or the Sar-i-Lashkar to the field, and were supervised by the *Amīr-i-Ghilmān*. For the Infantry the Officer-in-Charge was designated *Sahm-al-Hasham*, *Nā'ib Sahm-al-Hasham* and *Shimla-i-Hasham*. The *Ākhur Bak* looked after horses. The armoury was in charge of the *Sar-i-Silahdār*. A *Chā'ūsh* saw that every body was at his proper place in battle. The *Naqīb* proclaimed orders and announced instructions.

The position of the Infantry and the Cavalry could be changed according to the need of the occasion. Ordinarily foot-soldiers, wearing armour and armed with broad shields, bows and arrows, formed the first row, and served as a wall of protection. Foot-soldiers wearing breast-plates and armed with shields, swords and spears occupied the second row. Foot-soldiers with swords, quivers, large knives and iron-bound sticks stood in the third row. The fourth row was also composed of foot-soldiers armed with lances and swords. Each of these rows was broken into several parts in order to leave an open space between them for the horsemen and other warriors behind the lines to

see what was happening in front, and to charge at the enemy when necessary, or to retreat to the camp.

Behind the Centre was the *Sāqah*, *i.e.*, the Rearguard. It had different rows in which stood the royal *haram*, kitchen, treasury, armoury, ward-robes, spare horses, prisoners and the wounded. There was a contingent to guard against an attack from behind. The Rearguard was encamped at a distance of some miles from the Centre. Some squadrons lay in ambush (*kamīn*) for a surprise raid on the enemy or for the rescue of the wings needing aid.

Tīmūr, the contemporary of Sultān Sikandar of Kashmīr, arrayed his horsemen in this order: (1) *Qarāwal* or Skirmishers, (2) *Harāwal* or the Vanguard (3) *Jaranghar* or the left Wing, (4) *Baranghar* or the right Wing and (5) *Qol* or the centre. The Qarāwal was also called the *Muqaddamat-ul-Jaish*, *Manqala*, *Talī'ah*. The *Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik* arranged the army, determined its plans, and assigned posts to the Van, Centre, Right, Left, and the Rear. This official had under him a number of *Bakhshīs*. Every file of the army was under a *Sardār* or a *Sālār*. The divisions of the file were called *Qushūn*, *Tumān*, or *Chowkī*. The gunners (*Tufangchī*), the match-lock men, the cannoneers (Topchī), the *Deg-Andāz* or the mortar-bearers, and the artillery or the *Ra'd-andāz* (who threw grenades), rocket-men (*Takhsh-andāz*) were under the *Mīr Ātish* or *Ātash*. Each rank had its horses under an *Akhta Begī*.

The Battle-ground and the War Council.

The battle-ground had to be chosen with great care taking into consideration nearness of water, protection of troops, visibility of the enemy, and spaciousness of the field. Regard was to be had to the rays of the sun not dazzling the eyes of the troops. Trenches secured the ground. Earthworks, entrenchments and redoubts were specially constructed for the Artillery and were called *Murchal* or *Malchar*.

Before the actual fighting commenced, the council of military officers was summoned to appraise difficulties and to think over the crucial issuse of the battle, and was presided over by the *Sar-i-Lashkar*. This council was called the *Anjuman*, or the *Majlis* or the *Majlis-i-Malikī* (Council of Maliks). Tīmūr calls it *Majlis-i-Kingāsh* or the *Anjuman-i-Kingāsh* or *Kingāsh*. (*Note.*—The preceding four paragraphs were abstracted from "Conduct of Strategy and Tactics

during Muslim Rule in India," by S. Sabāh-ud-Dīn, published in *Islamic Culture*, Hydarābād, Deccan, April, July and October, 1946).

"Although righteous warfare was supported and even extolled in olden times," says Dr. P. Banerjee,[1] "the ancient teachers did not regard war in general as a profitable business. They seem to have clearly realized the fact that war inflicts heavy losses on both parties, and that even the victorious party does not derive much advantage from it." The spirit of this quotation, it would appear, must have influenced the enlightened rulers of the Valley of Kashmīr in the early and middle ages of the history of the land, as throughout we find that Kashmīr has not been, generally speaking, an aggressive state. But the maintenance of the state must necessarily involve the maintenance of armies. And Kashmīr has had to bear its share. Nevertheless, nature has helped the Happy Valley in lightening its cares in the matter of its defence. In the words of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī,[2] the historian of Tīmūr, the country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants without the trouble of fortifying themselves are safe from the attacks of enemies. Nor have they, continues Yazdī, anything to fear from the revolutions worked by time, or by rain or by wind though, of course, we should not understand Yazdī to refer to crops that were spoilt by excessive rain, or winds that blew houses to bits.

The Army in Kashmir.

The main divisions of the army in Kashmīr during Muslim rule were infantry and cavalry. And the relative usefulness of the divisions evidently depended on the seasons and the nature of the operations, in which the army was engaged. The families of Māgres and Chaks supplied the officers of the army, almost throughout the reigns of the Sultāns of Kashmīr. They were the bravest of the people of the land and soon became proficient in the art of war.

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1. *Public Administration in Ancient India*, London, page 221.

2. Ross and Elias, English Translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 1895, page 432. [Extract from the *Zafar-nāma* of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī.]

The recruitment of the army was furnished by men from Pūnch, Rajaurī, Budil, Bārāmūla and Muzaffarābād areas. It should be remembered that the Ghakkar country lying on the banks of the Indus from the Salt Range to the borders of Kashmīr was under the Sultāns of Kashmīr.[1] Regiments had distinguishing flags and badges, and also different kinds of trumpets, kettle drums and conch-shells. Communications were made by homing pigeons and various other devices. Warriors were also clad in armour made of iron or skin. In the arrangement of troops, veterans and soldiers noted for their strength and courage were naturally stationed in the van and in positions of danger. The weaker combatants formed the rear of the army. It seems to have been the practice for the king or the commander to address words of encouragement to the soldiers.

The weapons used were the sword, bow, arrow, lance, javelin, spear, and the iron-bound stick. The warrior put on armour, breast-plates, shields, helmets, iron chests, protection for thighs, shanks, fore-arms, the neck and other parts of the body.

Explosives were employed as an additional weapon by the soldiery of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn and an expert was commissioned to teach the art. Habīb made gunpowder in Kashmīr. 1466 A.C. is the date which saw the introduction of firearms into Kashmīr. A thunder-weapon or cannon made at the time is described by Çrīvara[2]: "It destroys forts, pierces the hearts of men, strikes horses with terror, throws balls of stone from a distance, and remains unseen by the soldiers from encampments" (p. 105).

We do not have details of all the other weapons used by Kashmīr armies. A reference to contemporary Indian practice is, therefore, the only thing possible under the circumstances. The Delhī[3] army used grenades, fireworks, and rockets against Tīmūr, which is about the time of Sikandar in Kashmīr. The best defence against fire was provided by vinegar. The term *Khushk-anjīr* seems to have been a crude form of cannon. The translation of *Sang-i-Maghribī* derived from the Western Caliphate as

1. Ross and Elias, English Translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 479-80 *footnote*.

2. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 105.

3. *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pages 138-39.

midfa' in the *Zafar-ul-Wālih* (the Arabic *History of Gujarāt* by 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin 'Umar Makkī known as Hājjī-ad-Dabīr) lends support to the idea that artillery was already in use under 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khaljī. But the Sultanate of Delhī neglected this arm and suffered defeat at Pānīpat by Bābur. Gujarāt and the Deccan developed it. Sher Shāh Sūr so greatly overshadowed the Mughuls in the strength of his guns that Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt advised Humāyūn to entrench himself in Kashmīr (*Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation, page 480), whither Sher Shāh would never be able to take his gun-carriages. And Sher Shāh could never hazard a battle without them. Under the Mughuls, the chief engineer of the artillery, who was also a military commander, was called *Mīr Ātish* or *Ātash*.

It has not been possible to get any useful information about military organization during the reign of Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn (Rīnchen), except that his brother-in-law, who embraced Islam, was his commander-in chief. We shall start with Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr. This Sultān raised two families to eminence, the Chaks and the Māgres. From these two families, the chief generals and leaders, and from the others, already enumerated, soldiers were drawn. During the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, the son and successor of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, there is nothing noteworthy to record. We therefore, pass on to Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, the younger brother of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. In the words of Rodgers, "he was a great conqueror and the day that passed without the receipt of a report of some victory or other obtained by his troops, he did not count as a day of his life. Qandahār and Ghaznī feared him. He himself went to Peshāwar and threaded the passes of the Hindu Kush."* Shihāb-ud-Dīn planted his tents on the banks of the Sutlaj, and brought to submission the Rājā of Nagarkōṭ (Kāngṛa). This Rājā was then just returning from a plundering expedition in the direction of Delhī, and a part of the plunder was given as a present to Shihāb-ud-Dīn. Tibet also sent a message desiring peace. Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn subdued the Jām of Sind, a fact noted by Jonarāja, Abu'l Fazl, Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and Muhammad Qāsim, the author of the *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* commonly known as the *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta*.

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*Rodgers—*J. A. S. B.*, No. 2, 1885, page 99.

یاد ہے کشمیر کیا عہدِ شہاب الدیں تُجھے
یاد ہین کیا اُسکی صُلح و جنگ کے آئیں تُجھے
اُسکے فیضِ پا سے تھی ہر دم نئی تزئیں تُجھے
دیکھ کیا کیا نعمتیں اللہ نے بخشیں تُجھے
بے تکلف تُجھکو وہ فرمانروا حاصل ہوا
ایک دن کِشور کُشائی سے نہ جو غافل ہوا—فوق

We have to pass over the reign of Hindāl or Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, and to come to that of his son, Sikandar, who ascended the throne in 1389 A.C. He was a prince of undaunted courage. He conquered Tibet. His political sagacity saved Kashmīr from the visit of Tīmūr, and all that it might have brought in its train. In fact, he so tactfully handled the situation that the great Central Asian conqueror sent him presents as a mark of his esteem.

When Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn succeeded to the throne, the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, and 30,000 cavalry. His organization of the army was so skilful that there was hardly any possibility of an internal rebellion or rising, or an external aggression except that he had trouble from his own sons as Akbar had from Jahāngīr. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's charming personality had a magnetic effect on his officers, who were ever ready to meet any foe and to take their men right into the jaws of death. He extended his sway over the Punjāb,[1] from Purshāwar, or Purshur[2] as Peshāwar was then known, to Sarhind, which was regarded as the south-eastern frontier town of the Punjāb from the days of the Ghaznavids. In the course of his conquest of the Punjāb, his halt at Amritsar, and the digging of the Baḍ Khū there, have already been noticed on page 170. Though Baḍ Shāh may not have personally visited Amritsar, the conquest of the Punjāb by Baḍ Shāh's army under Jasrat Kokhar is clearly mentioned in the *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī* of Mullā 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl edition by S. U. Dr. Hidāyat Husain, 1924, Vol. I, p. 208).

1. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, page 192.

2. Purushapura was the old name when it was the capital of Gāndhāra. In Al-Bīrūnī's time it was called Purushāwar.— Nando Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Luzac & Co., London, 1927, page 162. General Cunningham spells it as Parshāwar, in his *Archaeological Report*, 1863-4, Simla, 1871, Vol. II, p. 87.

Western Tibet was also added to Baḍ Shāh's dominions. Tibet,[1] it may be noted in passing, was to Kashmīr what Algiers or Tunis was to France in the eighties of the last century. According to Abu'l Fazl, the Sultān also overran Sind.[2] Since Zain-ul-'Ābidīn was friendly with Jām Nanda of Sind, this overrunning of that country must have been prior to their friendship. Oppressed by the king of Delhī, Jasrat Kokhar Ghakkar[3] took shelter under the king who naturally enough protected him in view of Jasrat's assistance to Zain-ul-'Ābidīn in his own hour of need, and used him for the conquest of the Punjāb, as mentioned above.

Foreign Relations.

The foreign relations of the Sultāns of Kashmīr with their neighbours were, generally speaking, quite friendly. Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, the great conqueror, was feared at Qandahār and Ghaznī. The rājā of Nagarkōṭ was a subordinate ally. Tibet alone gave trouble and had to be invaded more than once. The rājā of Jammu sought refuge in Kashmīr. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, at one time, took shelter with Sultān Muhammad Shāh. Envoys from foreign powers were received with due courtesy, and representatives of the Sultāns of Kashmīr in foreign courts acquitted themselves with becoming dignity, and showed tact and geniality in dealing with foreign potentates. Sultān Sikandar won the regard of the great Tīmūr.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had friendly relations with Indian rulers like Buhlūl Lodī of Hindustān, Sultān Mahmūd Begaṛha of Gujarāt and Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn or Nanda of Sind. And he sent ambassadors to Bābur's grandfather, Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā of Khurāsān, Jahān Shāh of Āzarbāījān and Gīlān, and also to the ruler of Turkey, the Burjī Mamlūk of Egypt, and the Sharīf of Mecca. He exchanged letters and complimentary gifts with them all. Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā sent him, on the authority of Abu'l Fazl, a present of horses, mules and camels.

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1. Great Tibet was the name then generally applied to what is now known as Ladākh. Little Tibet is still applied to Baltistān. See p. 219.

2. Jarett's English Translation of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, page 388, says Zain-ul-'Ābidīn overran Tibet and Sind."

3. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 79.

After a long and prosperous rule extending over 50 years, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn died at the age of 69. During the reign of his successor, Haidar Shāh, Ādam Khān, marching down to Jammu, made himself useful in courageously resisting the Mughuls, who were then disturbing the land. Ādam Khān gave up his life rather than submit to the Mughuls. His son, Fath Khān, was, at this time, at Sarhind reducing forts and towns by order of Sultān Haidar Shāh. On hearing of his father's death, Fath Khān hastened to Kashmīr.

The Rājā of Jammu a Refugee in Kashmīr.

In the reign of Sultān Hasan Shāh, the son of Sultān Haidar Shāh, it appears that Tātār Khān Lodī re-established the sovereignty of Delhī over the Punjāb. Tātār Khān, began to harass the borders of Jammu, the rājā of which applied for assistance to Kashmīr. In the words of C. J. Rodgers,[1] "at the time, the rājā of Jammu was a refugee in Kashmīr from the tyranny of Tātār Khān Lodī, the governor of the Punjāb." Malik Bārī who was deputed by the Sultān, encountered Tātār Khān Lodī, devastated the Punjāb and reduced Siālkōt. On further pressure, later on, from Tātār Khān Lodī, the rājā of Jammu had to seek refuge in Kashmīr.

Ibrāhīm Lodī a refugee in Kashmīr.

In the time of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, even Ibrāhīm Lodī, the emperor of Delhī, had to take shelter in Kashmīr on account of disturbances in his own dominion. The exact words of Rodgers[2] are: "Ibrāhim Lodī, owing to disturbances in Delhī, took refuge in Kashmīr." Sa'īd Khān, son of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, king of Jaunpur from 1401 to 1440 A.C.,[3] fled to Srīnagar on the annexation of Jaunpur by Buhlūl Lodī in 1474 A.C. Sa'īd Khān was killed in an encounter (in Srīnagar in 1484 A.C.) between two factions in the time of the minor king Muhammad Shāh.

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1. *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr*, J.A.S.B., No. 2, 1885, page 109.

2. *Ibid.*, page 113.

3. *The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli* by Edward Thomas, London, 1871, page 320.

The inscription on his grave in the cemetery surrounding the *ziyārat* of Khwāja Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh reads :—

To the north of the grave—

عاقبت بخیر باد

To the east—

رسولِ ما بُده فرزندِ شاهِ اِبراهیم

سپُرد جان بخداوند و در بهشت رسید

To the west—

به سالِ هشصد و هشتاد و نُه شهادت یافت

به تخت گاهِ سُلیمان سعید خانِ شهید

To the south—

فی یوم الجُمعه

Kashmīr had also given shelter to Anandpāl,* the son of Jaipāl, in 1006 A.C., on his defeat, near Peshāwar, by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī. Was not, then, Kashmīr in medieval days, a haven of refuge and rest for those unfortunate potentates as is England in our day ?

In the early days of Sultān Nāzuk Shāh, the Tibetans made an incursion into Kashmīr. An army was expeditiously dispatched to Tibet by way of Lār. Forts surrendered one after another, and the Tibetans sued for peace.

Kashmīr soldiery had thus won many a battle, and fought many a formidable foe during the rule of the Sultāns of Kashmīr. Sir Muhammd Iqbāl was perfectly justified when he wrote of the Kashmīrī :—

در زمانے صف شکن ہم بُودہ است چیرہ و جانباز و پُردم بُودہ است

اقبال

Internal dissension, however, proved the Kashmīrīs' undoing. The warlike families of Chaks and Māgres fought between themselves, espousing the cause of rival claimants to the throne. Kashmīr thus became the scene of internal strife. The schism between the Sunnī and the Shī'a further weakened the tottering strength of the rulers of the land. Mughuls who were hovering on the borders entered the Valley, first, under Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, and later under Akbar, and subdued it.

**The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XX, 1908, pages 114-5 (under Peshāwar).

Local militia under Mughul rule.

When Mughul rule was fully established in the Valley a part of the grand army was withdrawn, and the local militia consisting of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry were entrusted with the control of the defences of the land of the Köshur. The history of the subsequent military organization of Kashmīr merges into the military history of the Mughuls and the Afghāns, whose province Kashmīr then became. Let us, therefore, briefly note the Mughul and Afghān mode of warfare.

The Mughul bowmen were considered to be specially expert with their weapon, for instance, Bernier writes of "a horseman shooting six times before a musketeer can fire twice." On long Mughul campaigns, the *haram* with its attendants seems to have accompanied the emperor and the chief men. On the day of battle, these women were put on elephants and carefully guarded by the force forming the rear guard, which was posted at some distance behind the centre, where stood the emperor or the chief commander. (p. 200).[1]

The flag of the sovereign or the commander was carried on an elephant during the march. There was a special officer, entitled *Qūrbegī*, entrusted with the insignia and standards (p. 205).

The beating of drums, accompanied by the playing of cymbals and the blowing of trumpets, at certain fixed intervals, was one of the attributes of sovereignty. The place where the instruments were stationed, generally at or over a gateway, was called the *naqqār-khāna*, the latter name coming from *naqqāra*, a kind of drum used (p. 207).

Any river, if unfordable, was crossed by a temporary bridge of boats. Elephants could cross such bridges. The *Mīr Bahr* was charged with the construction of these bridges and the provision of boats (p. 211).

The Afghān method of attack and encampment.

Every Afghān soldier carried his food in a leather bag slung behind his saddle.[2] At home a lover of fine fare,

1. *The Army of the Indian Mughals* by William Irvine, Luzac, London, 1903.

2. *Later Mughal History of the Panjab* by Dr. Harī Rām Gupta, Lāhore, 1944, pages 285-291.

he was extremely temperate and frugal in his journey. He could live on whatever was handy. Though a disorderly and undisciplined mob, looked at in the light of modern warfare, the Afghān army moved with great rapidity over long distances. While on the march, the army was divided into three parts, the advance-guard, the main body, and the rear-guard. At the time of battle they were converted into the right, the centre and the left respectively. The advance-guard scouted for intelligence of the enemy's whereabouts, seized stores of food and fodder, killed spies or soldiers to suppress the news of their own approach, and tried to take the enemy unawares.

At the time of actual fighting the invaders rushed on the enemy most fearlessly. All energies were directed to the central spot, which was the main theatre of operations. The enemy was attacked in lines parallel to its ranks on all points. When exhaustion was noticed on the part of the enemy the reserve could come up to deliver the final assault. Of course, loud cries were uttered in the course of fighting. The Afghāns were excellent skirmishers and daring foragers. Each contingent was independent in its manoeuvres. The dominating factor with an Afghān was his love of war. In the 18th century, war was to him neither an art nor a science but a trade. And he throve on it. The success of the Afghāns was chiefly due to their unhesitating dash and courage, more than to any organized knowledge of military operations, strategy or tactics, though Ahmad Shāh Durrānī did not lose sight of these.

The favourite arms of the Afghāns were the long firelocks and swords. As marksmen in musketry they were perfect and, in hand-to-hand fight, they plied the sword most dexterously. Indeed the Afghān was an excellent swordsman. Among other arms employed were the swivel-gun, the carbine, the lance and the bow. The firearms were heavy and rough. The shield, a foot and half in diameter, was covered with the hide of an elephant or a horse, or with copper.

Camps were pitched generally by the side of a village in order to ensure a regular supply of water. The tent of the chief was pitched in the centre, and around it the contingents formed an irregular circle. The King's tent had the appearance of a two-storied mosque. In the

camp there were some bankers and cloth merchants, grocers, bakers, butchers, fruit-sellers, carpenters and saddlers. The whole establishment had sufficient supplies of flour, rice and butter.

The soldier's pay.

The soldier's pay must have varied at different times. No definite data about Kashmīr having come to the notice of the writer, a reference to Dr. Ishtiāq Husain Qureshī's *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* shows that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khaljī, who ruled from 1296 to 1316 A.C., paid a fully equipped cavalryman two hundred and thirty-four *tankas* per annum. Muhammad bin Tughluq paid about five hundred *tankas* with food, dress and fodder. The *Khān* was paid two lakhs of *tankas*, a *Malik* fifty to sixty thousand, an *Amīr* thirty to forty thousand, a *Sipāh-sālār* twenty thousand or so, and petty officials received one to two thousand a year. These salaries must have been paid in black *tankas*. Soldiers were paid directly by the state. Under the Lodīs, the army became tribal, and was attached to nobles, instead of being under the direct control of the Sultān. The nobles were given assignments (pp. 146-47). Bernier gives the pay of foot-soldiers at Rs. 20, 15 and 10 a month. Daily rations, when issued to these men, were as follows:—Flour $1\frac{1}{4}$ *seer*, *dāl* $\frac{3}{4}$ *seer*, salt $\frac{3}{4}$ of a *dām*, *ghee* 2 *dāms*.

The number of troops stationed in Kashmīr.

Abu'l Fazl relates that, in 1594, the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, the number of troops in Kashmīr was 4,892 cavalry, 92,400 infantry. It may be remembered that the *Sarkār* of Kashmīr was included in the *Sūbah* of Afghānistān.

The Afghāns, as Hügel[1] has mentioned, had 20,000 soldiers in Kashmīr, though in Āzād Khān's time in 1783, George Forster[2] found "about three thousand horse and foot, chiefly Afghāns."

In 1835 during Sikh rule, Hügel notes that the Sikh garrison of the Valley had "two regiments of infantry of

1. *Travels*, page 123.
2. *Journey*, pages 32-33.

some twelve or fourteen hundred men" (p. 123). Vigne's view is: "Kashmīr and the isolated forts in the neighbourhood, particularly those at Muzaffarabad and the Baramula pass, gave employment to three Sikh regiments as a garrison, and the expenses of the whole military establishment of the valley were reckoned, I believe, at about two laks of small rupis—about 13,500*l* a year. In his late years, Runjit became shamefully irregular in the payment of his troops; one of the regiments in Kashmīr had not been paid for 14 years. They determined, at length, upon repairing to Lahore, and conducted themselves on the way in the most peaceable and orderly manner, paying for what they took from a stock purse, and acting under the direction of officers whom they had chosen to command them, from their own body. I do not know whether Runjit paid them all their arrears, but he put them under the command of an English Officer."[1]

Ranbīr Singh's army was forty to fifty thousand strong.[2]

Vicissitudes in the political conditions of Kashmīr.

The vicissitudes of fortune are very striking in the case of Kashmīr. At one time, it gave shelter to one emperor of Hindustān (Ibrāhīm Lodī). At another, another emperor of Hindustān (Akbar) reduced the Pādshāh of Kashmīr (Yūsuf Shāh Chak) to the status of a refugee in a far-off corner (in Patna) of his kingdom. Again, the Rājā of Jammu, as we have already seen, ran to Kashmīr, and implored help. The wheel has turned. And the Rājā of Jammu is now the Mahārājā of the Valley. In fact, he designates his State as the "State of Jammu *and Kashmīr*." And he thus relegates Kashmīr to a secondary and subordinate position even in name, on paper and in print!

And we read this from the pen of the ex-Army Member of Jammu and Kashmīr, Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield, C. I. E., O.B.E., who died only recently, and to whom we referred on page 141: "In the Army re-organization I pleaded for the enlistment of a double company of Kashmīrīs, but one day H.H. told me that his grandfather, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, had raised a whole regiment, and having uniformed, and

1. *Travels*, Volume II, pages 119-20.
2. *Letters from India and Kashmir*, page 348.

drilled them for six months in Srinagar, gave orders that they should march to Jammu. A deputation of their officers waited upon him with a petition, pointing out that in making arrangements for their march, no provision had been made for police for their protection. The regiment was disbanded. But time has wrought some change. During the riots which occurred in 1931, the wounds of dead Kashmīrīs were all in front."[1] This is the attitude of His Highness Mahārājā Sir Harī Singh Bahādur, the great-grandson of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh who insisted upon his claim to have come from the line of the Rājā of Jammu, who took refuge in Kashmīr and was saved by Kashmīrīs. His Highness' Army Member, an Englishman, older in years than the Mahārājā Bahādur and with a broader outlook based on experience derived from service in different parts of India, pleads for the enlistment of a company of Kashmīrīs, and asserts that the wounds of Kashmīrīs in the riots of 1931 were on their front and not on their back, but His Highness ridicules the plea by citing an amusing occurrence over sixty years ago—not without its reflection on the training, discipline and organization of the State authorities of the time under his own grandfather. Not only this, but the entire character of the Kashmīrī is changed. The poor man is dubbed 'a coward, frightened even to touch a gun.'

آج وہ کشمیر ہے محکوم و مجبور و فقیر — کل جسے اہلِ نظر کہتے تھے ایرانِ صغیر
سینۂ افلاک سے اُٹھتی ہے آہِ سوزناک — مردِ حق ہوتا ہے جب مرعوبِ سلطان و امیر
کہہ رہا ہے داستاں بیدردیٔ ایام کی — کوہ کے دامن میں ہر غم خانۂ دہقانِ پیر
آہ یہ قومِ نجیب و چرب دست و تر دماغ — ہے کہاں روزِ مکافات اے خدائے دیرگیر

اقبال - ارمغانِ حجاز

System of Government to blame for making people cowardly.

But it must be remembered that nobody can escape calumny be he ever so faultless. Hume[2] says: "The

1. *Recollections—50 years in the Service of India*, "C. & M. G." Press, Lāhore, 1943, pages 193-94.

2. *Essays, Literary, Moral and Political* by David Hume, the historian, Ward Lock and Bowden Limited, London, XX—Essay on National Characters—pages 116-127. David Hume (1711-1776) is the well-known British philosopher, historian and political economist.

vulgar are apt to carry all national characters to extremes, and having once established it as a principle that any people are knavish or cowardly or ignorant, they will admit of no exception, but comprehend every individual under the same censure." "Men of sense," he continues, "condemn these indistinguishing judgments, though at the same time, they allow that each nation has a peculiar set of manners and that some particular qualities are more frequently to be met with among one people than among their neighbours." Discussing this point further, Hume assigns different reasons for national characters. According to him, some account for these from moral, others from physical, causes. By moral causes, he means all circumstances which are apt to work on the mind as motives or reasons, and which render a peculiar set of manners habitual to us. Of this kind are the nature of the Government, the revolutions of public affairs, the plenty or penury in which the people live, the situation of the nation with regard to its neighbours, and such-like circumstances. By physical causes are meant those qualities of the air and climate which are supposed to work insensibly on the temper, by altering the tone and habit of the body and giving a particular complexion, which though reflection and reason may some time overcome it, will yet prevail among the generality of mankind, and have an influence on their manners.

That the character of a nation will much depend on moral causes must be evident to the most superficial observer, since a nation is nothing but a collection of individuals and the manners of individuals are frequently determined by these causes, remarks Hume. As poverty and hard labour debase the minds of the common people, and render them unfit for any science or ingenious profession, so, where any Government becomes very oppressive to its subjects, it must have a proportional effect on their temper, and must banish all freedom of thought and action from among them. It is doubtful therefore if air, food, or climate does really seriously affect the character of the people (page 119). The fact is that the human mind is of a very imitative nature, and it is not possible for any set of men to converse often together without acquiring a similitude of manner and communicating to each other their vices as well as virtues. And if we run over the globe, or revolve the annals of history, points out Hume, we shall discover everywhere signs of a sympathy

or contagion of manners, and not of the influence of food, air, or climate. It can thus be established without any fear whatsoever of contradiction, that it is the Government which does very greatly affect the character of the people. In ancient times, Athens and Thebes were but a short day's journey from each other. But the Athenians were as remarkable for ingenuity, politeness and gaiety as the Thebans were for dullness, rusticity, and a phlegmatic temper. The explanation is easy. "The same national character commonly follows the authority of the Government to a precise boundary" (page 120). The Kashmīrīs and Afghāns, with a few hills dividing them, prove the veracity of this assertion.

There is another important consideration. The manners of a people change very largely from one age to another either by great alterations in their Government as already referred to, or by the mixtures of new people or by that inconstancy to which all human affairs are subject. The ingenuity, industry and activity of the ancient Greeks have nothing in common—in the words of Hume—with the stupidity and indolence of the present inhabitants of those regions. Candour, bravery and love of liberty formed the character of the ancient Romans as "subtlety, cowardice and a slavish disposition do that of the modern." The old Spaniards were restless, turbulent and so addicted to war that many of them killed themselves when deprived of their arms by the Romans. One would find an equal difficulty, says Hume, to rouse up the Spaniards of his day to arms though it may here be pointed out that the Spaniards did engage themselves in fighting during their recent civil war in Spain. The Batavians,* Hume adds, were all soldiers of fortune, and hired themselves into the Roman armies. Their posterity makes use of foreigners for the same purpose that the Romans did their ancestors. Though some few strokes of the French character be the same as Caesar has ascribed to the Gauls, yet what comparison between the civility, humanity and knowledge of the modern inhabitants of that country and the ignorance, barbarity and grossness of the ancient? Benito Mussolini as the Ducé, reviewing Italy's armed forces in March 1938, said: "The legend that Italians are not fighters must be dispelled." Finally, if

*Batavia is the ancient name of that part of Holland which lies between the branches of the Rhine and the North Sea.

we realize the great difference between the present possessors of Britain and those before the Roman conquest, we shall at once find that the ancestors of the English, a few centuries ago, "were sunk into the most abject superstition," and, according to St. Bonifice,[1] English prostitutes infested the towns of France and Italy in the eighth century. And yet Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham in a sober, serious study entitled *The Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, is not ashamed to call the Kashmīrīs "the most immoral race of India" (page 93).

Hume quotes an eminent writer as affirming that all courageous animals are also carnivorous, and that greater courage is to be expected in a people such as the English, whose food is strong and hearty, than in the half-starved commonalty of other countries. But Hume's reply to this eminent writer is characteristic. He says that the Swedes, notwithstanding their disadvantages in this particular, are not inferior in martial courage to any nation that ever was in the world. This should give the lie direct to the assertion that Kashmīrīs can never be brave because they are given to excessive rice-eating. Do the Hindu Rājpūt and the Punjābī Hindu Jāt eat flesh? "Many agricultural races are almost entirely vegetarian." Do not the Gurkhas, for instance, eat rice? Have they not been among the mainstay of the Indian army? Rice is one of the most important foods of the world and feeds a large section of the human race. In Japan rice is the staple crop. Is a Japanese a cowardly being? Is he not one of the bravest in the world?

Mughul rule began to break the spirit.

Mughul rule, if it conferred several benefits on Kashmīr, tended to weaken the courage of the people of the Valley. Colonel T. H. Hendley, sometime Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl, says that Kashmīr, in a past age, was inhabited by brave men, but the Mughul conquerors broke their spirit.

In his anxiety to subjugate the Valley, Akbar is believed to have constructed the fort of Kūh-i-Mārān (Harī-parbat) to overawe the people. "Means were at the same time adopted," says Lieutenant Newall,[2] "of rendering the

1. *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* edited by Professor Seligman, 1934, page 556. See also *f. n.* 1, p. 28.
2. *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 433.

native Kashmirians less warlike and of breaking their old independent spirit." Lieutenant Newall wrote in 1854 A.C.: "At the present day, although remarkable for physical strength, the natives of Kashmir are totally wanting in all those qualities for which they were formerly distinguished." In another place (p. 436), Newall writes that Nawwāb I'tiqād Khān, who became Mughul governor in 1622 A.C., was cruel and commenced a systematic destruction of the Chaks,* whom he hunted down and put to death. "Bands of this fierce tribe still infested the surrounding hills, especially the range to the north of Kashmīr, from which strongholds they issued on their predatory excursions. This had the effect of almost exterminating that ill-fated tribe, the descendants of which, at the present day, are the professional horse-keepers of the valley, and in their character, still, in some degree, display remnants of that ancient independent spirit, which led to their destruction." These horse-keepers were called *galawān* from the Persian word *galla-bān*.

Afghān rule rough and harsh.

The Afghāns, though they improved the cuisine of the Kashmīrī, signalized their stay by roughness and harshness. Their chief victims were again the bold Chaks and the brave Bambas—reputed to claim origin from Banī-Ummayah, but are classed as Rājputs—as also the Shī'as. The Sunnīs did not fare better. It is said of the Afghāns that they thought no more of cutting off heads than of plucking flowers :

سر بُریدن پیشِ این سنگیں دِلان گُل چیدن است!

[Cutting off a head to these stone-hearted people is like plucking a flower.]

*The Kashmīrīs have a story that the Emperor Akbar, enraged at the brave and prolonged resistance offered by the Chaks to his general, Qāsim Khān, determined to unman and degrade the people of this country. And so he ordered them, on pain of death, to wear the *pheran*, which has effeminated them and hindered them in battle and in all manly exercises. Before Akbar's conquest, they all wore coats and vests and trousers. . . If this story is true, then they would not have required the *kāngar*. Indeed they would have found it extremely inconvenient, except as a charcoal burner, as it is used in Italy or as the *chauffe-pied* of Switzerland and other parts of the continent of Europe—Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, F.R.G.S., C.M.S. in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, October 1885, page 266. Scholars like Stein regard it as a silly story. Pīr Hasan Shāh, a historian of Kashmīr, believes that the *pheran* and the *kāngrī* were introduced during the time of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

This line is presumably by a Kashmīrī Pandit.

When Kashmīr was lost to the Afghāns, they realized its importance. Dūst Muhammad Khān is reported to have remarked that "without the possession of the rich Valley of Kashmīr, no king of Afghānistān has been, or ever shall be, able to maintain a large army and the royal dignity."

The case of the treatment of Bulgars by Turks is an interesting parallel with the treatment of Kashmīrīs by Mughuls and Afghāns. "The contemptuous indifference with which the Turks regarded the Christian *rayas* was not altogether to the disadvantage of the subject race. Military service was not exacted from the Christians, no systematic effort was made to extinguish either their religion or their language, and, within certain limits, they were allowed to retain their ancient, local administration and the jurisdiction of their clergy in regard to inheritance and family affairs". (*The Historians' History of the World*, Vol. XXIV, page 176). Mughuls and Afghāns and Kashmīrīs, however, were Muslims. It is true the Mughuls and the Afghāns did not interfere with the language of the Kashmīrī or his culture or his local laws. But the Mughuls and Afghāns, no doubt, discountenanced the Kashmīrī's military service and spirit.

Sikh rule tyrannical, brutal and barbarous.

The Sikhs, however, were the worst offenders. William Moorcroft who was in Kashmīr in 1824, but five years after the Sikh conquered the Valley, wrote* : "The Sikhs seem to look upon the Kashmiris as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the Government, of from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, and two rupees if he was a Mohammedan." This is in strong contrast with the savage Abyssinian custom according to which even a woman over fifty is worth five shillings, while an ordinary human life is worth £20, and a headman about £100.

[Though not strictly relevant, we have an American estimate of the cost to the nation of a soldier's life, according to information

Travels, Vol. II, pages 293-4.

from New York in May 1945. It is stated to be as follows : In Julius Caesar's time three shillings and six pence ; in Napoleonic wars £750 ; in the American Civil War £1,250 ; in World War 1914-18 £5,250 ; in the last World War £12,500. The actual value of individual life, therefore, is necessarily very much higher !]

G.T. Vigne,[1] who was in Kashmīr from June to December, 1835 A.C., writes : " The entire suppression (of Chaks) was one of a few measures that Sher Singh, the present Maharaja of the Punjab, could claim any credit for during his tyrannical viceroyalty in Kashmīr. " Baron Schönberg[2] who visited Kashmīr during the later part of Sikh rule, says : " I have been in many lands, but nowhere did the condition of the human being present a more saddening spectacle than in Kashmīr. It vividly recalled the history of the Israelites under Egyptian rule, when they were flogged at their daily labour by their pitiless task-masters. And here the same picture presents itself : man raises his hand against his fellowman and for no other object than to excite physical pain."

توڑا اُس دستِ جفاکیش کو یارب جس نے رُوحِ آزادیٔ کشمیر کو پامال کیا

اقبال

" A few thousand stupid and brutal Seikhs (Sikhs) with swords at their sides or pistols in their belts," wrote Jacquemont, the French Naturalist on May 16th, 1831, " drive this ingenious and numerous, but timid people, like a flock of sheep (page 76). . . . . Cashmir surpasses all imaginable poverty " (page 87). Three days earlier, on May 13th, 1831, Victor Jacquemont had written : " I mention to you a man hanged at Koteli. There were a dozen suspended on trees near my camp on the banks of the river. When the Governor (Bhīma Singh Ardalī) visited me, he told me with a very careless air that in the first year of his government, he had hanged two hundred but that now, one, here and there, was sufficient to keep the country in order. Now mark that the country is miserable and almost a desert province. For my part, if I had to govern it, I should begin putting in irons the governor and his three hundred soldiers, who are robbers *par excellence*, and I would make them work in the formation

1. *Travels*, Vol. I, page 302.
2. *Travels*, Vol. II, page 73.

of a good road. They now live lazily on the labour of the poor peasant : they would continue to subsist on the same rice, but there they would earn it (*Letters*, pages 58-59). Rev. Dr. Joseph Wolff, D.D., LL.D., in his *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara* in the years 1843-1845, published in London in 1846, states :—"I left Cashmer on October 21st, 1832. On our route we were accompanied by fugitives from Cashmer, flying from the oppression of Ranjit Singh. Women, walking destitute of everything, carrying their children on their heads : they told me in their powerful language that they inherited the beauty of angels, but that all beauty had withered under the dominion of the Seikhs" (page 17).

Baron Hügel[1] wrote on Saturday, 21st November, 1835 : "On the ground, to his (Mehān Singh's) right, sat many of the Mohammadan Rajas, from the Baramula and Muzaffarabad mountains, tributaries of Ranjit Singh. One of every family is detained as a hostage in Kashmīr, and from time to time, they are obliged to bring large gifts to the Governor, otherwise their tribute is raised : their present condition is mainly owing to their former habits of independence, which made it necessary for Ranjit Singh to lead his troops against their hill fortresses. The poor princes coming from warmer regions were evidently freezing in their Indian garb ; and their eyes sparkled with indignation at the degradation of sitting at our feet, particularly when Mehan Singh proud, no doubt, at showing me the humbled position of half a dozen princes, pointed out each one to me by name."

Heartlessness of early Dogrā rule.

Gulāb Singh's administration was "extremely oppressive and tyrannical," says Dr. Gulshan Lāl Chopra,[2] M.A., PH.D., Bar-at-Law, sometime Lecturer, School of Oriental Studies, London, till recently Lecturer, Government College, Lāhore, and Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjāb. Gardner, who served under Gulāb Singh for several years, characterized his rule as nothing short of "a ruthless barbarity and a system of terror." "In the light of other accounts, his expressions are not too strong," adds Dr.

1. *Travels*, page 116.
2. *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, with a Foreword by Mr. H.L.O. Garrett, Principal, Government College, Lahore, and Keeper of Records of the Government of the Punjab, 1928, Lahore, page 157.

Chopra. "His own influence with Ranjit, and more than this, the influence of his brother, allowed Gulāb to practise all kinds of severities on the people under his charge. When summoned to Lahore to render accounts or to offer explanation, he always presented himself before his sovereign in all humility and submission. This, together with the ready payments of large sums of money always saved him from disgrace."

Gulāb Singh, with such antecedents, naturally broke down whatever was left of the spirit of the people during his decade of authority in Kashmīr. And the reader will realize it more vividly when he reads of Gulāb Singh's repressions in the relevant paragraph on page 783 in Chapter XII. And the result of continued oppression, in one form or the other, was that the people became 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.'

Even a Viceroy so sympathetic to Indian princes as Lord Ripon remarked about Ranbīr Singh's* rule that "the people of that country (Kashmīr) have long been subjected to misgovernment, and this was sometimes since brought prominently into notice by Mr. Henvey; we did not take action at once conceiving that a favourable opportunity would offer on the occasion of a fresh successor."

The late Sir Walter Lawrence, when Settlement Commissioner, writing about the condition of the people during forty years of Dogrā rule observed: "When I first came to Kashmīr in 1889, I found the people sullen, desperate and suspicious. They had been taught for many years that they were serfs, without any rights but with many disabilities. They were called *Zulm-parast* or 'Worshippers of Tyranny'; and every facility was afforded to their cult. They were forced by soldiers to plough and sow, and the same soldiers attended at harvest time. They were dragged away from their houses to carry loads to Gilgit. Every official had a right to their labour and their property. Their position was infinitely worse than that of the *tiers etat* before the French Revolution. While the villagers were thus degraded, the people of the city were pampered and humoured and the following passage from Hazlitts' *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* gives a fair idea of Kashmīr before the settlement commenced: 'The peasants were overworked,

Condemned Unheard by William Digby, page 202.

half-starved, treated with hard words and hard blows, subjected to unceasing exactions, and every species of petty tyranny . . . while in the cities a number of unwholesome and useless professions and a crowd of lazy menials, pampered the vices or administered to the pride and luxury of the great.' It was no wonder that cultivation was bad, that revenue was not paid, and that the peasants were roving from one village to another in the hope of finding some rest and freedom from oppression. . . Pages might be written by me on facts which have come under my personal observation, but it will suffice to say that *the system of administration had degraded the people and taken all heart out of them.* The country was in confusion, the revenue was falling off and those in authority were 'making hay while the sun shone."[1] Such is the testimony of Lawrence, "whose life and work brought him into close contact with the villages and officials." The line in italics is so put as to confirm independently the view presented by the philosopher-historian, David Hume, on pages 672—75.

Under such incessantly oppressive rule, the Kashmīrī should have, in a body, left the land and migrated elsewhere. But, as Baron Schönberg explains (*Travels*, Vol. 2, pp. 138-39), the Kashmīrī is so deeply attached to his native land that the idea of emigration is, to him, insupportable. "Many efforts," writes Baron Schönberg, "have been made to induce them (Kashmīrīs) to form colonies, away from the valley in which they were born; but, rather than break that mysterious tie, that filial bond which binds them to "Fatherland" they endure oppression and injustice, they toil and are unrepaid; but they still behold the blue sky reflected in their own unruffled lake, they inhale the balmy air, cooled and purified in its passage over the snowtopped mountains." "Their oppression," continues the Baron "cannot deprive them of these enjoyments and they live on, slaves in their native land."

It was recently estimated[2] that about 60 per cent. of the peasants have holdings of about 16 *kanāls* each, a *kanāl* being one-eighth of an acre. The net annual income of a family cultivating a holding of 16 *kanāls* is approximately

1. *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895, pages 2-3.

2. *Kashmir*, January 1939, published by the General Secretary, All-India States' Peoples' Conference, Bombay, page 2.

Rs. 74-8-0. The per capita income of such a family has been calculated at Rs. 10-10-3 per year, or 0-14-2 per month which comes to $5\frac{2}{3}$ pies per day!

Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has most appropriately described the Kashmīrī's condition in the following tragic verses :—

کشمیری کہ با بندگی خو گرفتہ بُتے می تراشد ز سنگِ مزارے
ضمیرش تہی از خیالِ بلندے خودی ناشناسے، ز خود شرمسارے
بریشم قبا خواجہ از محنتِ اُو نصیبِ تنش جامۂ تار تارے
نہ در دیدۂ اُو فروغِ نگاہے نہ در سینۂ او دلِ بیقرارے

And Abu'l Asar *Hafīz* Jāllandharī reproduces his own reactions on the subject in Urdu—

یہ چمن اغیار کی شعلہ خرامی کے لئے یہ ثمر شیریں ہیں اپنی تلخ کامی کے لئے
زندگانی ہے یہاں مرگِ دوامی کے لئے مائیں جنتی ہیں یہاں بچّے غلامی کے لئے
ہر نفس اِک سلسلہ ہے قیدِ بے زنجیر کا
ایک پہلو یہ بھی ہے کشمیر کی تصویر کا

یہ غریب و مُفلس و مجبور ہیں ہم کیا کریں! کم سُخن کمزور دِل مزدور ہیں ہم کیا کریں!
حُسن و صنعت کیلئے مشہور ہیں ہم کیا کریں! اِن کے گھر افلاس سے معمور ہیں ہم کیا کریں!
اِن کی صُورت ہے نوشتہ کاتبِ تقدیر کا
ایک پہلو یہ بھی ہے کشمیر کی تصویر کا

دیکھ کر باشندۂ کشمیر کو اندوہگیں ہنستے ہیں اہلِ تماشا کوئی ہمدردی نہیں
غیر مُلکی زائروں کو ہو گیا ہے یہ یقیں جنتی ہے مزدور ہی اِس باغِ جنّت کی زمیں
یہ نتیجہ ہے کسی ناگفتنی تقصیر کا
ایک پہلو یہ بھی ہے کشمیر کی تصویر کا

Hafiz, further on, comments poignantly—

اہلِ زر کشمیریوں کے حال پر ہنستے ہیں آج نام ہے ان کا فریبی حیلہ گر رُو بہ مزاج
بے دلی بے اعتمادی مُفلسی اور احتیاج بندگی صدہا برس کی اور مُسلسل سامراج
کس قدر ساماں فراہم ہے یہاں تحقیر کا
ایک پہلُو یہ بھی ہے کشمیر کی تصویر کا
دیکھنے والے مگر اس بات کو سمجھے نہیں حوصلے والوں کی نفسیات کو سمجھے نہیں
اِن سبق آموز تعمیرات کو سمجھے نہیں اور کیا سمجھیں گے اپنی ذات کو سمجھے نہیں
توڑ کر ہمّت کھلونا بن گئے تقدیر کا
ایک پہلُو یہ بھی ہے کشمیر کی تصویر کا

Kashmīrīs concealing their identity.

John T. Platts' *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, written at Oxford in May, 1884, defines a *Kashmīran* or *Kashmīrnī* as "a dancing woman" and a *Kashmīrī* as "a dancing boy" (Fourth Impression, 1911, page 837). The poor Kashmīrī need not, however, be unduly perturbed at this dictionary definition of his, as his bigger compatriot, the Hindu, is called "Black. A servant. A slave. A robber. An infidel. A watchman" in *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English* by Francis Johnson, published under the patronage of the Honourable East-India Company—Wm. H. Allen & Co., 7, Leadenhall Street, London, 1852, page 1403, column 2. But the fact is that there has been a time when the Kashmīrī has suffered unjustified calumny, and malicious misrepresentation. No wonder, therefore, that even respectable, not to say distinguished families in the Punjāb, Delhī, and the United Provinces, Bihār and Bengāl and elsewhere, about three decades back, disowned their Kashmīrī origin or their long domicile in Kashmīr, and called themselves Arabs, Turks, Īrānians or Afghāns to escape the galling degradation and appalling humiliation of being called Kashmīrī, with all that the expression connoted at one time. Sir Aurel Stein once suggested to me that an investigation of the

details of distinguished persons and families that migrated from Kashmīr would show what type of people has been produced by Kashmīr in order to serve as a stimulus and a beacon-light to the present and future generations of Kashmīrīs to retrieve the lost status! The disowning Kashmīrī forgot that a race which maintained its independence for so many centuries, even though assisted by the great natural difficulties of entrance into their country, could not have been altogether destitute of manly character:

از غلامی جذبہائے او بمرد آتشے اندر رگِ تاکش فسرد

اقبال - جاوید نامہ

The dawn of awakening.

Having touched almost the lowest depth of degradation, the Kashmīrī is, however, showing signs of life, and can no longer be bullied so easily and frightened so quickly. The educated Kashmīrī of Srīnagar, Sopōr, Bārāmūlā, or Islāmābād, and of other towns in the Valley has gradually begun to think seriously of himself, and is averse to being led by others, and would refuse to do what is not dictated by his own intellect. Those who have closely studied the character of the Kashmīrī, and take a broad view of the situation as a whole, need not, therefore, be unduly pessimistic about his future. Already there are, under different party labels, bands of bold, brave workers in the field, led in one notable case by a leader who had, so far, shown admirable courage. May these bands carry on work with wisdom! And if all continue to work unflaggingly, unselfishly, zealously and *unitedly* for the real uplift of the masses, concentrating specially on the re-formation of the Kashmīrī character in certain respects too well-known to need detailed reference, Kashmīr is indeed assured of a very bright future. The Kashmīrī will take time but he must rise. He must, however, remember that he should, at once, give up the blind following of the ignorant Mullā and the *ta'vīz*-hawking or the charm-dispensing *pīr* for whom some useful avenue of employment must be found.

The Prophet's strong injunction embodied in the *Sahīh-Bukhārī* is—

يَدخُلُ الجَنّة مِن أُمّتی سَبعُونَ اَلفاً بغیرِ حِسابٍ - هُمُ الذین لایستَرقُون-

ولا یکتُوون و لا یَتطیّرون و علیٰ ربّهم یَتوکّلُونَ—

—مروی از احمد حنبل- تفسیر ابن کثیر - جلد دُوم

[Thousands of my followers will enter Paradise without question. They are the people who do not indulge in exorcising, nor in branding, nor believe in omens, but trust in their Lord.]

Should the exorcising of the *pīr* be permitted in the circumstances and in face of this Hadīth ? Particularly when we see that the meek-looking *pīr* or the *pīrzāda* is a positive agent in the spread of superstition. He exploits the illiteracy of the masses, particularly of the womenfolk. His only virtue, in certain cases, has been his silent stand against the cult of the Christian missionary in rural areas. Otherwise, he himself rots, is a waste, and tends to create waste in the Valley's human society. Turkey and Īrān have restrained him, and now get useful work out of him by making him earn his livelihood honourably.

Instead, people should learn to welcome the 'Ulamā' of progressive views, catholic sympathies, clear vision and wide travel. Women's institutes, widows' homes, orphanages and ward clubs for men will bring about healthy activities and corporate spirit. The *takiyas*, where secret smoking of opium is indulged in, must be summarily stopped. The Kashmīrī should rise above abject superstition and all forms of un-Islamic saint-worship. He should show by action that he really earnestly believes in *Tawhīd* or the Oneness of God. Read what a godly Kashmīrī has said—

نیست معبودے بحق موجود غیر اللہ ہیچ معنیٔ ایں قولِ مذکور ایں چنیں اجدر شدہ

بابا داؤد خاکی

Need for Tawhīd.

Why I lay special stress on true *Tawhīd* for the Kashmīrī is because the Unity of God is the first essential of faith in Islam. It is indeed the keystone of our faith. On this essential Islam " admits of no compromise, just as no state spares the rebel, and no military court shows mercy to the renegade." Islam admits of no elasticity or

subtlety in this respect. *Tawhīd** in Islam is an urge for activity. Jihād, from *jahd*, in the sense of ceaseless activity, is a necessary corollary of Tawhīd—not the Jihād misunderstood by the opponents of Islam as wanton attack by Muslims on non-Muslims. Although defensive even in the ordinary sense, Jihād is not offensive. One who understands the meaning of Tawhīd cannot but lead a life of *Jihād*. Jihād is but an endeavour to actualize the purposes of Tawhīd, that is, the purposes which the Muslim's conception of God implies. And this activity is to be directed and given its whole complexion by the fear of God alone, and not that of man or objects associated with superstition to which the Kashmīrī is so pitiably prone.

فرد از توحید لاهُوتی شود مِلّت از توحید جبروتی شود

چیست مِلّت اے کہ گُوئی لااِلٰہ با ہزاران چشم بُودن یک نگہ

مِلّتے چُون میشود از توحید مست قوّت و جبروت می آید بدست

اِقبال - جاوید نامہ -

مطبوعہ حیدر آباد دکن - ۱۸۴۵ء صفحات ۲۳۶—۲۳۷

If one truly believes in the Oneness of God why then should he spread his hand of prayer to a dead saint or invoke that saint's intercession by the subtle use of the *wasīla* on one pretext or an other? There is no *wasīla* or intermediary between man and his Creator.

کیون خالق و مخلُوق مین حائل رہین پردے

پیرانِ کلیسا کو کلیسا سے اُٹھا دو

اِقبال—بالِ جبریل-

مطبوعہ لاہور - جنوری ۱۹۳۵ء - صفحہ ۱۴۹

This habit of the *wasīla* is, I am afraid, responsible for the habit of *sifārish* in life, so rampant throughout the Valley. This saps self-reliance. The *sifārishī* is more anxious to seek the *wasīla* than to work hard to improve his prospects.

The great Shaikh-ul-Islām 'Allāma Taqī-ud-Dīn Imām ibn Taimiyya, who flourished in the 7th century A.H., and was the contemporary of Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn (Rinchan)

**The Eastern Times*, Lāhore,—Tuesday, 29th February, 1944, page 2, column 3.

of Kashmīr, in his well-known book *Al-Wasīlah*, has exhaustively dealt with a variety of aspects of this practice of *wasīla* or intercession. He clearly draws upon the Qur'ān and the Hadīth to state that the veneration for the graves of saints has been the starting-point of *shirk* or co-partnership with God or polytheism in the world (Urdu Translation by Maulavī 'Abdur Razzāq Malīhābādī, Lāhore, 1925, pp. 35 and 209). We can approach any good pious living Muslim to pray for us in our hour of need but not a dead human being. The great 'Umar approached Hazrat 'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, for prayer at the time of a famine, but did not turn to the grave of the great Prophet of Islam for aid or intercession (pp. 76 & 104). The Prophet has emphatically prayed to God not to let his grave be worshipped as an idol. His exact words are :—

اَللّٰهُمَّ لَا تَجْعَلْ قَبْرِیْ وَثَنًا یُعْبَدُ

Maulānā Altāf Husain *Hālī* Pānīpatī accordingly puts this prayer of the Prophet in his well-known *Musaddas-i-Hālī*.

بنانا نہ تُربت کو میری صنم تُم
نہ کرنا مِری قبر پر سر کو خم تُم
نہیں بندہ ہونے مین کُچھ مُجھ سے کم تُم
کہ بیچارگی مین برابر ہین ہم تُم
مجھے دی ہے حق نے بس اِتنی بزرگی
کہ بندہ بھی ہُوں اُسکا اور ایلچی بھی

Imām ibn Taimiyya points out that it is only our own good deeds that are the means of our intercession (p. 228). And this is a great lesson in self-reliance and self-respect without which no people can rise in the world.

The type of Islam that prevails in Kashmīr was commented upon (*Supra*, Chapter I, pp. 19-20) by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, whose stay in the Valley lasted for ten years from 1541 to 1551 A.C. In fact, a Puritan like an Akhwān resident of the present-day al-Riyād in Najd, Sa'ūdī Arabia, would hardly believe that a number of the practices of the Kashmīrī Musalmān are at all Islamic. Perhaps, to him, Islam in Kashmīr would be but a definitely deformed version of the

real teachings of the Prophet of Arabia. As Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī points out, the Buddhist worship of relics[1] has insidiously crept into India's Islam. It is nowhere so prominent as in Kashmīr. Hazrat-bal is an outstanding instance. On the occasion of the exhibition of the Prophet's Hair there—which, according to a *tête-à-tête*, was thrown into the fire by Āzād Khān, an Afghān governor, in order to test its genuineness—crowds of Kashmīrīs assembled, are seen weeping and wailing like the Jews before the Wailing Wall of the Aqsā in Bait-ul-Muqaddas (Jerusalem). Again 'the mystic teachers known as the *pīrs*, ascetic and holy men have almost created a priesthood and hereditary sacred caste. Necromancy and a belief in omens and magic has gained ground, in spite of the Qur'ānic protest against them.' The *t'avīz* and the *gaṇḍa* have nowhere such vogue as in Kashmīr. "Pure monotheism and the moral fervour of a society based on social equality" has in practice nowhere receded more into the background. The ringing of a bell precedes the call to prayer in several mosques in the Valley today! And so Dr. Arthur Neve, a Medical Missionary of Kashmīr, is not far wrong when he says that the Kashmīrī Muslim has "transferred reverence from Hindu stones to Muslim relics."[2] "The Prophet and (among some Shī'as) Caliph 'Alī are raised almost to divine rank" despite the Prophet's definite declaration of his being a *bashar*, or a human being, a mortal. "Muslim saints are worshipped almost like Hindu gods and godlings."[3] And yet the Muslim prides himself on being the most exclusive monopolist of Unitarianism in the world! Atāturk closed up the so-called *ziyārāt* of Istanbūl. Ibn Sa'ūd demolished them in Mecca. Rizā Shāh Pahlavī discouraged visits to Karbala. Did not the great and glorious Prophet of Islam rid the Haram of Lāt, Manāt and 'Uzzā?

سطوتِ توحید قایم جن نمازوں سے ہوئی

وہ نمازیں ہند میں نذرِ برہمن ہو گئیں—اقبال

Right form of education necessary.

The Kashmīrī should take to the right type of education including specially physical and military education. He

1. *Modern India and the West*, edited by O'Malley, 1941, page 391.
2. *The Tourists Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, etc.*, 16th edition, 1938 page 103.
3. *Modern India and the West*, page 391.

should increasingly send out promising young men to Europe and America, who, on their return, should vow themselves to improve their indigenous arts and crafts, and to unfold the wealth hidden in its herbs and hills. This is what the West did when the East could teach it. This is what the East is now doing as is evidenced by the examples of China, Īrān, Afghānistān, Japan and Turkey. Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew[1] wrote, as far back as 1875, that the Kashmīrīs' "shawls and embroideries, their silver work and papier-mâché painting, their stone-engraving and wood-carving, etc., all exhibit proof of wonderful delicacy and minute detail, but tell of no active expenditure of muscular force." James Milne, too, means the same thing when he says that Kashmīrīs are "not stout fellows in armour." The health, recreation and amusement of the workers, referred to above, is a matter of grave concern to the nation at large.

There is one boys' primary school, on an average, for 66 square miles of area and for 3,850 of population, or one boys' school for every 8 or 9 villages. In the case of girls, the average is one girls' school for 467 square miles of area and 25,670 of population, or one girls' school for 57 villages.[2] The education budget in 1939 amounted to 20½ lakhs of rupees out of a total income of 3½ crores. Education thus gets a little more than 8 per cent. of the total income of the State. Mysore spends 19·5 per cent. on education. Out of the expenditure on education about 16½ lakhs is spent on boys' education and about 3½ lakhs on girls' education. The percentage of literacy among males works out at 5·8, and among females at a little over ·5 per cent., or 5 per thousand. "If the present rate of progress is maintained it will take about 300 years to make the whole population literate." In Travancore, which covers Comorin at the other end of the Union of India, the percentage of literacy among females is 13·89. In Kashmīr 99·5 per cent. of the women are illiterate.[3] According to the census of 1941, the percentage

1. *Kashmir and Kashghar*, London, 1875, page 63.

2. Report of the Education Re-organization Committee, Srīnagar, 1939, pages 10-11.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

Note.—It may, however, be added that the number of examinees for the matriculation from the State in 1925 was 827. In 1938 this number rose to 1250. There has also been a large increase in the Intermediate, B.A., B.Sc. candidates during the period. The total number of all students from 1925 to 1938 for the Panjāb University

of literates is 6·6. The number of women literates is only 42,151 out of a total female population of 18,91,744 of the State. According to reports, U.S.S.R., by opening libraries, has increased literacy from 30 per cent. to 93 within the last fifteen years. Baroda started libraries as far back as 1910, and in a few years spread a net-work of libraries in the whole State. Mysore, Travancore, Cochin followed the example of Baroda, but, deplores Pandit Prithvi Nāth Kaul, B.A., Libarian, D. A.-V. College, Srīnagar, that Kashmīr lags behind all States in the whole of the entire sub-continent (*The Hamdard*, Srīnagar, 17th May, 1946).

علاج اِس ذِلّت و اِفلاس کا پُوچھو اگر مُجھ سے
تو چلتا نُسخہ اِس کے واسطے تعلیم کا دیکھا
اگر ہو اِتّفاق اِس کثرتِ تعداد کے ہمراہ
تو یہ جانو کہ تمنے کام اپنا سب بنا دیکھا

آئینۂ کشمیر از پیرزادہ محمد حُسین عارف

When literacy is so low, one cannot talk of higher education. Hydarābād has a University. Mysore has a University. Travancore has a University. Rājpūtāna States now have a University at Jaipur. Baroda, Indore and Cochin have announced the establishment of their respective Universities. But the State of Jammu and Kashmīr, covering 84,471 square miles of mountains and valleys, lakes and lowlands—its boundaries touching the Union of India, and Pākistān, Republican China, Buddhist Tibet and Soviet Russia—has not yet even seriously talked of a University! As a matter of fact, there is not even M.A. teaching except in one subject and in one State college in the whole of Jammu and Kashmīr ! In 1948, however, one is proposed.

No wonder, then, that the capital of Kashmīr, in the words of Stein, recorded in 1900, should be "the hot-bed of political and other gossip and fertile nursery of false and amusingly absurd rumours." [*Rājataraṅgaṇī*, Vol. II, page 56 footnotes.]

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examinations has risen from 1,199 to 2,395 or over 100 per cent. But it is not known how far the Muslims have shared in this large increase, and what reasons prevented them from doing so.

Hygiene and Sanitation.

Sanitation must be vigorously improved all round. Above all, no amount of anxious care should be spared to improve the condition of women and children in respect of education and hygiene. Jahāngīr does not conceal his disgust at the dirtiness of "the common women" of Kashmīr when he wrote in 1620: they "do not wear clean, washed clothes. They use a tunic of *paṭṭu* for three or four years. They bring it unwashed from the houses of the weaver, and sew it into a tunic. It does not reach the water till it falls to pieces." What beautiful babies Nature brings forth in Kashmīr and how Man spoils them by squalor! The present rigid segregation of women is altogether un-Islamic. It is undermining their health, dwarfing their intellect. It is most adversely affecting the upbringing of children, on whom alone the future depends. Women's emancipation and enlightenment are the means of man's freedom and glory. The lazy-looking *pheran*, worn in the public, must be burnt with the fire of the *kāngṛī* and the *kāngṛī* must be thrown into the waters of the Vitastā. It is believed that cancer is induced by the hot *kāngṛī* being always pressed against the same part of the body. The moderate use of the *kāngṛī* on special occasions is however a different thing. Houses must have suitable chimneys to avoid frequent outbreaks of fire. On account of its abundance and cheapness, electric energy should be applied to industry more widely, and central heating should be installed as largely as possible. The excessive use of scalding hot tea must be steadily discouraged.

میّسر ہو نہ کھانے کو تو کُچھ پروا نہیں انکو
مگر دہِ باش و شہری کو فداے آبِ چا دیکھا
علاوہ صرفِ بیجا کے یہ ہے نقصان اِس چا میں
کہ چہرون پر جو رنگت تھی اُسے بالکل اُڑا دیکھا

—پیر زادہ محمد حُسین عارف

But these changes must take decades if the will to effect them is at all seriously roused in the Kashmīrī. Or, else, the Kashmīrī will have to wait for the enlightened advent of healthy Socialism suited to the conditions of Kashmīr.

No condemnation of one's own people.

Talk to a Kashmīrī on the subject of his countrymen, he will speak of them with abhorrence, warn you against having aught to do with them, apparently forgetting that he, too, is of the race he would taboo, wrote Colonel Torrens in 1862, eighty-five years ago. "The Dogra Dewan abuses the Hindoo Pundit and *vice versa*; through all ranks of society extends this amiable feeling of natural distrust." I am afraid this goes on even now. Should it continue? Should not the disgraceful and oppressive *nās-mushka* or the offensive bribe from brother to brother cease?

Where is sympathy from a Kashmīrī for a Kashmīrī? Is Hafīz wrong when he says:

ہم وطن ہی جب نہ اپنے ہم وطن کے کام آئے سر پہ ہمسایہ کے ہمسایہ ہی جب طُوفاں اُٹھائے
کیا بنا سکتی ہے پھر اے دُوست تیری ہائے ہائے؟ یہ مناظر دیکھتا جا اور نہ کر اظہارِ رائے!

Was not Nawwāb Zafar Khān *Ahsan* rightly disgusted when he satirized the Kashmīrī by saying:

دریں کشور گر این آدم نمی بود ز جنّت هیچ چیزش کم نمی بود

—مثنوی هفت منزل

And Munshī Ghulām Husain Tabātabāī in *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirīn*, perhaps, repeats this very satire in Persian prose:

کشمیر از تعریف و توصیف مُستغنی است و عیبے غیر از کشمیریان ندارد

جلد اول - صفحه ۱۰۹

[Kashmīr is above praise and plaudit. Its reproach is none other than the Kashmīrī.]

The Kashmīrī must learn to rely on himself. There is really no Hindu-Muslim problem in the Valley of Kashmīr. Both are sons of the same soil. They are kith and kin, are of the same flesh and blood, speak the same language, eat the same food, namely *batah*, *hākh*, and *māz* or rice, potherb, and mutton. Already outsiders have noticed that a Baṭṭa or Kashmīrī Pandit would prefer a Kashmīrī Musalmān to a non-Kashmīrī Hindu in State employment. A Kashmīrī Musalmān would similarly prefer a Baṭṭa or Kashmīrī Pandit to a non-Kashmīrī Muslim. The only difference between the two is the extent of modern education. The one took to it earlier and moved on. The

other has taken to it later, and will need a little time to come into line. Some friction is natural to a family in any quarter of the world. Why should this be allowed to be exploited ?

The Muslim should cease the parrot-cry of backwardness as it has an adverse psychological effect on him. He should give up foolish 'begging' for special consideration and extra concession. He must, however, fight for his due right. But reform, if it is to be real and lasting, must come from within. Heaven helps those who help themselves.

الوالعزمانِ دانشمند جب کرنے پہ آتے ہیں سمندر چیرتے ہیں کوہ سے دریا بہاتے ہیں

How stirring is the appeal of Dr. K. 'Abdul Hakīm M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., formerly Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmīr, State, and what a lesson it has for the Kashmīrī !

انگور ہیں گو خطّۂ نمناک سے اُگتے اور تاک سے اُگتے
تاروں کے گُل و لالہ ہیں افلاک سے اُگتے لولاک سے اُگتے
اِنسان ہیں حُرّیّتِ بے باک سے اُگتے کب خاک سے اُگتے؟
ہو شوقِ شہادت تو تری خاک ہو اکسیر
اے خطّۂ کشمیر!

وادی تری ایمن ہے تو پربت ترا سینا دھرتی کا نگینہ
اُس پر یہ غُلامانہ مشقّت کا پسینہ افگار ہے سینہ
مرنے سے ہے بدتر ترا اِس طرح کا جینا یُوں زہر کا پینا
کر یاد ذرا مُوسیٔ عمران کی تدبیر
اے خطّۂ کشمیر!

وادی یہ جگر پارۂ کہسارِ ہمالہ کوثر کا ہے پیالہ
ہیں رُوکشِ فردوس، جہاں کے گُل و لالہ سُبحان تعالےٰ
یُوں تختہ ہو ہر جَور کا ہر ظُلم کا آلہ ظالم کا نوالہ
صد حیف کہ اِس خُلد میں دوزخ ہو گلوگیر
اے خِطّۂ کشمیر!

صدیوں سے یہاں حالتِ انساں رہی خستہ پَر بال شکستہ
آزادی و توقیر کا مسدُود ہے رستہ ہر باب ہے بستہ
حیواں یہاں مہنگا ہے تو اِنسان ہے سستا یہ نوعِ خُجستہ
ہے خُون رُلاتی مجھے آدم کی یہ تحقیر
اے خطّۂ کشمیر!

ہاتھ اُس کے ہنر خیز فضا اُس کی گُہر بیز ذہن اُس کا بہت تیز
یہ لعلِ گراں مایہ یہ مزدُورِ عرق ریز مٹی میں ہے آمیز
افسوس کہ ہو نکبت و افلاس سے لبریز یہ خطّۂ زرخیز
اور آئے نہ آنکھوں کو نظر صُورتِ تغییر
اے خطّۂ کشمیر!

اِنساں کا ہے فردوس نہ پھولوں سے نہ پھل سے جَل سے نہ کنول سے
نے وادیٔ گُلریز، نہ آئینۂ ڈل سے نے نہرِ عسل سے
دُنیا بھی عمل سے ہے تو عُقبےٰ بھی عمل سے ہمّت ہی کے بَل سے
کر جہد سے تدبیر کُچھ اے بندۂ تقدیر
اے خطّۂ کشمیر

دُنیا میں ہر اک سمت میں اب حشر بپا ہے ماضی کو فنا ہے
حیرانی سے تکتا ہے تُو اب تک کہ یہ کیا ہے؟ پیکارِ بقا ہے!
تذلیل تری، جان بچانے کی سزا ہے آئینِ قضا ہے!
قربانی کی دعوت ہے ہر اک نعرۂ تکبیر
اے خطّۂ کشمیر!

اِس چال سے تُو نے کیا اِسلام کو بدنام اِس نام کو بدنام
سب پھل یہاں پکتے ہیں پہ انساں ہی رہا خام یہ بندۂ اوہام
ہیں جاہل و مظلُوم ترے خاص ترے عام ہے صُبح تری شام
اندر ترے تنویر نہ باہر ترے تنویر
اے خطّۂ کشمیر!

افسوس کہ اُٹھتی نہیں سینے سے فغاں ایک ہے گرچہ زباں ایک
مقصد نہیں رکھتے ہیں ترے پیر و جواں ایک مطلب ہے کہاں ایک
لازم ہے کہ ہو قوم عیاں ایک نہاں ایک سب خُورد و کلاں ایک
وابستہ ہوں باہم صفتِ حلقۂ زنجیر
اے خطّۂ کشمیر!

کچھ لعل تری کان کے بیرونِ وطن ہیں جو فخرِ زمن ہیں
بیرونِ چمن بھی ترے کچھ سرو و سمن ہیں اور تا بہ دکن ہیں
جن نافوں کی خوشبو سے معطّر ہوئے بن ہیں بیرونِ ختن ہیں
ماتم میں ترے صُورتِ گُل سینہ دریا چیر
اے خطّۂ کشمیر!

ڈاکٹر خلیفہ عبدالحکیم

William Moorcroft wrote in 1824 A.C. : "The natives of Kashmīr have been always considered as among the most lively and ingenious people of Asia, and deservedly so. *With a liberal and wise government* they might assume an equally high scale as a moral and intellectual people." (*Travels*, Vol. II, page 128). G. T. Vigne, in his (*Travels*, Vol. II, page 68), 18 years later in 1842 A.C., wrote : "Kashmīr will become the focus of Asiatic civilization ; a miniature England in the heart of Asia." Kashmīr is the largest Valley lying in the lap of the largest mountains of the world, occupying a central position in Asia. In the whole of this sub-continent it is Kashmīr that has had the fullest and closest contact with a vast variety of cultures. Elphinstone wrote in his *History of India* (p. 515, Cowell's edition of

1866, John Murray, London): 'Kashmire still maintains its celebrity as the most delicious spot in Asia or in the world.' Although itself remote, Kashmīr lies within that part of Central Asia which at one period was "the clearing-house of several separate civilizations and the influences of these found their way into this natural retreat." It has imbibed the best of Buddhism and the best of Hinduism and the best of Islam. Let it also show that it can use all that to its advantage to the best. Therefore, let every Kashmīrī endeavour to make Kashmīr the focus of Asiatic civilization. Pandit Ānand Narāyan Mullā has well put it:

فدائے مُلک ہونا حاصلِ قسمت سمجھتے ہیں
وطن پر جان دینے ہی کو ہم جنّت سمجھتے ہیں
کچھ ایسے آ گئے ہیں تنگ ہم کُنجِ اسیری سے
کہ اب اِس سے تو بہتر گوشۂ تُربت سمجھتے ہیں
غُلامی اور آزادی بس اِتنا جانتے ہیں ہم
نہ ہم دوزخ سمجھتے ہیں نہ ہم جنّت سمجھتے ہیں

زمانہ - کانپور - جنوری - ۱۹۴۳ء - صفحہ ۲۰

Existing signs of awakening to be utilized.

The existing signs of awakening, therefore, must be honestly and energetically utilized if the blood of the martyr and the suffering of the patient Kashmīrī are to bear fruit at all! Unity among themselves and readiness to suffer for a common cause are the most potent means of success against the heaviest odds, provided there is also wise leadership.

غُلامی میں نہ کام آتی ہیں شمشیریں نہ تدبیریں
جو ہو ذوقِ یقیں پیدا، تو کٹ جاتی ہیں زنجیریں

اِقبال

The patriotic Pandit, the author of *Inside Kashmir*, published in May 1941, writes: "Kashmīr needs a leader with great qualities and immense capability. Like Kamal Ataturk he must be bold to face the Mulla and introduce

social reform of a revolutionary character. Like Riza Shah he must be endowed with a passionate, patriotic zeal, and must be a believer in the greatness and glory of the past of his motherland. Like Zaghlul, he must deal liberally with the minorities of his country. Such a hero is destined to appear on the scene, and the forces of nature are bound to throw him up on the surface to lead the needy masses. When he will appear no one can say. I believe that for obvious reasons he must be born. I have cherished this belief all these many years" (pages 411-12).

These worthy sentiments have already been expressed by one of the greatest Kashmīrī thinkers when he said:

نصیبِ خطّہ ہو یارب وہ بندۂ درویش
کہ جس کے فقر میں انداز ہوں کلیمانہ
بیدار ہوں دِل جس کی فغانِ سحری سے
اِس قوم میں مدّت سے وہ درویش ہے نایاب
اے وادیٔ لولاب!

اِقبالؔ (ارمغانِ حجاز)

There should be no talk of Sunnī and Shī'a, of Pīr or Pandit, of Hindu or Muslim. All must unite to work for the common good. The philosophy of the Hindu, the arts and crafts of the Muslim, and the other virtues of both must strive to make the land really the Happy Valley that it should be. The honoured names of Lalitāditya-Muktapiḍa and Avantivarman, and of Shihāb-ud-Dīn and Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, and their grandeur and greatness should inspire the Kashmīrī in order that Kashmīr should become a real paradise for the sons of the soil too, and not for the hurried visitor alone!

CHAPTER XI

KASHMĪR UNDER THE SIKHS

[1819 A.C. TO 1846 A.C.]

We now resume the continuity of consecutive account in the history of Kashmīr left over at the close of Chapter VII, on page 342. Afghān rule was very unfortunate. Brāhmans, Shī'as and the Bambas of the Jhelum valley were not treated properly, at times even in quite an arbitrary manner. A change was therefore longed for. But when it came, it made for a worse condition than they had had; and the Kashmīrīs found themselves out of the frying-pan into the fire. The despotic rule of the Afghāns and the consequent discontent of the people, coupled particularly with the transfer of several Afghān armies from Kashmīr to Kābul to fight Kāmrān, gave Ranjīt Singh his opportunity.

A brief account of the earliest Sikh contact with Kashmir. Also the Sikh Gurus.

In order to know Sikh contact with Kashmīr, we shall briefly refer to the visit of Gurū Nānak to the Valley. Nānak—the contemporary of Martin Luther about the end of the 15th century A.C.—was born in 1469 A.C., in Bahlūl Lodī's time, in Talwandī, re-named by Ranjīt, or according to another tradition, during the days of the *Misls* before Ranjīt, as Nankāna Sāhib, in the Shaikhupura District of the West Punjāb. The Gurū died in Humāyūn's days at, what the Gurū himself called, Srī Kartārpūr, commonly known as Deṛa Bābā Nānak in the Gurdāspur District, East Punjāb, in 1538 A. C.

In 1485 Nānak married Sulakhnī, daughter of Mula, a Khatrī of Pakhokī, in the old Baṭāla Tahsīl of the Gurdāspur District. From his two sons by this marriage—Srī Chand and Lakhmīdās—are sprung, by spiritual descent, the two sects of Udāsīs and Bedīs. Nānak

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NOTE.—(1) Sardār Mohan Singh *Dīwāna*, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., lately University Reader and Head of the Department of Panjābī, Oriental College, Lahore, kindly read this Chapter in 1944.

(2) Sardār Tejā Singh, M.A., Vice-Principal and Professor of History and Sikh Divinity, Khālsa College, Amritsar, now Principal, Khālsa College, Matunga, Bombay, 19, kindly read this Chapter in March, 1948.

seems to have lived a great deal at Pakhokī on the south bank of the river Rāvī, his wife's village, but he died in 1538 at Kartārpur, on the opposite bank of this river, some four miles off, where a small shrine exists. This Kartārpur should not, however, be confused with Kartārpur on the railway line (near Kapūrthala), where also some minor Sikh shrines exist. "It was there (i.e., at Kartārpur on the Rāvī) that the celebrated dispute occurred between his Hindu and Muslim followers as to whether his (Nānak's) body should be burnt or buried, which was solved by the body itself disappearing."[1] Deṛa Nānak, or Deṛa Bābā Nānak is now a town in the Batāla Tahsīl of the Gurdāspur District, on the south bank of the river Rāvī, 22 miles from Gurdāspur town. Nānak's descendants, the Bedīs lived at Pakhokī until the Rāvī washed it away about 1744. They then built a new town further south of the river and called it Deṛa Nānak. The Deṛa has the Udāsī shrine called the Darbār Sāhib.

The anonymous author of the *Dabistān*[2] (see pp. 366-70 of *Kashīr*)—be he Muhsin *Fānī* Kashmīrī, or Zulqadr Khān *alias* Zulfaqār Ardistānī, who met the 6th Gurū, Hargobind, at Kartārpur in 1053 A.H.=1643 A.C., and who was the personal friend of the 7th Gurū, Har Rāi—notes that "a *darvīsh* came to Nānak and subdued his mind in such a manner that he (Nānak) having entered the granary of Daulat Khān Lodī, Ibrāhīm Lodī's Governor of the Punjāb, in whose service Nānak was a grain factor at Sultānpur, gave away the property of Daulat Khān and his own, and abandoned his wife and children. According to Max Arthur Macauliffe,[3] "Gurū Nānak was accompanied by Hassu, a smith, and Sīhān, a calico printer. The party went as far as Srīnagar in Kashmīr, and made many converts." A meeting is recorded to have taken place between the Gurū and Brahm Das, a notable Kashmīrī Pandit, represented as ultimately falling at the feet of the Gurū. The Gurū thereafter went further into the Himālayas. Macauliffe is inclined to accept that Nānak was a fair scholar of Persian, but some Sikhs and Hindus reject this idea.

Gurū Angaḍ, who was responsible for the first biography of Gurū Nānak, written in Gurmukhi characters—the common script of the Sikhs—was installed as his successor by Bābā Nānak. Gurū Amar Dās was the third successor, and the founder of the diocesan *gaddī* or the *manja*, which latter literally means a bedstead. Amar Dās cultivated

1. *Gurdaspur District Gazetteer*, 1914, part A, pp. 16-17.
2. *The Dabistān*, English Translation by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Paris, 1843, Vol. 2, p. 247.
3. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. I, pages 163-169.

friendly relations with Akbar, who visited the Gurū at his own residence in Goindwāl, on the Beās, about 5 or 6 miles from Taran Tāran, in the Amritsar District, and granted him a large estate of twelve villages.[1] Gurū Rām Dās was the fourth Gurū and son-in-law of Gurū Amar Dās. He excavated the tank or rather reconstructed the old village pool for devotional ablution on the large plot of land given to him by Akbar, (or according to another version, this land was acquired in 1577), and called it *Amrit-Sar* 'The Pool of Immortality' in 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada. Gyānī Gyān Singh's *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsa*, first edition, p. 88, says that the Muslim saint, Miyān Mīr of Lāhore, laid the foundation of the temple, Srī Darbār Sāhib, at Amritsar.

Gurū Amar Dās and Gurū Rām Dās do not seem to be specially concerned with Kashmīr. We, therefore, come to the time of the fifth Gurū, Arjun Dev (1581-1606 A.C.) in Akbar's reign. The *gaddī* or the *manja* (the see) henceforth remained in its founder's family. Arjun Dev's *chabūtra* or the dais later became the *Akāl-Takht* or the 'Imperishable Throne' of Gurū Hargovind in 1608. Gurū Arjun Dev was consequently called the *Sachchā Pādshāh* or the 'True King.' Gurū Arjun Dev was a thinker and a poet and compiled the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Macauliffe mentions a Sikh deputation from Srīnagar representing to Gurū Arjun Dev that the Pandits of Kashmīr were advising them to discontinue the reading of his hymns, and to turn their attention to Sanskrit sacred compositions and Hindu worship. The Pandits otherwise threatened to excommunicate them. They, therefore, prayed that the Gurū might send a competent Sikh to Kashmīr to silence the Pandits, and win them over to his own faith. The Gurū accordingly sent Mādho Soḍhī on that important errand. He commissioned Mādho Soḍhī to instruct the Kashmīrīs "to rise before day, perform their ablutions, repeat and sing the Gurū's hymns, associate with holy men, observe the Gurū's anniversaries, distribute sacred food, give a tithe of their earnings to the Sikh cause, share their food with others, speak civilly, live humbly, and adopt the rules and observances of the Sikhs."[2] The Gurū laid aside the garb of a *faqīr*, dressed in costly attire and organized a system of tithing his followers. Gurū Arjun Dev's "support to Prince Khusrav, the rival of Jahāngīr,"

1. *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsa* in Gurmukhī, p. 613. Also *Mukhtasar wa Mukammal Twārīkh Gurū Khālsa* in Urdu, p. 83.
2. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III, pages 66-67.

by "advancing him a considerable sum of money and praying for his success," incurred the displeasure of Jahāngīr who likewise "dismissed to Mecca" Pīr Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn bin 'Abd-ush-Shakūr Balkhī, the Khalīfa of Shaikh Jalāl-ud-Dīn Thānesarī as he also wished well to Khusrav. Moreover, there was some intrigue on the part of Chandū Lāl, finance minister of the Mughul Governor of Lāhore. The Gurū's eldest brother, Prithvī Chand, never forgave him his own supersession in the *Gurūship*. The Gurū consequently disappeared in the Rāvī. Arjun Dev had amicable relations with the famous saint Mīr Muhammad Qādirī Sindī, commonly known as Miyān Mīr, who, according to a Sikh version, interceded with Jahāngīr when he put the sixth Gurū into the prison at Gwāliār.

Gurū Arjun's son and successor, Gurū Hargobind—the contemporary of Mullā Muhsin *Fānī* Kashmīrī—provoked with Shāh Jahān, according to Sir Jadunāth Sarkār,[1] by encroaching on the Emperor's game preserve, and attacking the servants of the imperial hunt. The tendency on the part of Hargobind to relish flesh-eating is confirmed by a contemporary of his in the *Dabistān*, from which we learn that Nānak "prohibited his disciples to drink wine and to eat pork, he himself abstained from eating flesh, and ordered not to hurt any living being. After him, this precept was neglected by his followers; but Arjunmal, one of the substitutes of his faith, as soon as he found that it was wrong, renewed the prohibition to eat flesh, and said: 'This has not been approved by Nānak.' Afterwards Hargobind, son of Arjunmal, eat flesh and went to hunt, and his followers imitated his example" (p. 248).[2] The author of the *Dabistān* saw Gurū Hargobind in 1053 A.H.=1643 A.C. at Kartārpur. There is a tradition that Hargobind was fostered by a Muslim wet-nurse, had entered Mughul service, and quelled the revolt of the Rājā of Nalagarh during the reign of Jahāngīr. Gurū Hargobind died a refugee in the Kashmīr hills in 1645 A.C., where he is stated by a Sikh scholar to have re-converted many Hindus who had gone over to Islam. Then followed the Gurūs in this order: (*i*) Har Rāi, the grandson of Hargobind. Har Rāi was a great friend of the author of the *Dabistān*, who narrates several anecdotes both of Gurū Hargobind and of Har Rāi (Shea & Troyer's English Translation, pp. 282-88).

1. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 245.
2. Sheas Troyer's English Translation of the *Dabistān*.

(*ii*) Harkishan superseded his elder brother Rām Rāi who complained to the Emperor against Harkishan. In the meantime, Harkishan died of small-pox. During this time, Sikh activity spread a network of organizations as far as Patna and even Dacca, and its influence is said to have travelled down south to Ceylon. (*iii*) Tegh Bahādur, the youngest son of Hargobind. He was, according to one version, decapitated in 1675 A.C., by orders of the Mughul Government on account of his own elder brother Gurditta's representation that "the Gurū was capable of exciting a rebellion"[1] against the Emperor's authority. As Tegh Bahādur's installation led to dissensions among the Sikhs, he was obliged to seek refuge in the Jaswān Dūn (*Dūn* meaning a valley) beyond the Siwālik hills, and there, in 1665, on his return from Bengāl, he founded Ānandpur[2] Makhkhowāl (at some distance from Rupar), the site of which was purchased from the rājā of Bilāspur. But the fact is that Gurū Tegh Bahādur, according to Sohan Lal's '*Umdat-ut-Tawārīkh*, challenged any swordsman to cut off his head while he had a paper (charm) written by himself on his neck, when a swordsman took up the challenge and cut off the Gurū's head. (*iv*) Lastly, the tenth of the line, was Gurū Gobind Singh, Tegh Bahādur's son, born at Patna in 1666, Tegh Bahādur being engaged in fighting in the Assam war under Rām Singh of Āmber. Gobind Singh was installed at Ānandpur. He "abolished the personal Gurūship" or the apostolic succession. Instead he set up the Khālsa, as it were, the federative commonwealth of the Sikhs. Gurū Gobind Singh gave to the Sikhs, collectively, the name of the *Khālsa, i.e.*, 'Pure.' *Khālisa* is a Persian word signifying ownership by the highest power in the land, but the spelling of the same word adopted by the Sikhs is *Khālsa*. It was applied by them to the entire community as belonging to God, whence 'the chosen or elect of God.' And this subsequently gave rise to the slogan that the Sikhs were born to rule—*Rāj karegā Khālsa.*

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1. *The Zafar-nāma-i-Ranjīt Singh* of Kanhaiyā Lāl, English translation by E. Rehatsek.—*The Indian Antiquary*, October 1887, page 306.

2. Ānandpur.—Gurū Gobind Singh bought a piece of land from Rājā Bhīm Chand of Kahlur, and established himself in the village of Makhkhowāl which later developed into the town of Ānandpur.* It appears that the actual spot of the residence of the Gurū was given the name of Ānandpur by himself, which later covered Makhkhowāl itself.—*Pp. 56, 70, 71, *Evolution of the Khalsa* by Dr. Indubhusan Banerjee, M. A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History, Calcutta University, Vol. II, June 1947.

The mode of salutation introduced was *Wāh Gurūjī kā Khālsa, Wāh Gurūjī kī Fateh* (correctly Fath) : The Lord's is the Khālsa, the Lord's be the Victory. The adoption of distinctive symbols like (*i*) the *Kēs* (long hair), (*ii*) the *Kangah* (a comb), (*iii*) the *Kirpān* (a dagger), (*iv*) the *Kachch* (short drawers), and (*v*) the *Kaṛa* (a steel bracelet) by the Sikhs is also due to Gurū Gobind Singh. Gurū Gobind Singh was stabbed in 1708 A.C. by Gul Khān whose father he had killed.[1] "The Gurū had purchased horses from this Pathān (Gul Khān's father) and had not paid him."[2] Gurū Gobind Singh lies buried at Nānded, originally known as Nau Nand Dehṛā, or the dwelling of nine Rikhīs in prehistoric times, but called by the Sikhs Abchalanagar, in the Deccan, where the Mughul Emperor Bahādur Shāh had appointed him to a military command. The land was given by Bahādur Shāh on which the Gurū's shrine was raised. Bahādur Shāh also sent his surgeon to attend to the Gurū's injuries and the Gurū recovered. But one day while bending a bow the wound burst open. Blood flowed copiously and the Gurū breathed his last. The Nizām of Hydarābād has made an endowment for the upkeep of Gurū Gobind Singh's mausoleum (originally built partly by Ranjīt Singh's money in 1832) at Nānded by the grant of five villages in addition to the salary of the Granthī, or the expounder of the Granth Sāhib.

Educated Sikhs and others often mention the help given in a very critical moment of his life to Gurū Gobind Singh by Sayyid Badr-ud-Dīn Qādirī Jīlānī, commonly known as Buddhu Shāh of Sāḍhaura (supposed to be the corrupted form of Sādhū-wāṛa or the resort of Sādhūs) in the Ambāla district of the East Punjāb, which formed a link of affectionate friendship between the two. But it is said that the Gurū's successor, Banda, slaughtered the family of the Sayyid, looted the locality, and burnt the bones of Buddhu Shāh's great ancestors, Ganj-i-'Ilm and Qutb-ul-Aqtāb.

In a booklet published in 1932 by the Punjāb University Sikh Association, Dr. Mohan Singh *Dīwāna* has dwelt on the beauties of the poetry of Gurū Gobind Singh and has mentioned eleven works on ten different themes like God, Nature, Man, Love, Music, Painting, etc.

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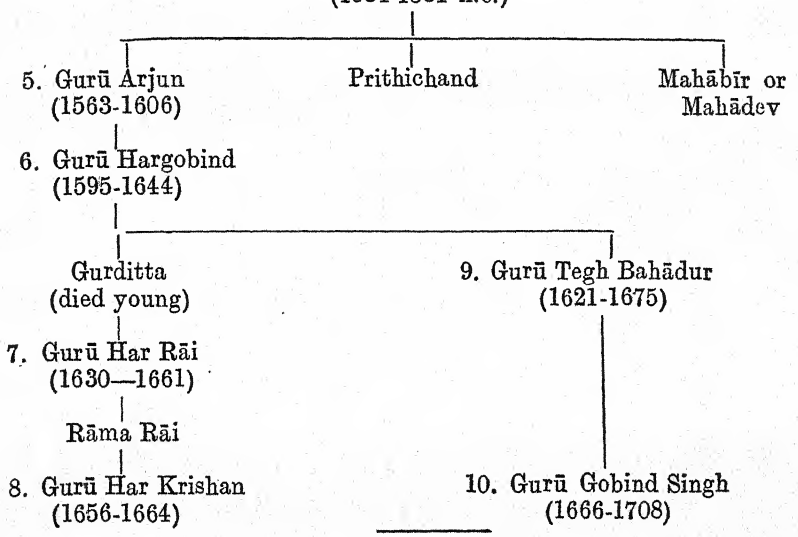
1. For another version, see Senāpatī's *Gūr Sobhā*, p. xviii, 8,37.
2. C. J. Rodgers—*On the Coins of the Sikhs.*—*J.A.S.B.*, Calcutta, 881, Vol. L, page 76.

The lineal order of the Sikh Gurus

Gurū Rām Dās (1534-1581 A.C.), the fourth Gurū, was the son-in-law of the third Gurū, Amar Dās, having married his daughter Bhānī. Gurū Amar Dās had succeeded, in 1552, Gurū Angaḍ (1504-1552), the second Gurū after Bābā Nānak, the founder of Sikhism. Bābā Nānak, Gurū Angaḍ and Gurū Rāmdās had no blood relationship among themselves.

Gurū Rām Dās, the son-in-law of the third Gurū, Amar Dās, was the fourth Gurū of the Sikhs.
(1534-1581 A.C.)



Lachhman Dās, best known as Banda Bairāgī, was a Sāsan* Brāhman, son of Sukh Rām and Sulakhanī. The family had originally migrated from Ayodhia to Rāwalpindī, and then moved down to Menḍhar, a tahsīl of Pūnch, where in the village Golad, Lachhman Dās was born in 1670 A.C. He took service for some time as a *shikārī* under a Muslim chief, and on the death of his mother, repented on killing a pregnant doe, left his native land, and settled on the bank of the river Godāvarī in the Deccan as a *Sādhu*. Gurū Gobind Singh baptized the Brāhman Lachhman Dās who bowed and called himself *Banda*, or the Gurū's slave. The Gurū gave him the name

*Giyānī Budh Singh of Pūnch, the author of *Chhōnwen Ratlan*, supplied this information when I met him in Pūnch. But Mr. Gandā Singh, M.A., Research Scholar in Sikh History, Khālsa College, Amritsar, in his book *Life of Banda Singh Bahādur*, 1935, Amritsar, says that Banda was a Rājpūt, and gives different names of Banda's parents.

of Gurbakhsh Singh and appointed him the temporal leader of the Sikhs. On account of "open rebellion against Government" Banda was captured and executed in 1716 A.C. After Banda vicissitudes were experienced by Sikhs when the Khālsa was divided into twelve *misls* and continued so till the rise of Ranjīt Singh.

The early Gurūs won the reverence of the Mughul emperors by their saintly peaceful lives, writes the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. IV, p. 244). "But their successors aspired to a temporal domination for themselves, and made military discipline take the place of moral self-reform and spiritual growth." The followers of the Gurūs, however, may not accept the truth of this statement.

The Granth Sahib.—The sacred book of the Sikhs is the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The word *grantha* is Sanskrit, meaning a book, treatise, code or section. From *grantha* is accordingly derived *Granthī*, an expounder of the Sikh scriptures, a reader or custodian of the Granth. The Granth Sāhib contains (i) the compositions of six out of the ten Gurūs, *viz.*, Gurū Nānak, Gurū Angaḍ, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjun, Gurū Tegh Bahādur, (ii) a couplet of Gurū Gobind Singh, (iii) eulogistic characterizations by eleven bards of the Gurūs whom they admired, and (iv) hymns of fifteen medieval Indian saints called *Bhagats*. The word *Bhagat* is derived from the Sanskrit *Bhaktī* which means devotion, love, etc. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is also called the *Ādī Granth* or 'Original Book.' The *Dasam Pādshahā dā Granth* (abbreviated to *Dasam Granth*) or Book of the Tenth Reign, *i.e.*, of the 10th Gurū, Gobind Singh, consists of—(1) Hymns in praise of God, (2) the *Vachhitra Nātak*, the wonderful drama, which is Gurū Gobind Singh's autobiography, and (3) miscellaneous compositions by Hindi poets whom Gurū Gobind Singh kept in his service. But this *Dasam Granth*, compiled several decades after the death of the tenth Gurū, is however no part of the Sikh Scripture, which is the exclusive domain of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. It was, however, Gurū Gobind Singh who finalized the compilation of the Granth Sāhib in 1705 at Talwandī Sābo, now called Damdama Sāhib in the Patiāla State of the East Punjāb, by including his father's compositions and making a few other changes.

Kabīr, Farīd, Bhīkan and others' contributions to the Granth Sāhib.

The Ādī Granth was written out by Bhāī Gurdās at the dictation of Gurū Arjun, and, after much arduous labour, it was completed in 1604 A.C. Gurū Arjun selected for inclusion in the Granth the writings of fifteen Hindus like Nāmadev (1270-1350 A.C.), Rāmanānd (1300-1411 A.C.), Rav Dās (*d.* 1415), Sūrdās (*c.* 16-17th century), etc., and Muslims like Kabīr, Farīd and Bhīkan. Mardāna *rabābī* (or bard) is also added. Kabīr is well-known. So is Farīd. But Farīd whose contributions are given in the Granth Sāhib—and sometimes commented on by Bābā Nānak—is not the Farīd-ud-Dīn Mas'ūd (A.H.

569=A.C. 1173 to A.H. 664 =A.C. 1265) well-known as Ganj-i-Shakar of Pāk-pattan, District Multān, West Punjāb, but Shaikh Ibrāhīm, the tenth lineal descendant of the great Farīd and called Farīd-i-Sānī, or 'the Second' on account of his piety. Shaikh Ibrāhīm is called by the Sikhs *Brāhm*, the shortened Punjābī way of pronouncing Ibrāhīm. Shaikh Ibrāhīm died in A.H. 960=A.C. 1552. It appears that Bābā Nānak met Shaikh Ibrāhīm Farīd-i Sanī in his lifetime, but that the influence of Shakar Ganj is clearly visible to those who study the Granth closely. Shaikh Bhīkan probably belonged to Kākaurī, near Lucknow, and was learned and pious. He died in A.H. 981=A.C. 1573-4.

As conflicting theories are advanced from time to time about Kabīr, it may be stated here that Kabīr was born a Muslim. He was buried, as a Muslim, at Maghar, 15 miles from Gorakhpur, U. P., where his tomb was built by Bijlī Khān, an admirer of Kabīr. There is no justificaton, as Dr. Mohan Singh points out, for the suffix *Dās* after Kabīr, as Kabīr is one of the well-known ninety-nine holy names of God mentioned mostly in the Qur'ān and referred to in the Hadīs. Kabīr's two sons are Kamāl and Nihāl. His two daughters are Kamālī and Nihālī. (*Kabīr and the Bahktī Movement*, Vol. 1, *Kābīr—His Biography* by Dr. Mohan Singh *Dīwāna*, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Lāhore, 1934, pp. 40, 43). Kabīr lived in the time of Sikandar Lodī, according to Abu'l Fazl's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*. He was the *Khalīfa* of Shaikh Taqī Suhrawardī and later of Shaikh Bhīka Chishtī, and was the pupil of Rāmānand in Hindi poetry and Vedānta.

The Arrangement of the Granth Sāhib.

The hymns of the Gurūs and the Bhagats are not arranged in the Granth Sāhib according to their authors, but according to the thirty-one *rāgs* or musical measures, to which they are composed. The Ādī Granth contains 3,384 hymns, or considerably more than three times the bulk of the Rig Veda. It contains 15,575 'stanzas.' It is divisible into three parts, the first of which is liturgical, the second contains the general body of the hymns, and the third part is supplementary, consisting of hetrogeneous matter which could not well be included in the former portions. The entire Granth usually forms a large volume of about 1430 pages. The first nine Gurūs adopted the name Nānak as their *nom-de-plume* since the Gurūs are regarded, by the Sikhs, as only one person, the light of the first Gurū's soul having been transmitted to each of his successors in turn. "One in ten and ten in one" is the pet theory of the Sikhs.[1]

The Language of the Granth Sāhib.

Written in Gurmukhi without separation of words, in various dialects and even partly in Persian, its earliest manuscript is believed to be preserved at Kartārpur. "It still awaits definitive exegesis. Its difficulties of interpretation have hindered Sikh progress and expansion."[2] Nāmadeva, for instance, wrote "in an old

1. *The Sikh Studies* by Sardūl Singh Caveeshar, Lāhore, 1937, p. 69.
2. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, 1929, Vol. 10, p. 642.

form of Marathi" though his Hindi verses alone are included in the Granth. Rāmanada wrote in old Hindi. The contribution of Gurū Tegh Bahādur is in pure Hindi.

The alphabet of Gurmukhi is derived, according to Sir George Grierson,[1] from the Çārada, through the Tākṛi[2] alphabet of the Punjāb hills, and the Landa (or Clipped) of the Punjāb. It is said that in the time of Gurū Angaḍ, Landa was the only alphabet employed in the Punjāb for writing the vernacular. When Angaḍ found that Sikh hymns written in Landa were liable to be misread, he improved it by borrowing signs from the Devanāgri alphabet (then only used for Sanskrit manuscripts) and also by polishing up the forms of the letters.[3] Thus improved, this character became known as Gurmukhi, or the alphabet proceeding from the *mukh*, or mouth, of the Gurū. Recent researches by certain Sikh scholars, however, endeavour to show that Gurmukhi existed before Gurū Angaḍ, and is believed to have been so designed by Gurū Nānak himself.

The cardinal principle of the contributions of the Gurūs and Bhagats in the Granth is the unity of God. According to Dr. Mohan Singh *Dīwāna*[4] "the most marked feature of Nānak's content, form and style is their comprehensiveness. All the major forms of verse and types of poetry and *rāgs* of folk-music are employed. Nānak's poetry is an unending evocation by personal contacts with men from all places and creeds and social levels, and is marked by simplicity, directness, humility and a choice blending of all attitudes of the individual soul towards the All-Soul."

A brief outline of the rise of Ranjit Singh till the end of his dynasty.

Originally the Sikhs were a peaceful sect of altruistic views. The word *Sikh* or *Sikha* is Panjābī, and is derived from Sanskrit *Çishya*, meaning a disciple. The Sikhs were transformed into a military theocracy under Gurū Gobind Singh, the tenth and last of the Gurūs, towards the end of the 17th century. The greatest number which the Gurū is said to have engaged in a single battle was about 8,000 men, horse and foot. Gurū Gobind Singh employed about 500 Pathāns who formed a part of his cavalry. The Gurū's army came to be known, later on, as

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, page 677.
2. Tākṛī is derived for Takkas, a tribe whose capital was at Siālkot, Punjāb.
3. *Evolution of the Khalsa* by Indubhusan Banerji, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, Vol. 1, 1936, p. 156.
4. *A History of Panjabi Literature* (1100-1932), First Edition, pp. 31-32.

Ḍal-Khālsa. Gurū Gobind Singh changed the name of his followers from *Sikhs* or disciples to *Singhs* or lions. He it was who instituted the *Gurū-mata* or the 'the collective sense or deliberation of the community,' (abolished by Ranjīt Singh in 1809), and established the *Akālīs* or 'Immortals.' He also endeavoured to separate the Sikhs from the mass of Hindus. The final compilation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib is his too, as already noted.

Speaking about the development of the Sikhs half a century later, Mr. Garrett[1] says that though the Sikhs were strong, they were not united, for they were divided into *misls* or clans like the Highlanders of Scotland.

[*The Misl*—" The *Misl* was an organization the members of which were bound to one another by communal ties ; although, later on, the influence of locality, in which the leader centred his activities, transformed it for all practical purposes into a small state. The large number of separate principalities, thus formed, covered most of the land situated between the Indus and the Jamuna. The *Misls* greatly varied in size and resources. Some of them were, in fact, no more than a party of armed band, who depended for its maintenance on the support of some larger *Misl*, and thus cannot be regarded as an independent organization.....The more important *Misls* at this time were twelve in number."—*The Panjab as a Sovereign State* by Dr. G. L. Chopra, Lāhore, 1928, p. 2.]

These *misls* were bitterly jealous of one another. The *misl* of Charat Singh, the grandfather of Ranjīt Singh, was one of the least considerable. Ranjīt's father was Mahān Singh. He was a brave predatory chief, active and enterprising. He had acquired a great reputation by early feats in arms, and drawn many a Sardār to his standard. But he died in 1792 at the early age of twenty-seven. He left, in the words of the Hon. W. G. Osborne,[2] Military Secretary to Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India and also his nephew, "a high character for bravery, activity, and prudence." Ranjīt, his only son, was then twelve years old, having been born on 2nd November, 1780. Little care had been bestowed on the education of Ranjīt " whose early years were spent in following the sports of the field, and who had never been taught to read or write in any language." At seventeen Ranjīt assumed

1. The late Mr. H.L.O. Garrett, C.I.E., *The Asiatic Review*, London, October 1941, page 786.

2. *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*, London, 1840, page xxiii.

the conduct of affairs. It was the genius of Ranjīt Singh that forged the Khālsa into one sovereign state. His authority may be said to have commenced in 1799, when he occupied Lāhore, after having been invested with a written authority by Zamān Shāh of Kābul, the Punjāb being then a part of the Afghān dominions. In 1802, Ranjīt Singh occupied Amritsar, and rapidly extended his authority over Multān, Kashmīr and Peshāwar well before his death on 27th June, 1839 A.C., at the age of 59, after a reign of forty years.

Ranjit Singh's Ancestors and Descendants

Daisu or Budhu*——a Jāt of the Sānsī tribe living in Sukr (originally Shakūr) Chak a village in the present Gujrānwāla distt. of West Punjāb, Pākistān.

Nodh——became Sikh. Died in 1750.

Charat Singh——died in 1771 by the bursting of a matchlock in the battle of Sahawārah.

Mahān Singh——10 years old at his father's sudden death. Was looked after by his mother, Māi Desan, till Mahān Singh came of age.

Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh—born on Nov. 2, 1780, died on June 27, 1839, had eight sons. Three are important for purposes of our narrative.

Mahārājā Kharak Singh	Mahārājā Sher Singh	Mahārājā Dalīp Singh
b. 1802	b. 1807	b. 1837 in Lāhore
d. 1840	d. 1843	d. 1893 in Paris
ruled 1839-40	ruled 1841-43	
Kanwar Nau-nihāl Singh	Governor of Kashmīr from 1832 to 1834—two years and two months.	Prince Victor Dalīp Singh.
b. 1821	Pratāb Singh murdered when 12 years of age	
d. 1840		

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* Foreign and Political Department Miscellaneous Volume No. 206, pages 45-9, for the Genealogical tree from Daisu to Ranjīt.—Reproduced in 'Abdul 'Alī's *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, 1925, page 8.

Ranjīt Singh had suffered during his infancy from small-pox, which destroyed the sight of his left eye. He was far from being handsome, but his keen and restless eye had a peculiar lustre. In dress he was simple and unostentatious, in manner he was pleasing and courteous, in conversation attractive and communicative. He had an extremely inquisitive nature which enabled him to extend his information, and compensated for his inability to read books for himself. He enjoyed life and he enjoyed wine and women, perhaps because he was brought under the influence of a "dissolute zanāna." The romantic reference, in this respect, is provided by the infatuation for the Musalmān mistress, Morān, which led to Ranjīt's open rides with her upon an elephant, and to the coinage of *Morān Shāhī* rupees. It is, indeed, a coincidence that he and his father killed their mothers for misconduct.[1] Despite his notorious greed for money, Colonel Lawrence[2] found that Ranjīt Singh gave away annually 12 lakhs in charity.

Sidelights on Ranjīt Singh.

Some noteworthy anecdotes about Ranjīt Singh are related by Baron Schönberg. "An English gentleman once asked Ranjeet Singh, who was the Maharaja's vizier." "Myself," answered Ranjeet. "And who is Rajah?" inquired the stranger. "Guru Nanak," was the answer. (*Travels*, page 64).

"Ranjeet Singh was often in want of money; and the means with which his inventive spirit contrived to fill his coffers, were not always the most innocent" (page 64). A story is related of the adoption of a beautiful child when *nazrānas* brought Ranjīt Singh considerable money from his courtiers. The child was returned to his parents after the *nazrānas* were collected (pages 64-65).

"Once when Ranjeet Singh was badly off for money, he was lying upon a bed in his chamber. There was no one present but his two sons Karak (Khaṛak) Singh and Scheer (Sher) Singh. They were employed in rubbing his limbs, as he was paralysed.

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1. Dr. Gulshan Lāl Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 198, footnote.
2. *Punjab Government Records, 1847-48*, p. 372.

"My sons," said the rajah "you are exerting yourselves to procure me comfort, but if you would really console me, give me money; the want of that is the sole source of my maladies." Upon this, "Karak Singh went and brought his father all his jewels, but Ranjeet Singh shook his head and said, I do not wish for jewels, it is money I want." Karak retired, and brought his father one hundred and fifty rupees. Thereupon the father was very glad, and turning to Scheer Singh said: "Have you nothing to offer your father?" And Scheer Singh replied: "It has ever been my constant prayer to God that my father might never want anything of me, but that I might rather ask of him." This anecdote was related by Scheer Singh himself, who thought that the answer was very witty. He was very much praised for his presence of mind even by Ranjeet Singh himself (page 69).

"Munschi Uttumjin related how once on a march, Runjeet Singh found himself greatly perplexed; all his opium was consumed. Uttumjin happened to say, in the hearing of Runjeet Singh, that he was sure that his uncle who was fond of opium had some about him, and that if the Maharajah would have no objection to use it, he only waited his commands to fetch the drug.

"The rajah asked if the opium were good, and being satisfied on this point, accepted it. On the following day he sent an order for one thousand rupees to Uttumjin (page 70).

"With six millions sterling in his treasury at Amritsar, such is his love of money, that he will risk the loss of his kingdom rather than open his hoards, and disgusts his people and army by this ill-timed and cruel parsimony at a time too when his most bitter enemies, Dost Muhammad Khan and the Afghans, are only watching for the first favourable opportunity to attempt his destruction," wrote Osborne (page 84). Several of his European officers complained to Osborne that they were "both badly and irregularly paid" (page 151).

The last days of Ranjīt Singh.

After feasting with Lord Auckland in 1838, and in the course of his sleep one night in Lāhore, Ranjīt Singh

was "suddenly attacked by a fit of the disease called *laqwa*" (distortion of the mouth and convulsions or rather paralysis). The disease which lasted several months, having first appeared in 1834, had now so enfeebled Ranjīt Singh that "only a spark of life remained in his body. His complexion was changed to yellow. His tongue had become mute. His once powerful strength had so vanished that he was unable to turn from one side to the other. He had no appetite. His body was emaciated. The *laqwa* afflicted him with intense pain, and paralysis deprived him of motion. His court physicians, 'Ināyat Shāh, Nūr-ud-Dīn, and 'Azīz-ud-Dīn tried their best to cure him, as well as other medical men from the Punjāb, from Multān and from Kashmīr, but all to no purpose. When a celebrated English doctor, whom the Governor-General had sent, arrived, the Mahārājā absolutely refused to be treated by him. He continued, however, to swallow the medicines of his own physicians, who administered to him oranges, which augmented his jaundice, sandal, which increased his headache, and almonds, which intensified his thirst, whilst musk and ambergris produced fainting. Exhilarant drugs made the heart palpitate, and strengthening potions caused a restless liver!

"Seeing his end close at hand, the Mahārājā now summoned his heir apparent to his bedside, and, appointing him his successor, surrendered the government to him, and made Dhyān Singh his vazīr. After that, great numbers of courtiers and servants were admitted. Alms were distributed. These were bestowed not only upon persons connected with the service of the court, but included also the poor of the town, and even of the place where Nānak had first seen the light of day (Nankāna Sāhib), and of another where the remains of the founder of the Sikh religion had found their last resting place" (Sri Kartārpur, so called by Gurū Nānak himself, and the Gurdawāra perpetuates that name, but the town is known as Ḍerā Bābā Nānak in the Gurdāspur district). After having thus given away twenty-five lakhs of rupees in alms, Ranjīt Singh "desired to crown his beneficence by bestowing the priceless diamond Kūh-i-Nūr as a gift upon the temple of Rām Dās at Amritsar. But his heir apparent absolutely efused to permit such prodigality. The condition of the Mahārājā now became worse. His mind began to wander. His fainting fits became more frequent, his breathing more difficult, and he sometimes closed his eyes

and sometimes wept bitterly." According to another account, the Kūh-i-Nūr was directed by Ranjīt Singh to be sent to the temple of Jagannāth Purī, but Misr Belī Rām, in charge of the treasury, objected to its delivery on the ground of its being state property.

"When the heir-apparent saw that the last moment had approached, he spread out a carpet of Indian *kimkhāb* (or gold cloth) and of Chinese brocade with ten lakhs of rupees for alms, and made other arrangements necessary for the impending death-scene. Resting upon this carpet the Mahārājā expired. The whole of the Punjāb went into mourning. Lamentations resounded in the palace. Some persons wept aloud, some silently, others struck their breast, and Dhyān Singh, the vazīr of the deceased Mahārājā, desired to be immolated on the funeral pyre with the body of his master, but was dissuaded by the other courtiers. The ladies Harvī and Rājvī, with other handmaids of Ranjīt Singh, also prepared for the last journey and expressed willingness to be immolated: The successor caused immediately a golden bier to be prepared in the form of a litter upon which the corpse was placed amidst wailings, and carried from the fort by the army and the population, to which last the nobles distributed money.

"When the funeral procession reached the burning ground, the corpse was placed upon a pyre of sandal-wood. The faithful Rānīs were allowed to stand beside it. And the heir apparent approached it and set fire to it with his own hands. When the flames shot upwards to the sky, a general shout of lamentation shook the earth. Shortly afterwards an abundant shower of rain fell. The ashes were collected. The remaining ceremonies were performed, and all was over. Thus Ranjīt Singh died in Samvat 1896 (A.C. 1839) after a reign of forty years. His burnt bones were by order of the heir apparent conveyed to the banks of the Ganges, and he ordered a grand mausoleum to be built over them, but did not live to see it completed. Mahārājā Sher Singh endeavoured to do so, but it was not finished when he died. Disturbances having arisen in the Punjāb, the building was altogether neglected. The British Government, however, annexed the country and finished the edifice, which then remained in good condition during a number of years. At last, however, the eight columns which had to support a heavy cupola, began to give way and to break.

The author (Kanhaiyā Lāl) of this work (*The Zarfar-nāma-i-Ranjīt Singh*) added, by order of the Government, eight columns more, making the total number sixteen, and strengthened them with iron hoops, so as to insure their stability for a long time to come."[1]

Ranjīt's death evoked the following passages so well put in fine Persian by Dīwān Kirpā Rām in his *Gulāb-nāma* (p. 758) and Mīrzā Mahdī *Mujrim* Kashmīrī (see pp. 479-80 of *Kashīr*) :

چوں مزاجِ وہاج رافع سریرِ خلافت و ناصبِ لوائے ریاست ..... آب بخشِ پنجاب جہانبانی مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ صاحب جنّت آشیانی از مرکزِ اعتدال انحراف یافتہ بود آخر کار پانزدہم ماہِ ہاڑ سمت ۱۸۹۶ روزِ پنجشنبہ عالمِ بے وفا را پدرود کردند و سفرِ ملکِ مقدّس در پیش شد۔

نظم

چوں رفت زعالم آں یگانہ — آبستنِ فتنہ شد زمانہ
آشوبِ قیامت از جہاں خاست — شیون زمین و آسماں خاست
غم سوخت دروں یگاں یگاں را — ماتم کدہ شد جہاں جہاں را
ناسازیٔ سازِ عالم این است — ہنگامۂ سوز و ماتم این است
ہر چند مقام دلپذیر است — زیں مرحلہ کوچ ناگزیر است

از "گلاب نامہ" دیوان کرپا رام صفحات ۲۰۹-۲۱۰

دریغا کہ کاوسِ فیروز بخت — کشید از سرِ تخت بر تختہ رخت
سرِ سروراں شاہِ رنجیت سنگھ — کہ زیں بست بر پشت ایں سبز جنگ
نظر بر غریبانِ محتاج کرد — بہ یک لحظہ صد گنج تاراج کرد

میرزا مہدی مجرم

It has been truly remarked[2] that Ranjīt Singh inherited

1. E. Rehatsek's English translation, *The Indian Antiquary*, March 1888, pp. 83-4.
2. Jagmohan Lāl Mahājan, M.A., the *Calcutta Review*, June 1945, Vol. 95, No. 3, page 89.

mutiny and created discipline, found chaos and produced order, and succeeded by the sustained effort of a lifetime in carving out a compact kingdom for himself. But his achievement, though remarkable was personal and consequently ephemeral.

"Runjeet Sing is dead . . . . . and died as like the old Lion as he had lived," wrote Osborne[1] on July 12, 1839, 15 days after the actual demise. It appears from the records that "to avoid the sudden effect on his troops and the population, the news of the Maharaja's death was at first attempted to be kept secret."[2] Adds Osborne: "He preserved his senses to the last and was obeyed to the last by all his chiefs, though he tried them high . . . . . two hours before he died he sent for all his jewels, and gave the famous diamond, called the "Mountain of Light," said to be the largest in the world, to a Hindoo temple, his celebrated string of pearls to another, and his favourite fine horses, with all their jewelled trappings, worth £300,000, to a third. His four wives, all very handsome, burnt themselves with his body, as did five of his Cachmerian slave girls, one of whom, who was called the Lotus, or Lily, I often saw last year in my first visit to Lahore. Everything was done to prevent it, but in vain" (page 224). "The Ranis, Kunwar Kharak Singh, the Maharaja's son, Raja Dhyan Singh, the Maharaja's Prime Minister, Jamadar Khushhal Singh and others raised their cries and lamentations, tearing their hair, casting earth on their heads, throwing themselves on the ground, and striking their heads against bricks and stones. This continued during the night by the side of the corpse."[3]

After the obsequies of Ranjīt Singh, his son, Kharak Singh, born early in 1801 of Rānī Dātār Kaur *alias* Rāj Kaur, ascended the *gaddī*. Besides being a blockhead, Kharak Singh "was a worse opium-eater than his father," writes Dr. John Martin Honigberger,[4] the

1. *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*, pages 223-4.
2. Sec. O. C. 4th December 1839, No. 78,—*Notes on the Life and Times of Ranjit Singh* by A. F. M. 'Abdul 'Alī, M.A., Indian Historical Records Commission, 8th Session, Lāhore, page 45.
3. *Ibid.*, pages 46-47.
4. *Thirty-five Years in the East*—By John Martin Honigberger, late Physician to the Court of Lahore. Publisher—H. Bailliere, London, 1852. Two volumes in one. See *Kashīr*, p. 786, *footnote*, on Dr. Honigberger.

Transylvanian physician to the court at Lāhore. Rājā Dhyān Singh was the *Vazīr* of Mahārājā Khaṛak Singh. According to one statement,[1] Dhyān Singh, despite "his professions of loyalty, secretly conspired to subvert Sikh power in the Punjab by establishing his brothers' control over hill-territories," and even "grabbing the crown of Ranjit for his own son, Hira Singh." This is how "many murders were brought about directly or indirectly by the Dogra brothers Dhyan Singh and Gulab Singh."[2] "Twice a day he (Khaṛak Singh) deprived himself of his senses and passed his whole time in a state of stupefaction. It was quite natural that the government could not long remain in the hands of an individual. His guardian or tutor and factotum, Sirdar Chet Singh being desirous to become an independent minister, was a rival of Dhyan Sing and was contriving to remove him . . . . . Chet Sing and all his relations were destroyed . . . . . After the murder of Chet Sing the royal prince No-Nehal, Kurruk Sing's only son, took possession of the government and ordered his father to retire to his private house in the city where he soon became indisposed. A few months afterwards he followed his father, Runjeet Sing to the funeral pile" (pages 101-102).

On Ranjīt's death the Sikh power in the Punjāb was at its zenith and then "exploded disappearing in fierce but fading flames." There is a cloud of mystery over how Ranjīt disposed of his mother, Māī Malwain. Ranjīt had eight sons, Khaṛak was the eldest, Sher Singh the third, and Dalīp Singh the eighth.

"Although Maharaja Ranjīt Singh is no more, and lives in the memory of his people, and in the songs of the youths and maidens" of the Sikhs as a maker of the Punjāb, a great hero, and the 'Monocular Lion of the Land of Five Rivers,' Ranjīt's greatness lay in considering himself "the servant of the Panth."[3] He was delighted to be known as *Singh Sāhib* in preference to *Mahārājā Sāhib*. "Ranjīt Singh was a man of marvellous variety and range of mental power,"

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1. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*—First Death Centenary Memorial, Amritsar, 1939, page 247.

2. Sardār Gaṇḍā Singh, M.A., in *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, edited by Tejā Singh and Gaṇḍā Singh, Khālsa College, Amritsar, 1939, p. 45.

3. *The Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh Centenary Volume*, the City Book House, Meston Road, Cawnpore, October 1940, p. 10.

truly remarks the late Dr. Shafā'at Ahmad Khān, "and the secret of his success lay in his sympathy with the most diverse forms of life."

On the very day of Kharak Singh's death, Prince Nau-nihāl Singh, Kharak's son, was crushed to death by the fall of "a piece of the wall." "There is more reason to suppose," says Dr. Honigberger, "that the partisans of Kurruck Sing and Chet Sing were the authors of this plot against the prince." Rānī Chand Kaur, mother of Nau-nihāl Singh, attempted the life of Sher Singh, Ranjīt's reputed son, but Chand Kaur's slave-girls "crushed the head of their mistress with a brick while she was enjoying her siesta" (p. 105). Sher Singh succeeded Nau-nihāl Singh. Rājā Dhyān Singh's eldest son, Hīra Singh, and his own elder brother Rājā Gulāb Singh belonged to the faction of Rānī Chand Kaur.

By Dhyān Singh and Suchēt Singh's mediation, Gulāb Singh and Hīrā Singh were, however, reconciled with Mahārājā Sher Singh. But before this took place, Gulāb Singh, Hīrā Singh and Rānī Chand Kaur had been besieged in the fortress by Sher Singh's soldiers. They were subsequently released. The Rānī left the fortress in the darkness of the night. "Golab Sing was during five days," says Honigberger, "in possession of the fortress, where the treasury happened to be" (page 106).

Sher Singh "addicted himself to immoderate drinking and indulged especially in champagne." While reviewing troops, Sher Singh was shot, on 15th September 1843, by Ajīt Singh Sandhanwālia, of Rājā-Sānsī in the Amritsar district, whose family was related to Ranjīt Singh and belonged to Rānī Chand Kaur's party. "I was by accident not farther than ten steps from the place," says Honigberger, "where the horrid crime was committed." While this crime was perpetrated by Ajīt Singh Sandhanwālia, Lehna Singh his uncle, murdered, in a garden in the neighbourhood, the royal prince Partāb Singh, the son of Mahārājā Sher Singh, then a boy of twelve years of age. "This innocent victim of party fury," continues Honigberger, "was cruelly cut into pieces with sabres at the moment when he was occupied with his Brahmins in prayers and giving alms to the poor, for it was a Sancrat day" (page 108). Rājā Dhyān Singh, the prime minister, was also shot down the same day. "With the body of Dhyan Singh thirteen

wives and female slaves were burnt" (page 109). Rājā Suchēt Singh was also killed.

During Sher Singh's time, there were about twenty Europeans, for the most part French and English officers, in the service of the Lāhore Government. They were later dismissed one after another, not on economical grounds, but, says Honigberger, because of "religious fanaticism" (page 111).

Ranjīt Singh's youngest son, Dalīp Singh, was placed on the throne. Hīrā Singh, the son of Dhyān Singh, became Dalīp's *Vazīr*. But his own uncle Suchēt Singh was his enemy, and Hīrā Singh was accordingly killed near Shāhdara on 21st December, 1844. Certain intrigues resulted in the First Sikh War in December, 1845-February, 1846, in which the Sikhs were defeated.

"To enfeeble the country," (*viz.*, the Punjāb), says Dr. Honigberger, "it was divided into three parts; one was left to the Sikhs, the second was annexed to the English possessions, and the third, Cashmere, comprising a part of the mountains, was appointed to Gholab Sing as a reward for the services he had rendered, and also in consideration of a large sum of money he had delivered over to the conquerors. He was promoted to the title of Maharajah of Cashmere, which was made independent of Lahore, but under English protection. Dulleep Sing, after having paid the expenses of the war, remained the ruler of Lahore, and Lall Sing was appointed his wuzeer. Sir H. Lawrence was appointed by the English as Resident, into whose hands the reins of government were entrusted" (p. 123).

The Second Sikh War broke out on May 1st, 1848, and in February, 1849, the Sikhs were finally disposed of at Gujrāt, Punjāb, and the rest of the Punjāb was annexed to the English possessions. As a consequence, Dalīp Singh was brought away from the capital, and "thus ended the independence of the once powerful state founded by Ranjit Singh." Dalīp Singh was sent to the interior of India, where he lived upon a pension for sometime before he went to England in 1854.

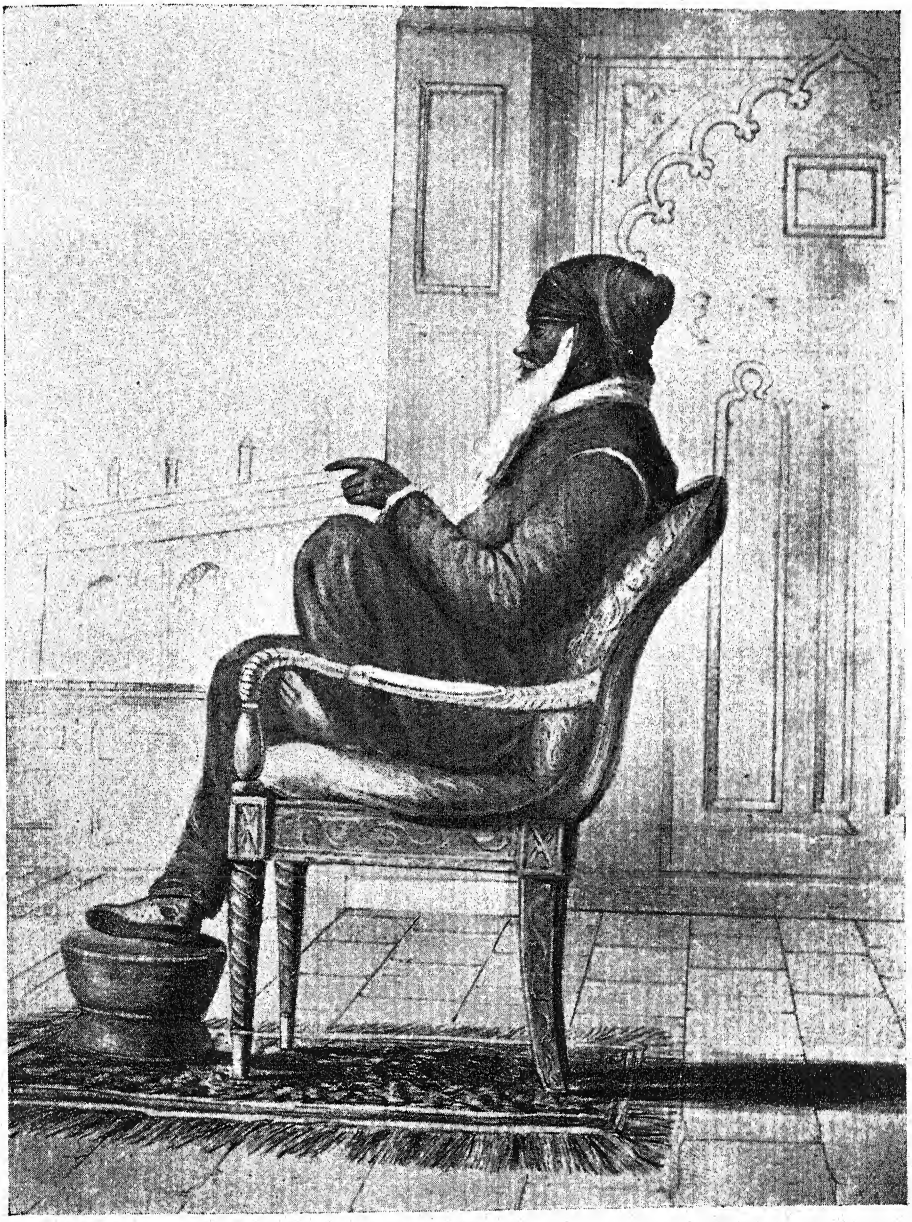
Kashmir under Maharaja Ranjit Singh

[1819—1839]

We shall now revert to the invasion of Ranjīt Singh, referred to at the close of Chapter VII on page 342. The first definite attempt of Ranjīt Singh's design on Kashmīr was his alliance with Vazīr Fath Khān, the prime minister of Shāh Mahmūd of Afghānistān in 1813, when Fath Khān wanted to punish 'Atā Muhammad Khān, the governor of Kashmīr, for declaring himelf independent of the government at Kābul (*see* pp. 323-324 of *Kashīr*). Ranjīt failed, but succeeded in securing the person of Shāh Shujā' who later gave Ranjīt the coveted Kūh-i-Nūr. The second attempt was in 1814, when a Sikh army advanced by the Pīr Panjāl (Pantsāl) Pass, while Ranjīt Singh himself watched the operations from Pūnch, which he had already brought under subjection. Warning had been given to Ranjīt Singh about the impending rainy season but, as military arrangements had been completed, an advance had to be made. The expedition, however, failed (*see* pp. 329-32.) Five years later, in 1819, by which time Ranjīt Singh had subjugated the central Punjāb, and acquired immense booty by the destruction of Afghān power at Multān, he renewed his attempt on Kashmīr. Ranjīt Singh's general, Misr Dīwān Chand, accompanied by Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu, overcame, on July 5, Jabbār Khān, who had been left in charge by Muhammad 'Azīm, the Afghān governor of Kashmīr, on his hurried departure for Kābul. 'Azīm Khān, unfortunately for Afghān rule in Kashmīr, had denuded the Valley of most of the tried Afghān troops for warfare in Afghānistān itself, being engaged in Qandahār against Kāmrān. The Sikh invaders entered Shupiyān*

*Shupiyān had a population of 2,217 in 1931 and 4,359 in 1941. It is a trade emporium for the Pīr Panjāl route, is about 29 miles south of Srīnagar, and is 20 miles due east of Islāmābād. The hill of Shupiyān on Lahan Tan or Lahan Tār rises from the plain about 1½ miles from the town. It is about 350 feet above the level of the plain. A fine view of the Valley—of the whole of its length, and the rocky snow-capped ranges beyond, bordering on Ladākh—may be obtained from the top of this hill. Kashmīrīs pronounce it *Shupiyan*.

Shupiyān (*Shāh-pāyān*) was the *Shāh-rāh* or the 'King's Highway' in the time of the Mughuls. From Shupiyān, there is a choice of several routes. There are paths to Nila-nāg, to Vēr-nāg, to Islāmābād and to Bijbihārā. There are unmetalled roads to Kulgām, to Bijbihārā and to Srīnagar. The main road goes north-west.



Mahārājā Ranjit Singh (Photo from the Lahore Fort Museum) who, on deafting Jabbār Khān, the Agfhān Governor of Kashmīr, in 1819, became the ruler of the Happy Valley. Sikh rule over Kashmīr ended in 1846 when the British, on defeating the Sikhs, made over the Valley to Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu.

on their way to Srīnagar. The Valley went to the Sikhs. Misr Dīwān Chand was given the title of *Zafar Jang* and was nominated governor of Kashmīr.

The conquest of Kashmīr extends Ranjīt's kingdom and increases his revenues.

The sovereign state of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh now comprised: (1) the Sūba-i-Lāhore—consisting of the territory between the Jhelum and the Sutlaj, (2) the Sūba-i-Multān Dār-ul-Amān (or Multān the Abode of Peace)—consisting of the present districts of Multān, Muzzaffargarh, Jhang, and parts of Montgomery and Dera Ismā'īl Khān, (3) the Sūba-i-Kashmīr Jannat Nazīr (Paradise-like Kashmīr), (4) the Sūba-i-Peshāwar consisting of the valley of Peshāwar, and (5) several hilly principalities.

The conquest of Kashmīr naturally made an extensive addition to Ranjīt's kingdom and increased his revenues very considerably. In fact, Ranjīt told C.M. Wade, of the British Political Department, in 1827, that Kashmīr was the most productive of all his provinces, and gave him twenty-five lakhs a year. As for political results, this conquest removed the last vestige of Afghān power and influence in the cis-Indus lands, and added to the stablility of Sikh power. On entering the city of Srīnagar the Sikh soldiers began to plunder, but were stopped by Misr Dīwān Chand. Ranjīt Singh deputed Faqīr 'Azīz-ud-Dīn Rizā Ansārī to study the climate of the Valley, and Dīwan Devī Dās to organize the assessment of revenues.

Kashmīr was divided into twenty *parganas*, had twenty collectors, ten *thānas* and four hundred inhabited villages. (Moorcroft, *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. xviii, 1836).

Sikh rule in Kashmīr lasted for 27 years. During this period, ten governors administered the country one after another, the last two being Muslims. Three of the others were Sikhs, and five Hindus, of whom Dīwān Motī Rām acted twice. The names of these governors are: (1) Misr Dīwān Chand, (2) Dīwān Motī Rām, (3) Sardār Harī Singh Nalwa, (4) Dīwān Motī Rām, *second time*, (5) Dīwān Chūnī Lāl, (6) Dīwān Kirpā Rām, (7) Bhīmā Singh Ardalī, (8) Prince Sher Singh, (9) Colonel Mehān Singh, (10) Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, and (11) Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn.

Condition of Kashmīr under Ranjīt's rule.

Thus Kashmīr, after several generations of Muslim rule lasting about five centuries, passed again into the hands of non-Muslims. In the meantime, however, over nine-tenths of the population had accepted Islam. The capital city, called Kashmīr during Muslim rule, was re-named Srīnagar. Though Sikh sovereignty and Ranjīt Singh were acclaimed *Dharma Rāj*, 'The Reign of Religion,' by Kashmīrī Pandits, whose leading caste-man was instrumental in inviting Ranjīt Singh to Kashmīr, Sikh rule brought little gain to them; since the 'Pandits were justly complaining of the oppression of the Sikhs' to Vigne (*Travels*, Vol. I, page 317). Pandit Bīrbal Dar who had himself gone out to Lāhore at considerable risk, and had urged and led Ranjīt Singh to invade his own native land, suffered imprisonment on the charge of misappropriation of state revenues, which was also the reason of Bīrbal's running away from Afghān rule. And the poor man died in jail! All his property was confiscated in Dīwān Motī Rām's second *régime*.

The "grey-bearded Musalman," remarked to Vigne, "with sorrow on the present condition of his beautiful country and compared it with what he had read of the dominion of the Mughuls or remembered of the time of the Pathāns." William Moorcroft,* who was in the country in 1824 A.C., five years after its annexation by the Sikhs when Dīwān Motī Rām was governor a second time, says that "everywhere the people are in the most abject condition, exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh Government and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers . . . . . Not more than about one-sixteenth of the cultivable surface is in cultivation, and the inhabitants, starving at home, are driven in great numbers to the plains of Hindustan" (*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 123-124). Every shawl was taxed at 26 per cent. of its estimated value, besides a heavy duty on the imports of its materials, and every shop or workman connected with its manufacture was taxed (page 126). Every trade was also taxed. "Butchers, bakers, boatmen, vendors of fuel, public notaries, scavengers, prostitutes, all paid a sort of corporation tax." "Even the chief officer of justice paid a large gratuity of 30,000 rupees a year for his appointment,

*William Moorcroft's *Travels*, 1819-25, Volume II, part III, Chapter VII, pages 293-4.

being left to re-imburse himself as he may" (page 127). Villages where Moorcroft stopped in the Lolāb direction were half-deserted, and "the few inhabitants that remained wore the semblance of extreme wretchedness." . . . . . The poor people were likely to reap little advantage from their labours, for a troop of tax-gatherers were in the village, who had sequestered nine-tenths of the grain of the farmer for the revenue. Islāmābād was "swarming with beggars," and the inhabitants of the country around "half-naked and miserably emaciated, presented a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation." "The Sikhs seemed to look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the government, of from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, and two rupees if he was a Mohammedan" (*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 293-94).[1]

The description of G. T. Vigne, who was in Kashmīr from June to December 1835, is hardly less pathetic. "The villages," he says, "were fallen into decay. In the time of the Moguls Kashmir was said to produce not less than 60 laks (6,000,000) of kirwahs (kharwārs) of rice, which was there grown wherever a system of irrigation was practicable; but such is the state to which this beautiful but unfortunate province is now reduced, and so many inhabitants have fled the country that a vast proportion of the rice-ground is uncultivated for want of labour and irrigation."[2] Shupiyān is a miserable place[3] and Islāmābād is "but a shadow of its former self." The houses "present a ruined and neglected appearance, in wretched contrast with their once gay and happy condition and speak volumes upon the light and joyous prosperity that has long fled the country on account of the shameless rapacity of the ruthless Sikhs." (Reproduced from Younghusband's *Kashmir*, London, 1909, p. 162.)

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1. "The garden-house, belonging formerly to a nobleman named Dilawar Khan, situated on the Brarinambal, a small lake, or rather an expanse of one of the chief canals of the city, was assigned for our residence, and here . . . . my time was spent in medical practice, collecting information, and occasional excursions."—*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 104-5). "The Dewan Moti Ram had fixed the second day after my arrival for giving me audience, but indisposition obliged him to defer this for several days longer" (*Ibid.*, p. 104).

2. G. T. Vigne's *Travels*, 1842, Vol. I, page 308.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

Even Kishtwār was not safe. "The oppression and rapacity of the Sikhs reduced its revenue to a paltry amount of a few thousand rupees per annum." The house of the old rājā of Kishtwār was used as a prison. "The building in the Shalamar, a favourite garden of the old Rajah's..on the eastward of the town, was razed to the ground by the Sikhs." (Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, pages 204-05).*

No wonder, then, that the Kashmīrī cried out in pain and despair—

جُرمِ ما' ما را چُو دامنگیر شُد قُومِ سِنگان وارِدِ کشمیر شُد

[Our sins overtook us when the Sikh people entered Kashmīr.]

At this time the Sikh administrator and *qala'dār* bore the name of Gurmukh Singh, which can be written

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*A note appears at the foot of page 126, Chapter IV, Vol. I, on William Moorcroft. Below is a note on Godfrey Thomas Vigne.

Godfrey Thomas Vigne was born in 1801, had his education at Harrow, and was admitted as a student of Lincoln's Inn on 23rd December, 1818. He was called to the bar in 1824. In 1831 he travelled in the United States of America, and published an account of his journey in 1832, entitled *Six Months in America*, London, 8vo. In the same year he left Southampton for India, and, after passing through Persia, spent the next seven years in excursions to the regions to the north-west of India. In these journeys he visited Kashmīr, Ladākh, and parts of Central Asia, besides travelling through Afghānistān, where he had several interviews with the Amīr, Dūst Muhammad Khān. He gave the results of his travels in *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, London, 1840, 8vo, and in *Travels in Kashmir*, London, 1842, 8vo. His books give a valuable account of Northern and Western India, immediately before the establishment of British supremacy.

In 1852 and the following years, Vigne visited the West Indies, Mexico, and Nicaragua, and passed northwards through New Orleans to New York. He died at the Oaks, Woodford, Essex, on 12th July, 1863, while preparing an account of his most recent travels for the press. They appeared in the same year under the title *Travels in Mexico and South America*, London, 8vo. Vigne was neither 'a professional author nor a commissioned tourist'. He travelled for amusement, saw much, and was assisted in his observations by the possession of some knowledge of science.

The above note is extracted from *Dictionary of National Biography* edited by Sidney Lee. Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1909, Vol. xx, page 309.

Sir Aurel Stein says: "This estimable artist and traveller evidently took a great deal of interest in the antiquities of the country which he traversed in many directions."—*The Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, 1899, page 6. Also the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, page 350, *f. n.* 8.

in Persian as Kūr-mukh Singh: The satirist turned it to Kūr Singh, and said :

کُورسِنگ حاکم و رنجیت چُو باشد سُلطان

شِکوه از جور مُکن ، عالمِ کُورا کُوری است

meaning that the *hākim* (administrator) is *kūr* or eyeless, and Ranjīt is but one-eyed ; when these are the days of eyelessness, should there be a plaint against their tyranny ?

" After the conquest of the valley by Ranjit," writes Vigne, " Moti Ram was appointed Viceroy for five years. He was a bigoted Sikh (?), who put several men to death for killing cows, and occasionally threw milk into the Jylum. His steward was made by Runjit to refund thirty lakhs that he had amassed."

The administration of ten Governors under Sikh Rule in Kashmir

1. *Misr Dīwān Chand.*

Misr Dīwān Chand, a Brāhman, was a notable pillar of the state. He started life as a *Jama'dār* in the artillery under Ghaus (commonly known as Ghausē) Khān, who was the trusted head of the Mahārājā's artillery. While passing Pūnch in the Kashmīr campaign, Ghaus Khān fell ill and died on the way. Misr Dīwān Chand was speedily put in charge. When the Sikh army under Prince Kharak Singh proceeded to wrest Multān from its Nawwāb, Dīwān Chand gave proof of conspicuous ability in reducing the fort of Multān. The valiant Nawwāb died fighting, and his diamond treasury worth five lakhs was seized by Dīwān Chand and presented to the Mahārājā, who conferred the title of *Khair-khwāh Bā-safā Zafar Jang* on the Misr. On the conquest of Kashmīr the Misr was given the title of *Fath-o-Nusrat Nasīb*. His full title was : Khair-khwāh Bā-safā Zafar Jang Bahādur Fath-o-Nusrat Nasīb, or, according to another version, Fath Jang instead of *Zafar Jang*. Misr Dīwān Chand died of colic at Lāhore on 19th July, 1825, or, according to another version,* by suicide. He was governor of Kashmīr during the year 1819.

* 'Abdul 'Alī's *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, pages 16 and 22.

2. *Dīwān Motī Rām.*

Dīwān Motī Rām, who governed Kashmīr for a year and two months in 1819-20, was the son of Dīwān Mokham Chand, a well known minister of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Mokham Chand was originally a trader's son. Motī Rām was a peace-loving man, but famine unsettled conditions in Kashmīr when Motī Rām was recalled, and replaced by Sardār Harī Singh Nalwa. On his second tenure of office, Dīwān Motī Rām relieved Harī Singh on account of the latter's oppressive rule. It was in Motī Rām's second tenure, *viz.* 1822-24, that Moorcroft entered Kashmīr with Mīr 'Izzatullāh. Pandit Bīrbal Dar was imprisoned for misappropriation of state revenues. Motī Rām had three sons: Rām Dayāl, Sheo Dayāl and Kīrpā Rām.

In the time of Dīwān Motī Rām, the Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar was closed to public prayers—it was given out—lest it should afford opportunities to Musalmāns to assemble in large numbers. William Moorcroft saw it closed during his visit (*Travels,* 1819–25, part III, Chapter II, page 120). Many other mosques were turned into *nazūl* property. Jāgīr grants attached to mosques and shrines were generally resumed. The Musalmāns were forbidden to utter the *Azān* (call to prayers). The shrine of Shāh Hamadān, the well-known Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā was ordered to be razed to the ground. The plea advanced was that it was the site of the Kālī Çrī temple twelve centuries ago! In fact, guns were levelled at the shrine from the Patthar or Shāhī Mosque Ghāt on the opposite bank of the Jhelum. But the order was not executed, presumably for fear of rebellion. It is to the lasting credit of Pandit Bīrbal Dar that, when a deputation of Muslims headed by Sayyid Hasan Shāh Qādirī Khānayārī approached him to dissuade the Sikhs from the destruction of the Khānqāh, he moved in the matter, used his influence and saved this historic structure from vandalism.

Cow-slaughter, prevalent for centuries, was declared a crime punishable by death, and Muslims were actually hanged, dragged through the city of Srīnagar, and even burnt alive for having slain cattle. Oppressed in this and various other ways, hundreds of Muslim families left Kashmīr. Their descendants are to this day found in the Punjāb, the United Provinces and elsewhere. Their ancestors were the victims of ferocious intolerance during the temporary Sikh rule of 27 years' duration.

[**Genesis of Sikh-Muslim Misunderstanding.**—In the matter of his creed the Sikh is very near to the Muslim. The Sikh, like the Muslim, believes in the Oneness of God and is averse to idol-worship. But it is strange that a large part of the unthinking commonalty of the Sikhs should be so violently opposed to the *Azān* which mostly is but a loud proclamation of the Oneness of God Almighty. Socially the Sikh is a Hindu, the majority of Bābā Nānak's disciples having been derived from the Jāt, Arora and Khatrī castes. The Singh Sabhā revived the movement, originally initiated, by Gurū Gobind Singh, to individualize the Sikh. The modern Akālī movement has given a great fillip to this idea of individualization. The reason why the Sikh is socially a Hindu is because the descendants and followers of Bābā Nānāk, who became *Udāsīs* and *Nirmalas*, being mostly from the suppressed lower classes of Hindus, associated more with the Hindu masses than with Muslims. The Udāsī is the common preacher, and the Nirmala is the intellectual missionary.

"Verse after verse, song after song, can be quoted from the Holy Quran and the Holy Granth, bearing the same meaning and asserting the same oneness of God," writes Sardār Sardūl Singh Caveeshar in *The Sikh Studies*, (Lāhore, 1937, page 94). "The Holy Book begins with 'There is one God,' and the Holy Quran with 'There is none else but one God.' Both religions hate the worship of any other deity. The attitude of Mohamet towards the idols worshipped by the followers of other religions was always uncompromising. Guru Gobind Singh, too, calls himself in one place an "image-breaker." Muhammadans are required to say their prayers five times a day, and so are the Sikhs" (p. 95). Both religions are democratic; they regard the prince and the peasant as equal in the eyes of God. "In both religions inter-marriage is favoured as strongly as interdining" (p. 96). The sacred books of both are kept in clean covers and are to be handled after ablution. Regular readings from them form part of the religious life of both. "Both the religions advocate military life" (p. 97). "The *Zakat* of the Muslims corresponds with the *Daswand* of the Sikhs." Prophet Muhammad had Chār Yār (Four Companions). "The Guru of the Sikhs also had his Panj Piyaras or five dear ones" (p. 98).

But grave misunderstanding between Muslims and Sikhs has been due to clashes with Muslim rule in India in the past, on the part of the Sikhs, as a result of which unfounded statements are incorporated in the so-called histories, and unfortunately even in Sikh prayers. Some of the glaring instances of profound misrepresentation are that: (1) The fifth Gurū, Arjun, was killed by Jahāngīr on account of religious fanaticism. (2) The ninth Gurū, Tegh Bahādur, was killed by Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr on the Gurū's declining to accept Islam. (3) One of Gurū Tegh Bahādur's companions, Matī Dās, was sawn alive on a similar charge. (4) Bhāī Dayāla, another companion of the Gurū, was thrown into boiling water on the same account. (5) Bhāī Manī Singh's limbs were mercilessly hacked off. (6) Bhāī Tārū Singh's skull was chopped off. (7) Bhāī Bota

Singh was slaughtered. (8) Bhāī Sabeg Singh and Bhāī Shahbāz Singh were done to death with cruel torture.—All this happened simply because they declined to be converted to Islam! Islam which expressly lays down that there is no compulsion in religion!

The most atrocious of the crimes attributed to the Muslim governor of Sarhind is the cold-blooded immuring of the two innocent sons, aged seven and nine respectively, of Gurū Gobind Singh in a wall simply because they would not accept Islam even though they were promised marriage with beautiful Muslim princesses and high honour in life. That any one should force children of seven and nine to change their religion is passing strange! Sardār Teja Singh, M.A., Professor, Khālsa College, Amritsar, now Principal, Khālsa College, Mātunga, Bombay, therefore, rightly says that the "fiction of immuring of children in the foundations is an interpolation of later histories" (The *Kōmal Sansār*, January, 1940). But Principal Tejā Singh now points out to me that the children were disposed of, but differently, though this last too, again introduces another element of variation.

Bhāī Sher Singh, M.Sc., has accordingly deplored in the magazine, *Phulwārī* (Ittihās Number, December, 1929), that "in our history and our religion not one but one hundred and one misrepresentations have been inserted by selfish people for selfish ends." Bhāī Amar Singh, Editor of the *Sher-i-Punjāb*, in his issue of February 20, 1938, remarks: "we suffer from the universal malady, on account of some of our leaders, of their own accord, introducing modifications and cancellations even in historical events." The *Dasam Granth*, the autobiography of Gurū Gobind Singh, makes no mention of the immuring of children in the foundation or the wall of Sarhind, which is the greatest refutation of this myth. And yet, in their elementary primers, Sikh children are shown the fabricated pictures of the immuring of these innocent sons aged seven and nine of the great Gurū! And some of the Sikh speakers in the *Dīwāns*, or religious gatherings, and large congregations, narrate this fiction to inflame Sikh feelings against the Muslims!*

The unfortunate events of 1947 have widened and deepened the gulf between Muslims and Sikhs to such an extent that any reconciliation is unthinkable, at least for the generation now living.]

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*In this connexion, the reader is referred to the researches of Gyānī Wāhid Husain embodied in the brochure *Gurū Gobind Singh ke Bachchōn kā Qatl*, Qādiān, 1940, with a preface by Mr. 'Abdul Majīd *Sālik*, editor, the *Inqilāb*, Lāhore. As also "The Murder of Srī Gurū Tegh Bahādur" by Gyānī Wāhid Husain in the *Review of Religions*, (Urdu edition), Qādiān, February and April, 1940. The same writer has also written on the "Murder of Gurū Arjun and Jahāngīr." The Gyānī can be addressed c/o Nashr-o-Ishā'at office, Qādiān, District Gurdāspur, East Punjāb, and *now* c/o Ratan Bāgh, Lāhore, West Punjāb. Naturally, a Sikh may be reluctant to accept the findings of Gyānī Wāhid Husain, as they run counter to what he has been accustomed to hear from years past.

The departure of the ancestor of the Nawwābs of Dacca.

It was about these days (*i.e.* 1822-23) that two brothers left Kashmīr to prefer their complaints to the Mughul ruler of the day at Delhī against Sikh oppression in the Valley. But when they found that nothing to check it could be expected from Delhī, they proceeded eastwards, and, in course of time, became the founders of the well-known Nawwāb Family of Dacca that glories in having produced Khwāja 'Alīmullāh, Sir 'Abdul Ghanī, Sir Ahsanullāh, Sir Salīmullāh, Sir Nāzim-ud-Dīn [*now* His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble Al-Hājj Khwāja Nāzim-ud-Dīn,† Governor-General of Pākistān, in succession to the late Qā'id-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Alī Jinnāh of blessed memory], the Hon'ble Khwāja Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation, Government of Pākistān, Karāchī, Khwāja Habībullāh, Khwāja Muhammad A'zam and others.*

3. *Sardār Harī Singh Nalwa.*

Sardār Harī Singh Nalwa, the founder of Harīpur-Hazāra, was the son of Sardār Gurdiāl Singh of Majītha, who had settled in Gujrānwāla. He died when Harī Singh was seven years old. Ranjīt Singh took the boy under his care. In Mr. Sinha's *Ranjit Singh*, Harī Singh is stated to have been originally a common *khidmatgār*. Vigne makes a similar statement in his *Travels*, Vol. II, page 73. At the siege of Qasūr, Harī Singh gave promise of his future generalship and was rewarded by Ranjīt with a prize. He was a fine shot and a good swimmer. He was entitled *Nalwa* for having cloven the head of a tiger that had seized him. In the conquest of Multān, Kashmīr and Peshāwar he won his name. He had the reputation of having overcome the Afghāns, and, it is said, Afghān mothers frightened their babies by the name of *Harya*, the nickname of Harī Singh Nalwa. He proved very tyrannical in Kashmīr, and was consequently called back after two years, *i.e.*, 1820-21. The small fort at Urī, now the residential quarters of the Tahsīldār of that place, the fort of Nirochhī, Muzaffarābād, the Gurdwāras of Maṭan, Bārāmūla, and outside Kāthī Darwāza, Srīnagar, were built by Nalwa so also a garden on the Jhelum there. He could read and write Persian. At Gujrānwāla Mr. G. T. Vigne

**The Ta'rīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr* by the late Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq*, 1934, pages 442-46.

†M.A. (Cantab), LL.D. (Hony., Dacca), Barrister-at-Law, formerly Sir, K.C.I.E. (1934) ; C.I.E. (1926).

and Baron Hügel visited Harī Singh Nalwa. "He received us with kindness and hospitality," wrote Vigne, "and conversed a good deal; taking down from us in writing, for his own information, the names of the different countries in Europe, with their capitals, extent, etc." (*Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 235-6). The vast sum of money accumulated by Harī Singh was confiscated by the Lāhore ruler. Nalwa could "report raids and misappropriate the money without undertaking these. On one occasion while the Maharaja was reviewing the troops under Hari Singh's charge, he found the battalions below their full strength. Yet Hari Singh had been drawing money from the treasury at the usual rate. He was heavily fined." (Sinha's *Ranjit Singh*, page 169). Shahāmat 'Alī says that Harī Singh introduced a new rupee of base coinage in Kashmīr. So does Vigne. In 1837 on advancing towards Khybar, Amīr Dūst Muhammad Khān, on invitation from the Khybarīs, killed him in a battle.* Nalwa's son was given a minor post by the Sikh government.

[The different kinds of coins in use were :—(*i*) The old rupee valued at only ten annas according to Hindustānī rates. This rupee was minted in Kashmīr and had the Emperor of Delhī's name on it. The transactions in the shawl markets were made in this rupee. (*ii*) There was another kind of rupee, associated with the name of Sardār Harī Singh Nalwa and, as such, called *Harī Singhī*. On one side of this coin was written *Sri Akāl Jiu* and on another *Harī Singh*. This was worth twelve annas. Rents, taxes and customs duties were paid in this coin. (*iii*) The third kind of rupee was called Nānakshāhī; it passed current at sixteen annas throughout the dominions of Ranjīt Singh, but was valued at 14½ annas at Delhī. The troops were paid in this coin.]

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4. *Dīwān Chūnī Lāl.*

Dīwān Chūnī Lāl, the successor of Dīwān Motī Rām, was governor for two years, 1825-27. Khwāja Muhyi'd Dīn Kāōs and his son-in-law Mīrzā Kallu the son of Khwāja Siddīq Kāōs, well-known merchants, were hanged according to the *Wajīz-ut-Ta'rīkh* (pages 181-82), and their dead bodies were dragged through the streets of Srīnagar for the alleged offence of cow-slaughter. On being called to Lāhore for misgovernment, Dīwān Chūnī Lal committed suicide on the way.

**The Sikhs and Afghans*, London, 1847, pages 53-54.

5. *Dīwān Kirpā Rām.*

Dīwān Kirpā Rām was governor of Kashmīr for three years and ten months from 1827 to 1831. Kirpā Rām was the son of Motī Rām and the grandson of Dīwān Mokham Chand. They belonged to Kunjāh, District Gujrāt, Punjāb. Rām-bāgh, now holding the remains of most of the Dogrā rulers on the Dūdh-gangā stream in Srīnagar, was built by Kirpā Rām. Round about the city he set up a number of gardens. Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn was his Chief Secretary.

G. T. Vigne on Kirpā Rām's régime.

"Kupar (Kirpā) Ram," wrote Vigne "was four years governor of the valley and the kindest and best of all. He attended to the wishes and rapacity of Runjit and was luxurious without being tyrannical. The dancing girls were his constant companions and his state barge was always paddled by women." Hence, his name commonly remembered in the Valley as Kirpā *Shroyn* on account of the jingling noise of small bells on women's hands and feet.

One summer evening Dīwān Kirpā Rām was enjoying a feast, drinking, listening to the singing of the dancing girls. The blaze of fireworks threw a brilliant glare over the scene. The entertainment was at its height. The spectacle was one that might have recalled the memory of the days of Jahāngīr when the Valley was—

"All love and light,
Visions by day and feasts by night."

Just then a *chūbdār* of Ranjīt made his appearance with orders for Kirpā's immediate presence at Lāhore, where he was disgraced. He, then, left for Benāres to live the life of a recluse.

Baron Schönberg on the same.

Baron Schönberg's observations on Kirpā Rām are materially the same. "The Sikh governor who enjoys the best reputation amongst the inhabitants of Kashmir is Kapar Rham (Kirpā Rām). The term of his viceroyalty is compared, by the people of the Valley, to those pleasant days when Jehangir used to make an annual visit there. Kapar Rham remitted to the government every year forty-two lacs of rupees, and the country was at that time happy, in comparison to what it now is: and yet for many years after the rule of Kapar Rham, the tribute amounted to

only twenty lacs, and at the present time Gulam Muhyddin returns but six lacs of rupees yearly, while the country, so far from being benefited by the decrease in the tribute, is become still more wretched."—*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 96-97.

"The mention of Kapar Rham gives me an opportunity of recording Runjeet Singh's unworthy conduct towards him. . . . . Runjeet Singh demanded from Kapar Rham an extra payment of some lacs of rupees and summoned him for the fulfilment of this demand to the confines of his mountain territories where he then was. Kapar answered that he would pay the money when it should be due, and then only what could be lawfully demanded. Runjeet asked him whether he had no money. "Yes," answered Kapar; "but I will give you only what is due to you." "Very well," said Runjeet, "we will settle our accounts." . . . . . The accounts being closed, it was found that Kapar had paid twelve lacs of rupees more than he really owed. Runjeet demanded three lacs more, Kapar refused, and was tortured . . . . . He still persisted in his refusal upon which his property was openly plundered. He lost fifteen lacs, partly in money and partly in shawls. He was now set at liberty, with permission to return and resume the government of the province of Kashmir, but he refused; and after bestowing a lac of rupees in public charity at Amrit Sir (Amritsar), he retired to Hardwar" (pages 97-98).

6. *Bhīmā Singh Ardalī.*

Not much is known of Bhīmā Singh Ardalī, who was governor for one year in 1831. During the Muharram of 1248 A.H.=1832 A.C., there was Shī'a-Sunnī trouble. The Hasan-ābād and Jaḍī-bal wards of the city were burnt. There was an unusually cold winter from which the people suffered a great deal.

Victor Jacquemont's observations.

When Bhīma Singh Ardalī was acting Governor, Victor Jacquemont, Naturalist to the Museum of Natural History, Paris, visited Kashmīr. This young Frenchman of 30 writes in a grandiloquent, patronizing manner.*

Letters from India describing a journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore and Cashmere during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, undertaken by order of the French Government, by Victor Jacquemont, travelling Naturalist to the Museum of Natural History, Paris. Vols. I and II., Edward Churton, London, 1834. A second and enlarged edition of the *Letters* was published in May, 1835.

"His letters are graphic and amusing though full of insane vanity," wrote Andrew Wilson in 1875.

Writes Jacquemont: "He (the Governor) is a man of low extraction who only holds the office temporarily . . . . It was agreed . . . . . that an interview should take place. . . . at Shalibag, the Trianon of the ancient Mogul emperors. It is a little palace, now abandoned, but still charming by its situation and magnificent groves. . . . The Governor rubbed his long beard on my left shoulder whilst I rubbed mine on his right (page 55). He has all the look of a fool but he possesses the very rare virtue . . . . . of obedience to his sovereign (page 73).

"My pavilion has but very flimsy walls: it was closed only by venetian blinds elegantly carved with infinite art. It was open to every wind and to the inquiring looks of the Cashmerean idlers, who came by thousands, in their boats to look at me as they would at a wild beast through the bars of his cage (page 56).

"For several years past, an Afghan fanatic Sayed Ahmad (Sayyid Ahmad "Shahīd" with Rājā Zabardast Khān of Muzaffarābād) has been threatening Cashmere . . . . the Governor sent me word that Sheer Singh one of the King's (Ranjīt's) sons had just given him battle near Mozufferabad in which he and his whole army perished. Public report adds that Sheer Sing is coming here as Viceroy" (page 57).

[**Sayyid Ahmad.**—Sayyid Ahmad "Shahīd," or the Martyr, was a dominating personality in the first third of the 19th century in India. His name is connected with religious and social reform as well as with the attempt at the political re-establishment of Indian Muslims. He was born at Rāi Bareli in Safar, 1201 A.H.=November, 1786. After very early life, Sayyid Ahmad was attracted by the personality of Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz of Delhī, who entrusted the young man's education to his younger brother Shāh 'Abdul Qādir. Sayyid Ahmad studied a number of books, and knew Arabic and Persian. He was familiar with Muslim theology, though he was not quite as learned as Shāh Ismā'īl or any other known *'Ālim* or divine. Sayyid Ahmad travelled far and wide and performed the Hajj. He was a good speaker.

Sayyid Ahmad had a strong physique. His association with Amīr Khān of Tonk (1768-1834), in Rājpūtāna, about nine years from 1809 to 1818, enabled him to lead the life of a soldier, gaining

extensive and varied experience in warfare, particularly in the skilful use of cannon under the chief with whom, however, he parted company when the latter entered into a pact with the English on December 15, 1817.

On the decadence that had set in in Muslim India about the last days of the Mughuls, Marathas, Rājputs, Jāts and Sikhs were rising to undermine what was left of Muslim power in the land. Muslims in the Punjāb fared particularly badly on account of the growing strength of the Sikhs.*

Anxious to do something for Muslim revival, Sayyid Ahmad turned his thoughts towards the North-West Frontier as providing a field for his activities. In Shāh Ismā'īl "Shahīd" and Maulavī Abdul Hayy of Buḍhāna or Bodhāna (District Muzaffarnagar, United Provinces), he had two capable lieutenants. With about 500 men, they proceeded by way of Kālpī, Gwāliār, Tonk, Mārwār, Sind, Bolan, Quetta, Qandahār, Ghaznī and Kābul, where dissensions among the Bārakzaīs egged them on to their destination, *viz.*, Peshāwar. From Peshāwar these *Mujāhids* or 'holy warriors' came to Akoṛa (Khaṭak) via Chārsadda and Nowshera. Here Sayyid Ahmad repulsed the Sikhs led by General Budh Singh, under command of Harī Singh Nalwa, in November 1826. But on account of the defection of Durrānī Sardārs, principally Yār Muhammad Khān and his three brothers, who entered into a secret pact with the Sikhs, Sayyid Ahmad was poisoned ineffectively and later defeated at Shaidu, 3 miles from Akoṛa.

Sayyid Ahmad was acknowledged as Imām by his followers, who were, at one time, masters of the territory from Hazāra to Peshāwar. At Peshāwar ordinances under the *Sharī'at* were introduced. Prostitution was stopped. Wine shops were closed. But interested Mullās started mischief. By January 1831, Sayyid Ahmad and his chief lieutenant, Shāh Ismā'īl, desired to enter Kashmīr to save Muslims from oppressive rule and a battalion reached Muzaffarābād, then the *jāgīr* of Rājā Zabardast Khān, already mentioned before, when they were surprized at Bālākōt (in the Hazāra district), 30 miles north of Abbotābād, or 11 miles upward on the river Kunhār, which joins the Jehlum lower down the Mānsehra-Srīnagar road. Bālākōt has now a population of about 3000. Here Prince Sher Singh fell upon these Mujāhids who were done to death in Zīqa'd 1246 A. H.=May 1831 A. C. Those, who escaped, moved out to carve out homes in freedom farther off.

Newspapers, in March 1948, announced that the descendants of these Mujāhids, who were driven out into the recesses of unknown hills, are returning from their retreats now that Pākistān is established, and they have the free Muslim State though but a part of their cherished dream of the reconquest of India for which their ancestors laid down their lives.

**Islamic Culture*, Hydarābād, Deccan, Vol. XIX, No. 2, April 1945, pp. 123-39.

The *Sirāt-i- Mustaqīm* is a record of what Sayyid Ahmad spoke on various occasions on different subjects. The first and the fourth chapters of this book were penned by Shāh Ismā'īl, and the second and the third by Maulavī 'Abdul Hayy. Shāh Ismā'īl wrote, before these *jihād* days, his *Mansab-i-Imāmat* which gives his views on the ideal leader.]*

Jacquemont on fruits and trees.

"In a month I shall eat cherries out of my own garden, then apricots, peaches and almonds, then apples, pears and lastly grapes. I walk every evening under a superb vine arbour the vines of which, though still young, are two feet in circumference: I never saw anything like it. I am also promised delicious melons and even water melons. This latter promise is the threat of a very warm summer; but it resembles ours in the south of France. The productions are the same. We have now the same weather as at Paris but finer and less inconstant (page 60).

"The Italian poplar and the plane tree are predominant in the cultivated tracts. The plane-tree is colossal, the vine in the gardens gigantic; the forests are composed of cedars and different varieties of firs and pines, absolutely similar in general to those of Europe, and, in a more elevated zone, of birches, which seem to me not different from ours. The lotus appears on the surface of still water, the flowering rush and water trefoil (page 77).

"*Lalla Rookh* forms a part of my library, but I am tired of it. A page of this style would perhaps please; but thirty (and all his tales are longer) make one sick. So the finest music pleases for two hours and a half, but fatigues and annoys if prolonged beyond. . . . . it was in the very gardens and palace in which she was received by the King of Bucharia that my first interview with the governor of Cashmere took place (pages 72-73).

Comments on the ugliness of female faces.

. . . . "I have never felt any pleasure in looking at a female face if it was not white, gentle, delicate and noble. Yet I have met in India and the Punjab, from time to time, very handsome women in their style of

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*Mr. Ghulām Rasūl *Mihr*, B.A., Editor, *The Inqilāb*, Lāhore, who has made a special study of the movement organized by Sayyid Ahmad "Shahīd," has kindly scrutinized the dates and events of the paragraphs on "Shahīd."

beauty; but Cashmere has not yet presented me with one of these exceptions. I am sorry to find my experience so contradictory to the accounts of the small number of European travellers who have visited these regions before me (page 87).

"The ugliness of women is explained by continual exportation of every pretty Cashmerian face to the Punjab and India, to stock the harems of the Mussulmans, Seikhs (Sikhs), and Hindoos (pages 74-75).

"The female race is remarkably ugly. I speak of the common ranks, ... those, one sees in streets and fields. . . . . since those of a more elevated station pass all their lives shut up, and are never seen. It is true that all little girls who promise to turn out pretty, are sold at eight years of age, and carried off into the Punjab and India. Their parents sell them at from twenty to three hundred francs . . . . . most commonly fifty or sixty" (page 65).

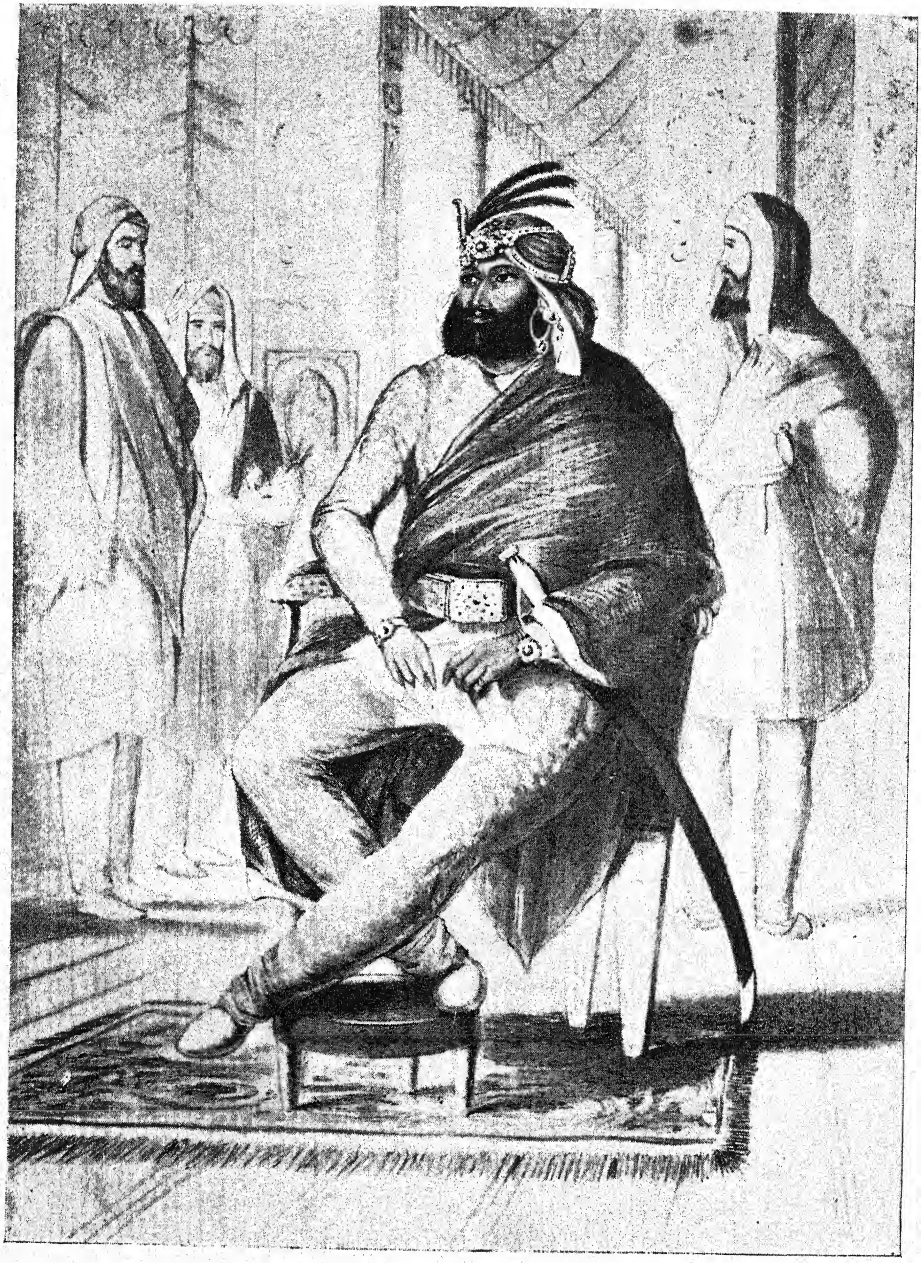
Jacquemont's praise for Ranjīt Singh.

May 20th 1831. "Only a few words to tell you that Runjeet Singh is an admirable man . . . . . Which I hope you think already and have long thought. An officer of his household has just arrived this morning in a fortnight from Umbrister (Amritsar) where the King is at present encamped. He brings me a very gracious royal Firman. . . . Everything, therefore, is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. The King, besides, enjoins me to make myself at home in Cashmere. "That country is yours," he writes, "establish yourself in whichever of my gardens pleases you best; order, and you shall be obeyed" (pages 67-78).

Jacquemont's audience with Ranjīt Singh.

When having the audience of Ranjīt Singh at Amritsar, earlier in the month of October, 1831, this French Naturalist writes: . . . . . "Instead of *Jakman Sahib Bahadur*, I was known now by every one as the *Aflatoon el Zeman*"—'Plato of the Age' (pages 181-182).

Jacquemont's interview with Ranjīt Singh in Lāhore on 12th March, 1831, lasted two hours. In the course of this interview we read: "The Maharaja began in Hindustani which I understand, and he could understand quite well the rhetorical flourishes which I had prepared in that



Mahārājā Sher Singh (Photo from the Lahore Fort Museum) Nāzim or Governor of Kashmīr, as Shahzāda Sher Singh, from 1832 to 1834.

language for the beginning of the interview . . . . He asked me questions about my travels. But speaking in Urdu was too much of a strain for him and his Punjabi, which I could follow but imperfectly, was translated to me by M. Ventura . . . . . ."[1]

Jacquemont was born in 1801 at Paris of an ancient family of Artois. He died on 7th December, 1832, at Poona. Jacquemont spent about three and a half years in India, having landed in Calcutta in May 1829. During his stay in Calcutta, he met Rājā Rām Mohan Roy, the great Brahmo Samāj reformer.

7. *Prince Sher Singh.*

Prince Sher Singh, Ranjīt's reputed son, was governor for two years, *viz.* 1832–34. "Sher Singh is also a fine, manly-looking fellow," wrote the Hon. W. G. Osborne in 1840. "He is a supposed son of the Maharaja, though the latter strongly denies the paternity. He, however, grants him the privilege of a chair in his presence—an honour he shares with Kurruck Sing, the heir-apparent to the throne, and Heera Sing, the son of the minister (Rājā Dhyān Singh, the younger brother of Rājā Gulāb Singh), the only individuals of the Court who are so distinguished." Osborne adds a footnote about Sher Singh, and says: "He is a twin son of one of Runjeet's wives, named Mehtab Koonwar, who in 1807 (on his return to Lahore, after an absence of some duration) presented him with two boys, Sher and Tara Sing. The lady's conjugal fidelity had been already suspected, and her husband would not own them. He appears, however, in some degree to have acknowledged Sher Sing, by the consideration with which he treated him; but Tara Sing experienced uniform neglect."[2]

The Prince left the work of administration to his *nā'ib,* Basākhā Singh, and himself enjoyed life. The resultant confusion has been versified in this couplet:

بُود وردِ زبانِ اهلِ خراج — دھرم کا راج مُلک کا تاراج

[It was on the tongue of the tribute-payers (i.e., subjects). Dharam-rāj, or the 'Reign of Religion,' is the ruin of the country.]

1. Translated from the French by Mr. B. R. Chatterji.—*The Modern Review,* Calcutta, November 1931, pages 503-4.
2. *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing,* London, 1840, pages 64-65.

Basākhā Singh was replaced by Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn as the Prince's *nā'ib*. Jama'dār Khushhāl Singh, the favourite of Ranjīt, was added to the gubernatorial staff. But this addition proved tyrannical to the Kashmīrī in the extreme. And Khushhāl had to be recalled to Lāhore.

During the governorship of Prince Sher Singh, a terrible famine visited Kashmīr in 1831, and reduced the population of Kashmīr from 8,00,000 to 2,00,000. A great earthquake shook the Valley in the second year of Kirpā Rām's *régime*. Three months later, cholera, which was raging furiously at Islāmābād, spread to Srīnagar. Deaths in the Valley were beyond counting. Dīwān Basākhā Singh and Jam'adār Khushhāl Singh, Prince Sher Singh's *nā'ibs*, one after the other, took advantage of the Prince's fondness for *shikār*, and exacted money from the people. According to Sohan Lal's *'Umdat-ut-Tawārīkh*,* Khushhāl Singh alone brought seven lakh and twenty six thousand rupees from Kashmīr, in addition to shawls and other valuables worth seven lakhs.

8. *Colonel Mehān Singh Kumedān.*

Colonel Mehān Singh Kumedān (Commandant) was governor of Kashmīr from 1834 to 1841 for about seven years. Mehān Singh was the son of Amīr Singh of the village Mān in the tahsīl and district of Gujrānwāla, Punjāb, and had two brothers, Gurmukh Singh Kumedān and 'Attar Singh. Mehān Singh was unusually brave, having had 27 wounds on his body. He was also a man of his word. There are several stories of his high sense of justice. He endeavoured to revive the trade, industry and agriculture of the Valley. His *régime* saw the death of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, the succession and death of Mahārājā Kharak Singh and that of his son, Nau-nihāl Singh, and the accession of Mahārājā Sher Singh. Otherwise, Ranjīt would not allow so long a time to any individual to continue as governor in Kashmīr, lest he should assert independence, as Afghān governors did during the preoccupations of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and his successors,

*Daftar III, Part II, page 170.

[The *'Umdat-ut-Twārīkh* is a *Rūz-nāma* or diary of Ranjīt Singh, written by Sohan Lāl, the *Akhbār-navīs* of the Mahārājā, and published by the diarist's son in 1885. It is a true and faithful narrative of Ranjīt Singh's eventful life as a record of dates and a chronicle of events. The diary is quite detailed.]

or, as Sayyid Muhammad Latīf's *History of the Punjāb* puts it, "they all turn out *harāmzādas* (*i.e.*, villains); there is too much pleasure and enjoyment in that country" (page 448).

Colonel Mehān Singh Kumedān was, comparatively speaking, the best of all Sikh governors. He did his best, in the beginning, to mitigate the ravages of famine, and with a view to stimulating population, remitted the tax upon marriages, and set to work to bring some order into the administration. Agricultural advances were made free of interest. Mehān Singh's life, spoilt by 'intemperance and sensuality,' was cut short by mutinous soldiers, who felt the governor was solicitous of the welfare of the subjects at the expense of the army.

But, in reality, Mehān Singh took care to keep the turbulent Sikh soldiery under check, would not let them exercise oppression, and so they killed him on the night of the 17th April, 1841. Pīr Hasan Shāh gives this moving chronogram of the Colonel's death in his history—

کرنل میهان سنگ از شغب — شُد کُشته اِمشب بی سبب

افتاد از جور و تعب — مخلُوق در چاهِ قلق

از بهرِ تاریخش ببین — بے پا و سر شُد در زمین

عدل و رَجا - صُلح و صفا — عقل و وفا - نظم و نسق

This year, 1841, is described as a year of terror throughout the Punjāb. About a month after Sher Singh's accession, Sikh soldiery became uncontrollable and licentious at Lāhore. And, as Smyth points out, the troops in the provinces at Peshāwar, in Kashmīr, at Multān, etc., imitated their example (*History of the Sikhs*, page 59).

Mehān Singh's son, Sant Singh, took refuge in the Kūh-i-Mārān, and then quietly left Kashmīr. He was very handsome, and rose to the position of a Colonel in the Sikh army, and died in 1846, leaving a daughter Prēm Kaur, who breathed her last in 1906.

G. T. Vigne meets Sudu Bayu.

It was in Mehān Singh's time that Vigne met Sudu Bayu or Brother Sa'īd. Let Vigne* describe the meeting

**Travels*, Vol. I, pages 305-6.

in his own words: "I have twice visited a Musalman fakir of peculiar sanctity who lives in the neighbourhood, and who is said to have attained a very great age—I think 110. His name was Sudu Bayu. I should have guessed him to have been about 90; but there was little appearance of second childishness; on the contrary, he complained of nothing excepting that his teeth and eyesight began to fail him a little. He had witnessed the decline and fall of his country. He told me that in his younger days he had visited Hindustan, had been at Calcutta, and that he still hoped to see the day when Kashmir would be in the possession of my countrymen. Although a Musalman, his name and reputation are much respected by the Sikhs. On account of his age a man so old as he is being supposed to be under the peculiar protection of Providence. Mihan Singh, the Sikh Governor, made several attempts to gain an interview, and offered him large presents of money; but I was informed that he spurned the offer with contempt . . . . . and refused to have anything to do with one whom he looked upon as the oppressor of his country."

Mehān Singh's liquor is commented upon thus: "Mihan Singh . . . . . had ordered all the grapes to be brought thence to the city, where he contrived to manufacture a wretched apology for the generous liquor" (page 322).

Baron Hügel, the well-known Austrian scientific botanist, on Col. Mehān Singh.

"Mehan Singh has a thick-set unwieldy figure," wrote Baron Hügel on Saturday, 21st November 1835,* "and though still in the prime of life, his dissolute way of living has given him the appearance of an old man: his hair was white as silver. To judge by his countenance, one would pronounce him goodnatured and kind: but in many respects he is not the Governor required in the present critical state of Kashmir. The long undipped beard announces him to be a Sikh; and his thick lips and but half-opened eyes, indeed every feature, shew him to be an Epicurean in the strictest sense of the word. On this occasion he was wrapped in a yellow silk robe, his head-dress consisting of a simple white handkerchief."

**Travels*, pages 115-116.

The Baron's conversation with Ranjīt Singh gives us a glimpse of what Ranjīt thought of Mehān Singh. This conversation took place on Wednesday, January 13, 1836.

Ranjīt Singh	.. You have seen the whole world, which country do you like best ?
Hügel	.. My own native land.
Ranjīt Singh	.. You have seen Kashmir, what think you of it ?
Hügel	.. That sickness and famine have of late years so depopulated it, that it must produce a revenue of small amount.
Ranjīt Singh	.. I have ordered Mehan Singh to give money to the poor. Think you that he robs me ?
Hügel	.. I think not.
Ranjīt Singh	.. Do not you think that I should do well to remove him from the government ? he has no intellect.
Hügel	.. I think the Governor a worthy man, and that you will not easily find a better. The country needs indulgence, in order that it may recover itself. (*Travels.* p. 287).

G. T. Vigne's comments on the Colonel.

"Next to Kupar Ram, however, he (Colonel Mehān Singh) was the best of the Sikh governors," wrote G.T. Vigne: "He was the fattest man I saw in the East, with good-humoured aspect, and the air of a *bon vivant.* How he contrived to exist in good health I knew not. At breakfast he ate largely of almonds stewed in butter ; and never went to bed sober by any chance. He was an old friend and fellow soldier of Runjit, and was proud of showing the scars of an old wound he had received across the back of both hands, when using a double-handed sword. He stood greatly in awe of Runjit, who was apt to recall a governor of a province at a moment's notice ; and he kept in favour with him by well timed presents, and by always attending to the advice of his old friend and school-fellow, Mohomed Afzul, the Kazi, or Chief Judge of Kashmir, who, taken altogether, was by far the best of the Panjabis residing in the valley" (*Travels,* Vol. II, page 72).

Though Mehān Singh was reputed to be mild, his character was contradictory. Vigne thus describes the Colonel's cruelty to his wife: "Whilst I was at Kabul, Mihan Singh was guilty of an act of atrocity . . . . He baked alive his favourite wife, the mother of his only son. She happened to be in the Panjab, where some of her enemies accused her of an intrigue, and Ranjit sent her to her husband in Kashmir. Her son who feared the worst from the hands of his father, dashed his turban on the ground before him. . . . and knelt bareheaded at his feet. Mihan Singh promised to forgive her. Soon afterwards the poor lad was sent to the Pañjāb, in order to be there when Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, was on his visit to Lahore. His unfortunate mother was then seized and forced into a bath, the temperature of which was then increased for the purpose of destroying her by suffocation. This did not succeed as soon as was expected; her screams were so horrible that several people left the Shyr Gurh (Shergaṛhī), that they might not be obliged to listen to them; and in the end, her husband sent her a bowl of poison, which she swallowed" (pages 72-73).

As nature's nemesis, perhaps, we read further: "Letters, I received by the July mail 1841, informed me that Mihan Singh had been murdered in his durbar by the mutinous Sikh Sepahis, who demanded an increase of pay, which he would not grant without a reference to Lahore" (page 73).

To restore authority, shaken by mutinous soldiers, Rājā Gulāb Singh marched up to Kashmīr with a force in 1841. The Rājā quelled the mutiny and returned to the Punjāb, leaving Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn of Hoshiārpur, appointed by Mahārājā Sher Singh, then the ruler of the Punjāb, as Governor of Kashmīr in 1842, under the title of *I'timād-ud-Daula Nizām-ul-Mulk*.

A statistical account of Kashmir.—A piece of very valuable record during Colonel Mehān Singh's *régime* is a statistical account of Kashmīr in the Sikh period, on the lines of the *A'īn-i-Akbarī* of 'Allāmī Abu'l Fazl prepared for the Colonel by, apparently, an accomplished scholar of prevalent Persian of his day, but whose identity is not revealed. The MS. is a huge volume of 349 folios, exclusive of the list of contents which consists of 4 folios, and the preface, introduction and descriptive notes on Kashmīrī

hand-made glazed paper, 21″ x 15″ x 2″ in size. Several of the folios are blank, probably for subsequent additions or for items unentered or unavailable for the time being. Folios 1-2 are a preface. Folios 3-4 are an introduction. Folios 5-22 are descriptive notes on the 37 *parganas* of the Valley of Kashmīr. Division of land into *ābī* (wet) and *khushkī* (dry) cover the first 59 folios of the text. Details of revenue from cereals of the *parganas* spread over folios 67 to 75. Rates levied on packponies, boats, saffron and *singhāṛa* (or water-nut), *dāgh-shāl* (or the department of shawls), road, and *jāgīrs* or assignments of rājās, *Dharmārth* or stipends to keepers of shrines, Hindu and Muslim including Shī'a, are followed by notes on Hindu deities. A paragraph on regulations about persons engaged in rearing silk-worms closes the volume at folio 342. The topography of the *parganas* is beautifully illumined on folios 148-181, and is expressive of the artist's mode of pictorial illustration of streams, springs, gardens, hills, etc. The scribe's style of calligraphy is clear, neat *nasta'līq*.

The text opens with the praise of God and proceeds, in brief, as follows: "The rule of the rājās continued for over four thousand and four hundred years. The Sultāns ruled for 260 years. During this period, it is stated, Udshah Rāwal (?), a Hindu, was the first person who made the settlement of *parganas*, districts, etc., etc. In the time of the Chaks whose rule lasted 39 (31 ?) years, this record was lost through their neglect. When Kashmīr came under the sovereignty of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar, Pādshāh of the Chaghtāīs, and continued under his successors for 168 (166 ?) years, Rājā Todar Mal settled the revenue and taxes of the Valley—a settlement which continued till the time of the Afghāns, who held possession for 66 (67 ?) years, and followed these very lines. And now in the time of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, about whose virtues verses follow, including the complet—

هیبتِ خیل و خدمش تا فرنگ شاہِ قوی طالع رنجیت سنگ

Karnail (Colonel) Mehān Singh surveyed the land in detail and settled it.

In 1890 Bikramī (1833 A.C.), a very servere famine devastated Kashmīr. Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh appointed Colonel Mehān Singh governor of Kashmīr. The Colonel in order to prevent a recurrence of this serious calamity, visited every *pargana*, investigated prevailing conditions and put his results in the writer's record.

The author, then, prays—

سایۂ اش بر سرِ ما سایۂ حق بر سرِ او

[May on us be his shadow : on him the shadow of God !]

The closing couplet of this preface is:

شنیده ام، شنو اے صاحبِ خُجسته رقم

من از زبانِ مُوّرخ، تو از زبانِ قلم

[You of happy writ, listen, what I have heard,
I from the tongue of the historian, and you from the point of the pen.]

This MS. is not much good as a contribution to the history of Kashmīr. Administratively and economically and for political geography during Sikh sovereignty, however, it is of unrivalled authenticity. It is a mine of information for an economic survey of Kashmīr under Sikh rule, and indeed well worth the labour for a Ph.D. dissertation.]

[I am grateful to the ex-Prime Minister of Kapūrthala, Khān Bahādur Miyān 'Abdul 'Azīz *Falakpaimā*, M.A., C.B.E., Retired Financial Commissioner, Punjāb, sometime Deputy High Commissioner for Pākistān, New Delhī, for allowing me the use of this volume in manuscript (No. 20) from the State Tōshakhāna of His Highness the Mahārājā of Kapūrthala. This MS., in the inner cover, bears the following:

تواریخِ کلانِ کشمیر، عملِ میهان سِنگه - نذر گُذرانیده

مُنشی میر احمد پِسرِ نُور محمد مرحوم جلال آبادیه -]

The Basant Bāgh.

The Basant Bāgh below the Sūnt Kul (or the Apple Canal) was built by Colonel Mehān Singh. Dr. John Ince, M.D., M.R.C.S., in his *Kashmīr Handbook* (edition 1872, page 125) says that the handsome *ghāt* of the Bāgh was composed of 'limestone slabs brought by the Sikh Governor from the mosque of Hasanābād.'' The garden, presumably at Dr. Ince's visit, was occupied by Hindū *faqīrs*. There was a raised terrace inside it, where Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh sometimes sat in the warm summer evenings to hold his *darbār*.

Pandit Bīrbal Kāchru's History of Kashmīr.

Pandit Bīrbal Kāchru commenced writing his *Mukhtasar-ut-Tawārīkh* in Colonel Mehān Singh's time in 1251 A.H.=1835 A.C., and closed it in 1262 A.H.=1846 A.C.

The MS. copy available to me consists of 334 folios or 668 pages of the royal octavo size. Each page has 15 lines. The manuscript begins from the earliest times and closes with the death of Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn.

9. *Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn.*

During the government of Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, the Bambas of Muzaffarābād (which has at present a population of 4,246) and Karnāh 'Ilāqa, under Sher Ahmad, inflicted great losses on the Sikhs. In 1843, Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn opened the Jāmi' Masjid, the gates of which had been closed since 1819 or, as Pandit Bīrbal Kāchru says, 25 years. The Shaikh Bāgh near Amīra Kadal, Srīnagar, is known after him. Dr. Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.L.S., Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Army, in his *Western Himalaya and Tibet* (Reeve & Co., Convent Garden, London, 1852, p. 285) refers to his residence in this Shaikh Bāgh in April 1848, two years after the Treaty of Amritsar. Dr. Thomson calls Srīnagar 'the town of Kashmīr.'

Kashmīr histories (like *Wajīz* and *Hasan*) refer with tragic sadness to Sikh savagery in burning alive a whole family of seventeen in dry willow and cow-dung because of the alleged crime of cow-slaughter by Pīrzāda Samad Bābā Qādirī of Chhatābal, Srīnagar. This dastardly execution was supervised by the Thāna-dār (Police station officer), Bholā-nāth.

Baron Schönberg's sketch of contemporary Kashmīr.

The reader will be interested in what Baron Erich von Schönberg, the contemporary of Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, wrote in his *Travels*, published in 1853 A.C. Writes the Baron on arrival at Shālāmār, Kashmīr. "The Schykh Sahab, Gulam Moyhiddin, expressed himself in the most friendly terms, and declared repeatedly that I had only to command, and that all should be done according to my wishes ; that such were the orders of my royal friend Scheer (Sher) Singh, which fully coincided with his own wishes to serve me (Vol. II, pages 11-12) . . . . . I passed three weeks of tedious existence in the Shalimar, wearied with intrigues, the object of which seemed to be to make me a prisoner without using violence (page 15). A revolt of the military was apprehended in Kashmir; there were two parties in the province. The governor was suspected of being an instrument of Gulab Singh's, and it was supposed that the troops he commanded would join him. The military commander, on the contrary, adhered to his duty, and supported the royal party. The governor felt himself in a state of uncertainty and insecurity (page 21) . . . . . It was mid-day when

the sad intelligence of Scheer Singh's death was communicated to me" (page 22).

Prince Dalīp Singh, at the age of six, was proclaimed Mahārājā at Lāhore in 1843. Hīrā Singh, the son of Dhyān Singh, was made his *Vazīr*, as already noted. Mahārānī Jind Kaur, popularly known as Māī Jindān, became the Regent.

"Gulam Muhyiddin, who was of humble birth, came to Kashmir, in quality of chief munschi to the governor Moti Rham (Rām) if I remember correctly," writes Schönberg. "Some reports, circulated about him, attracted the attention of Runjeet Singh, and at the time that he dismissed Moti Rham from his office of governor, he summoned Gulam Muhyiddin to an account, and fined him a considerable sum" (page 92).

"Affairs had now taken a very bad turn for Muhyiddin. He and his son were necessitated to become muncshis at a monthly pay for about eight or ten rupees each. Both supported themselves in this manner for some time. Runjeet Singh died and under Karak Singh's government Muhyiddin throve better. He was made governor of Kashmir, and Gulab Singh gave him a lac of rupees" (page 94).

"The coolies and bearers who accompanied me from Kashmir to Lahore gave me the following account of their position. "When we return to Kashmir," said they, "as it will be well known that we shall each have received six rupees, there will be sent into our houses by order of the Governor for each man, two measures of maize. The price of one measure in the bazar is only eight annas but we shall be charged two rupees, so that all we shall have earned will pass into the Governor's hands" (pages 102-103).

"The artisans and weavers of shawls are in an equally miserable condition. The daily wage of each is four annas, of which he must pay two to the governor: and for the two remaining anas, singara, a kind of vegetable, is sent into his house, and, I need scarcely mention, at the same rate at which it is sold to the coolies. This singara is the cheapest of all kinds of food, and were it not so abundant, it would not be possible for a large portion of the inhabit-

ants of Kashmir to live on the slender pittance allowed by the governor. The singara, which is a kind of marine vegetable, is found in abundance in the lakes; and yet this food which is so bounteously supplied by nature is subjected to a tax taken in kind, and which forms a stock afterwards sold out at an exorbitant price" (page 103).

"I will now turn to speak of the position of the soldiers. These are scarcely better off than the other classes of which I have spoken. A regular receipt of pay is not to be thought of, nor indeed, strictly speaking, do they receive pay at all. The pay is always in arrears, and the accounts are so managed, that the soldiers are always made to appear in debt. The sepoys who accompanied me from Kashmir were very communicative. They said that in consequence of my express wish on the subject, the governor had paid them on setting out. Each had received six rupees as a compensation for six months' service, and he was obliged to be content, for according to the arrangement of the accounts they were made to appear in debt to the government. Once as the army was marching against the Chinese, Gulab Singh ordered that each soldier should receive a present of one lohy (a kind of blanket) and one rupee, but when the campaign was finished, the gift was set down as a debt. This mode of annulling presents was by no means unusual" (page 107).

10. *Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn.*

In 1845, Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn succeeded his father Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn as Governor with the title of *Amīr-ul-Mulk Jang Bahādur.* In the words of a contemporary, in an article in the *Calcutta Review,* (July-December, 1847, p. 248), Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn was "perhaps the best mannered, and the best dressed man in the Punjāb. He was rather less than middle height, but his figure was exquisite, and was usually set off with the most unrivalled *fit* which the best tailors of Kashmīr would achieve for the governor of the province. His smile and bow were those of a perfect courtier whose taste was too good to be obsequious. His great intelligence and unusually good education had endowed him with considerable conversational powers, and his Persian idiom did no dishonour to a native of Shīrāz."

[The two Shaikhs who served under the Sikhs belonged to Hoshiārpur in the Doaba Bist Jāllandhar of the East Punjāb. Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn was the son of Shaikh Ujāla of the Kalāl tribe. He began life as a shoe-maker.* Later, he served as a *munshī* to Sardār Bhūp Singh of Hoshiārpur. Ghulām Muhy'id Dīn was employed to attend on Sheo Dayāl, the second son of Dīwān Motī Rām, and the grandson of Dīwān Mohkam Chand. Kirpā Rām, the brother of Sheo Dayāl, also took interest in Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn and advanced his interests when the Shaikh satisfactorily managed the affairs of Sheo Dayāl.

When Muhammad 'Azīm Khān of Kābul marched on Peshāwar to attack the Sikhs, Ranjīt Singh, on the recommendation of Kirpā Rām, who put forward Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn as well-suited to carry on negotiation to avert this attack, deputed him to Kābul where his mission was successful. When Kirpā Rām was Governor of Kashmīr Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn accompanied him in 1827, but Rājā Dhyān Singh brought about Kirpā Rām's recall in 1831, and Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn suffered likewise. Later, when Prince Sher Singh succeeded Kirpā Rām, he took the Shaikh as his lieutenant. Ranjīt Singh, on certain adverse reports, recalled Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn and fined him heavily. After a period of unemployment, Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn was taken in service by Prince Nau-nihāl Singh and became Governor of the Jāllundhar Doāb. He assisted in the campaign against the Rājputs of Mandī, and on Mehān Singh's murder was appointed Governor of Kashmīr by Mahārājā Sher Singh. Imām-ud-Dīn was appointed Governor of the Jullundur Doāb. Later, Imām-ud-Dīn commanded troops on his march by way of Pūnch against insurrection in Kashmīr on the murder of Mehān Singh, and took part in the "Wahhābī" expedition against Sayyid Ahmad "Shahīd" of Rāi Bareilly (see pp. 733-5). Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn died, it is said, from poison in 1845, and was buried in the precincts of the *ziyārat* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, Harī-parbat, Srīnagar. The chronogram is—

هُوالغفُور

شیخِ کامل غُلامِ مُحیِ الدّین — بتحقیقت شُد از سراے مجاز

بیست و ششم شهر ربیع الاوّل

بهرِ تاریخِ رحلتش، هاتف — داد شیخِ اِرم مکان آواز

یوم الاربعاء سنه ۱۲۶۲ھ

The Calcutta Review, Vol. VIII, 1847, p. 241.

Mahārājā Dalīp Singh (Photo from the Lahore Fort Museum), the last Sikh ruler of Kashmīr. In his time, Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn and his son, Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn, were Nāzims or Governors of Kashmīr one after the other. This photo represents Mahārājā Dalīp Singh at the time of the conquest of the Punjāb by the British.

Sir Lepel Griffin[1] accuses the Shaikhs of rapacity, and says they were unpopular with the Sikhs both at Jallundhar and in Kashmīr. Sir Lepel also puts forward the possibility of Imām-ud-Dīn's retaining Kashmīr as Viceroy by the payment of a large sum of ready money to the British and this is why, it is said, he felt it necessary to carry out Rājā Lāl Singh's instructions to oppose Gulāb Singh in his occupation of Kashmīr. Another statement suggests that Imām-ud-Dīn also was offered the alternative of service as governor of Kashmīr by Gulāb Singh under him on a salary of one lakh per annum.[2] There is an incrimination that an emissary was dispatched by Imām-ud-Dīn to Russia for aid against the British, but this secret mission has never been discussed openly anywhere, and may therefore be supposed to be purely imaginary. In the *India Secret Consultations*, 26*th Dec.*, 1846, Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn is stated to have been styled as *Amīr-ul-Muminīn* which is rather significant. In his decision to carry out Lāl Singh's instruction, it is said, Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn was urged by the influence of his wife, the daughter of Mu'iz-ud-Dīn, the Khān of Kurnār, Kūhistān, proud of her kin and blood. Rājā Lāl Singh, however, was tried and deposed from the *wizārat* and banished to Āgra. Imām-ud-Dīn was pardoned at his trial which was apparently the first open tribunal under the British in the Punjāb. Imām-ud-Dīn assisted the British with two troops of cavalry for service at Delhī at the time of the Indian Revolt of 1857. He died at the age of 40, in March 1859 or Sha'bān 1275 A.H., and was buried in the courtyard of the mousoleum of Shaikh 'Alī Hujwērī Dātā Ganj Bakhsh, Lāhore, and has this inscription on his marble grave :—

چُون کہ نوّاب شیخ اِمام الدّین شُد ز دُنیا و رُو بخُلد نہاد
گُفت ہاتف بسالِ تاریخش احمدِ مُجتبےٰ شفیعش باد

تاریخِ دوم شہرِ شعبان سنہ ۱۲۷۵ ھ

چُون بخاکم بگذری دامن کشان از سرِ اِخلاص الحمدے بخوان

Nawwāb Imām-ud-Dīn had a brother named Shaikh Fīrūz-ud-Dīn, whose great-grandsons, Mr. Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, M.L.A., and Mr. Ghulām Mu'īn-ud-Dīn, P.A.S., perpetuate the family in Lāhore.

The Anglo-Sikh war of 1848-49 led to Dalīp's deposition. Mahārānī Jind Kaur was exiled to the Chunār fort in

1. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., revised by Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., PH.D., Bar-at-Law, Punjab Educational Service, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Government Printing, Lāhore, 1940, pages 318-325.

2. The *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, April 1932, page 21.

the United Provinces. She, however, escaped to Nepāl in disguise. We have already said (on p. 719) that Dalīp Singh was removed to the interior of India. As a matter of fact, Dalīp Singh was removed in 1850 to Fathgarh, United Provinces, where he was converted to Christianity on 8th March, 1853, and left for England in the following year, to spend the rest of his life there. He came to India twice—in 1861 to take his mother to England, and in 1863 to cremate her dead body on the soil of India. In 1886 he again left for India, it appears, contrary to the wishes of the English, but was detained in Aden where, during his short stay, he is stated to have been re-converted to Sikhism.* He went back to spend his last days on the continent of Europe. Dalīp, at length, died in Paris in 1893.

Close of Sikh Rule in Kashmīr.

Sikh rule in Kashmīr lasted for about 27 years. There were ten Governors during this period. This quarter of a century is the darkest period in the history of Kashmīr. This is the view of the Muslims, and this is the verdict of the overwhelming majority of the Kashmīrīs. Some of the small minority of the Kashmīrī Pandits, however, consider Afghān rule of 67 years with 14 Governors to be the darkest. All patriotic men condemn both for breaking the back of the Kashmīrī, and crushing his liberty of action and thought. Though the Kashmīrī Pandit invited the Sikh, he did not prosper under Sikh rule either. Despite my efforts to obtain information from several Sikh sources, I have not learnt of any achievement of a positive character to be set to the credit of Sikh rule in Kashmīr, except a small fort at Uṛī and another one at Narōchhī, near Muzffarābād built by Harī Singh Nalwa, the Basant Bāgh of Colonel Mehān Singh, near Shergaṛhī, Srīnagar, and the re-building by him of the Amīrā Kadal when it was swept away by a flood, and the construction of the Gurdwāras at Maṭan, Bārāmūla, and outside the Kāthī Darwāza, Srīnagar, and so also the dispatch by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, of some thousands of ass-loads of wheat for distribution from mosques and temples in Kashmīr, according to Dīwān Amar Nāth's *Zafar-nāmah* after Jama'dār Khushhāl Singh's loot of the Valley (see *Kashīr*, pages 737-8). A promise held out to the

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**Maharaja Ranjit Singh*—First Death Centenary Memorial—Khālsa College, Amritsar, 1939, p. 251.

influx of Kashmīrīs, driven out by famine, of blankets and largesses if they return to the Valley under escort, is noted by the Calcutta *Englishman* of the 25th December, 1833. The fact is that Sikh sovereignty over Kashmīr lasted for only a brief span of time, during which the rulers at Lāhore were far too preoccupied at home to pay attention to the affairs of this outlying province of theirs.

But we cannot ignore G. T. Vigne's view. There is obvious reason behind it. And Vigne was in Kashmīr from June to December, 1835, just about four years before the death of Ranjīt. With his education at Harrow and enrolment as Barrister-at-Law at Lincoln's in 1924, and wide travel in the West and, then, in the East,—Vigne was believed to be an "estimable artist,"—we cannot entirely discredit him. We read the following from his first vloume (London, 1842, page 318):—"Runjit assuredly well knew that the greater the prosperity of Kashmir, the stronger would be the inducement to invasion by the East India Company. *Après moi le déluge* has been his motto; and most assuredly its ruin has been accelerated, not less by his rapacity than by his political jealousy, which suggested to him, at any cost, the merciless removal of its wealth, and the reckless havoc which he has made in its resources." If we do not take this as gospel truth, we cannot set it down as stark lying. That Sikh rule wrought ruin to Kashmīr must be the impartial verdict of history. Dr. Gulshan Lāl Chopra, too, "condemns" Sikh rule in Kashmīr despite his admiration for Ranjīt (*see* his book, *The Panjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 140).

From 1842 Rājā Gulāb Singh had become interested in the Valley, though, till 1846, it belonged to the Sikh rulers at Lāhore. From 1846 onward, its administration was conducted by the Dogrā house of Jammu, and to that we now turn.

CHAPTER XII

KASHMĪR UNDER THE DOGRĀS

[1846 A.C.—]

Gulāb Singh enters Kashmīr with a Sikh army nominally commanded by Prince Pratāb Singh, the son of Mahārājā Sher Singh, to restore order on Colonel Mehān Singh's murder in Srīnagar.

After the death of Ranjīt Singh on 27th June, 1839, and consequent chaotic conditions in the realm, the Sikh soldiery grew turbulent in Kashmīr and wreaked vengeance on those who had offended them. They murdered Col. Mehān Singh, the governor, in 1841, whereupon a strong contingent, under the nominal command of Ranjīt Singh's grandson, Prince Pratāb Singh, ten-year-old son of Mahārājā Sher Singh, and under the charge of Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu, was sent to Kashmīr to restore authority. Gulāb Singh, as has already been stated, quelled the mutiny, and installed Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn as governor of Kashmīr under the orders of Mahārājā Sher Singh. From this time, Gulāb Singh became closely interested in the Valley of Kashmīr.

Before writing further of Gulāb Singh, who was a Dogrā, it would appear desirable to offer a little explanation of the term Dogrā, and what it signifies.

Note.—(1) Dr. Gulshan Lāl Chopra, M. A. (Panjāb), Ph.D. (London), Barrister-at-Law, sometime Lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, lately of the History Department, Government College, and ex-Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjāb, Lāhore, author of *The Panjab as a Sovereign State* (1799-1834), [Uttar Chand Kapūr and Sons, Lāhore, 1928], kindly read, during our stay in the summer of 1942 at Pahalgām (Kashmīr), this chapter XII before it was sent to the Press.

(2) I am very grateful to two most highly placed ex-state functionaries (one a Hindu and the other a Muslim) for their critical reading of this Chapter—Kashmīr under the Dogrās—in March-April, 1948, which enabled me to remove certain inaccuracies.

A brief history of the Dogras.

The origin of the term Dogrā.

The expression Dogrā is geographical rather than ethnical. It is applied to the people who inhabit the hilly country between the rivers Chenāb and Sutlaj. They are so called whether they are Hindūs or Muslims, Brāhmans, Rājpūts, Rāṭhīs or Ghirths. According to one account, the term is said to be derived from the Sanskrit words *do* and *girath*, meaning "two lakes." These words were afterwards corrupted into Dogrā. The two lakes (Siroensar and Mansar) lie in the hills, a little to the east of Jammū, which may be taken as the centre of the Dogarath or true Dogrā country. According to another account, Dogrā is a corruption of *dugar*, the *Rājasthānī* name for 'mountain,' and it was introduced by the Rājput warriors from the south who are supposed to have founded the principality of Jammu. The Dogrās themselves incline to the latter derivation. But it is certain that the term originally applied only to the inhabitants of the Dograth or hilly tract, lying between the Chenāb and the Rāvī. It is only of late years that it has been made to include the people of the Trigarth or hills lying between the Rāvī and the Sutlaj. Messrs. Hutchison and Vogel state that the ancient name of the principality of Jammu was *Durgara*, and "of this name the terms *Dugar* and *Dogrā*—in common use at the present time—are derivations." In the light of this statement, based as it is on two copper-plate title deeds of the eleventh century, found in Chamba, the first two explanations of the term must now be regarded as fanciful. The name *Durgara* was probably a tribal designation, like *Gurjara*, the original of the modern *Gujar*. The name Dogrā really comes from द्विगर्त Dvigartta (between two hollows on lakes) which is to be compared to त्रिगर्त, Trigartta designating the Kāngra valley.

The names *Dugar* and *Dogrā* are now applied to the whole area in the outer hills, between the Rāvī and the Chenāb, but this use of the terms is probably of recent origin, and dates only from the time when the tract came under the supremacy of Jammu. Dugar means the country, and Dogrā means the inhabitant. The ancient capital of the state according to tradition was at Bahu, where the ancient fort and a small town still exist. Jammu was founded by Jambu-Lochana later on.

Miyān the title of the Dogrās.

Dogrā Rājpūts of higher classes are entitled to be called *Miyān*. This title is said to have been conferred upon their ancestors by Mughul

emperors. This explains how in records we find Miyān Ranbīr Singh and Miyān Partāp Singh. A Miyān Rājpūt would not handle the plough, would never give his daughter in marriage to an inferior, or marry greatly below his rank. He would never accept money in exchange for the betrothal of his daughter. The females of his household must be strictly secluded.

The descent of the Dogrā royal line.

The Dogrā royal line traces its descent from Kuça, the second son of Rāma, and came originally, it is said, from Ayodhyā. Like Chamba and many other royal families of the hills, they claim to belong to the *Suryavanshi* (Sun-born) race, and the clan name is *Jamwāl*. Probably there was an older designation which has now been forgotten.

The Dugar or Dogrā principalities are said to have been founded round about Jammu and Kāngṛā by Rājpūt adventurers from Oudh (and also Delhī), about the time of Alexander's invasion. This statement, however, lacks proof. These Dogrā adventurers are said to have moved up north with their forces in order to oppose the Greeks.

The beginning of the Dogrā rājās of Jammu.

The first rājā of the Dogrā royal line named Agnivarna is presumed to have been a brother or kinsman of the rājā of Ayodhyā. Agnivarna is said to have settled at Parol (population, according to the census of 1941,—2,966) near Kathua (population 5,586), opposite to Mādhopur, in the Gurdāspur district of the East Punjāb. He originally came up by way of Nagarkōṭ. The son of Agnivarna was Vāyusrava, who added to his territory the country of the outer hills as far west as the Jammu Tawī. Four other *rājās* followed in succession. The fifth was Agnigarbha, who had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest were Bahu-Lochana and Jambu-Lochana. Bahu-Lochana succeeded his father, and founded the town and fort of Bahu already mentioned. Jambu-Lochana founded Jammu, which he first called Jambupura: the supposed date of its foundation being about 900 A.C. (Hutchison and Vogel). The earliest mention of Jammu in recorded history is in connexion with Tīmūr's invasion in 1398 A.C.

At the time of earlier Muslim invasions, the petty Dogrā principalities were engaged in quarrels among themselves. They combined against the Muslims, who however drove them into the hills. Here, owing to isolation and immunity from political disasters and wars of extermination, the Dogrās remained essentially Hindu both in religion and in character. "There has never been any Musalmān domination calculated either to loosen the bonds of caste by introducing among the converted people the absolute freedom of Islam, or tighten them by throwing them wholly into the hands of Brāhmans." It is in the hills of Jammu and Kāngṛā that "the Brahman and the Kshatriya occupy positions most nearly resembling those originally assigned to them by Manu." The petty chiefs were called *Rānās* and *Ṭhākurs*.

Dogras in the time of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

Mention is made of Dogrā revolts in the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, when they were made to pay tribute, and yield hostages for good behaviour. By the time Shāh Jahān came to the throne, these hill chieftains seem to have settled down quietly to the position of feudatories, and carried out the order of the Delhī court with ready obedience. They were, on the whole, liberally treated by the Mughuls, who permitted them to rule in their own fashion. Of Sangrām Dev, the rājā of Jammu, we hear in a number of places in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahangīrī*. A sum of three thousand rupees is given to Sangrām in 1027 A.H. (1618 A.C.). Sangrām is here designated as "Zamīndar of the hill country of the Punjāb" [page 5 of the English Translation Vol. II]. An elephant is bestowed on him as Sangrām "the Rājā of Jammu" (page 88) in 1028 A.H. or 1619 A.C. Later, we find that he is honoured with the title of *Rājā*, and a *mansab* of 1,000 personal and 500 horse, and was exalted with the gift of an elephant and a robe of honour (page 120). The *pargana* of Jammu was given to Rājā Sangrām (page 154). In 1029 A.H. or 1620 A.C. he was promoted to the *mansab* of 1500 personal and 1,000 horse (page 175). The loyalty of these hill chiefs appears to have won the favour and confidence of the emperors, for they were frequently sent off on hazardous and distant expeditions, given rich rewards and appointed to positions of great trust. In 1644 the Emperor Shāh Jahān dispatched a large army for the conquest of Balkh. This army included Rājā Jagat Singh, the Dogrā rājā of Nūrpur, in the Kāngṛā valley. The rājā showed great bravery but, on Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's advice, Shāh Jahān subsequently ordered the withdrawal of Mughul armies on account of their obviously untenable position in that far off country.

The appearance of the Dogrā.

Frederic Drew in his *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* describes the Dogrā as "slim in make." They have "somewhat high shoulders, and legs not well formed but curiously bowed, with turn in toes. They have not great muscular power, but they are active and untiring. The Dogrā and especially the Rājpūt is often decidedly good-looking." It was indeed the good looks of the three Dogrā brothers—Gulābu, Dhyānu and Suchētu—that evoked an immediate response from Ranjīt Singh who had a special eye for personal beauty.

Ranjīt Dev's rule over the principality of Jammu.

After a varied fortune, the principality of Jammu had, by about 1760, acquired a fairly stable government under Rājā Ranjīt Dev, a Dogrā prince who had succeeded to the *gaddī* in 1730, and continued to hold prominence in the politics of Jammu and outside for forty-four years. Ranjīt Dev established his authority over most of the Dogrā principalities, and acknowledged his own vassalage to Delhī. At one time, he incurred the suspicion of Zakarīyā Khān, the Mughul ruler of the Punjāb. The result was that he was

THE DOGRĀ FAMILY OF JAMMU

(THE OLD BRANCH) **(THE NEW BRANCH)**

T'hrov Dev or (Dhrub or Dhruv Dev)

- **Ranjit Dev.** (*d.* 1781)
  - **Brij Raj Dev.**
    - Sampuran Dev.
  - Dalēl Singh.
    - **Jit Singh.**
      - Raghbīr Dev.
      - Devī Singh.

Refugees in the protected Sikh States.

- Balwant Singh.
  - Shām Singh.
    - Lahna Singh.
      - Bīr Singh.
      - Nihāl Singh.
- Ghansār Dev.
  - Hamīr Dev.
    - Mahtāb Singh.
      - Lābh Singh.
        - Naurang Singh.
  - Katār Dev.
    - Gopāl Singh.
- Sūrat Singh.
  - Moṭa
    - Bibhut Singh.
      - Bajar Dev.
  - Zorāwar Singh.
    - Kishōr Singh.
      - **Gulab Singh.** Acquired Kashmīr in 1846. Died in 1857.
        - Udham Singh
        - Randhīr Singh *alias* Sohan Singh,
        - **Ranbir Singh** *alias* Phīna (*flat-nosed*) (1857-1885.)
          - **Pratap Singh** (1885-1925)
          - Rām Singh
          - Amar Singh
            - **Hari Singh** (the rpesent ruler) (1925-)
              - Karan Singh (the heir apparent, born at Cannes, Southern France, in March 1931).
          - Lachhman Singh (*died in childhood*)
      - Dhyān Singh. killed in 1843.
        - Hīra Singh killed in December 1844.
        - Jawāhir Singh. Deported by the English for disloyalty.
        - Motī Singh.
          - Baldev Singh
            - Sukhdev Singh
            - Jagat Dev Singh (*d.* 1940)
              - Shiv Ratan Dev Singh (to be the rājā of Pūnch on attaining majority).
            - Padam Dev Singh
            - Chatar Dev Singh
      - Suchēt Singh. killed in 1843.
  - Dhalla
    - Dhaddan
      - Janju.
  - Bhoupa

NOTE.— *This table is as given by Cunningham. But Dīwān Kirpa Rām says that Ghansār was second, Sūrat third, and Balwant the fourth son of Dhrub Dev.—Gulāb-nama, p. 71.*

imprisoned for twelve years at Lāhore. During this period Miyān Ghansār Dev acted for his brother. Ranjīt Dev was released on the intervention of Adīna Beg Khān, Governor of Jālandhar, on promising to pay a ransom of two lakhs. When Ahmad Shāh Durrānī invaded the Punjāb, Ranjīt Dev seems to have supported him, and received favours from him on the cession of the province in 1752 A. C. For help against Sukh Jīwan Mal's revolt Ahmad Shāh gave him a *jāgīr*.

Rājā Ranjīt Dev was noted for justice and impartiality. He encouraged people of all sorts from all parts of the Punjāb to settle in Jammu. He gave special concessions and allowances to the courtiers and nobles of Delhī and Lāhore fallen under misfortune. George Forster's account[1] too supports this view. He says: "Runzeid Dev, the father of the present chief of Jumbo, who deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler, largely contributed to the wealth and importance of Jumbo. Perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Mahometan merchants, he held out to them many encouragements, and observed towards them a disinterested and an honourable conduct. . . he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahometans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Moghulpour; and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony; a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory . . . . He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem that when he rode through their quarter during the time of prayer, he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations." Unfortunately there was a quarrel between Ranjīt Dev and his eldest son Brij Lāl Dev, which weakened the Jammu *rāj*. Ranjīt Dev's death in 1781, coupled with other events, led to the overthrow of Dogrā rule by the Sikhs who had supplanted the Durrānīs in the Punjāb. Kāngṛā too was annexed by the Sikhs. The Dogrās[2] thus lost their independence. It was, however, for Gulāb Singh to regain their lost dignity.

The Jammu Family descended from T'hrov (Dhrub or Dhruv) Dev, the father of Ranjīt Dev, as appears from the previous page. The branch that produced Gulāb Singh is the New Branch of this genealogical tree.

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1. George Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, Volume I, pages 283-84.

2. Information about the Dogrās is abstracted from Captain Bingley's *Dogras*, Simla, 1899, as also from *History of Jammu State* by J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *Journal of the Punjāb Historical Society*, vol. viii.

MAHĀRĀJĀ GULĀB SINGH.

[1846 A.C. TO 1857 A.C.]

Gulābū or Gulāb Singh, the son of Kishōr Singh, a valiant soldier, was born in 1792 A.C. (5th of *Kartika* 1849 *Vikramī*). His birth is flamboyantly described by Dīwān Kirpā Rām in florid Persian in his *Gulāb-nāma* (page 87):

ولادتِ باسعادتِ حضورِ عرش آشیانی بروزِ جہاں افروز پنجم ماہ کتک سنہ یک ہزار و ہشت صد
و چہل و نہ سال شمسی بکرماجیتی مطابق دوم اصطلاحی ربیع الاوّل سنہ یک ہزار و دو صد و ہفت سال
قمری ہجری یوم چہارشنبہ از اوّلِ نہار چہار ساعت و شش دقیقہ ساعتِ ماضی کہ برابر است
بآنکہ از نصفُ النّہار یک ساعتی و سی دقیقہ مستقبل باشد از مکمنِ بطون بمنصّہ ظہور آمدہ - بیت

طبعِ گیتی خندہ زد کز گُل طرب گشت آشکار
مغزِ دوراں تازہ شد کز گُل گلاب آمد پدید!

[The *Gulāb-nāma* was written by Kirpā Rām, the Dīwān or Prime Minister of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh, and was published in 1875, A.C. It was printed at the Tuhfa-i-Kashmīr Press, Srīnagar, and has 420 pages including the errata.

Gulāb Singh himself had "provided the author with necessary documents, chiefly diaries for composing it and assisted him also with verbal information which was augmented by similar information given by the author's grandfather and father who had both been Dīwāns of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, and by suggestions" of the author's contemporaries. It is in very high-flown Persian. The style is laboured. But the book is very ably written.

Of this work Mr. Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, the author of *Ranjit Singh* (Calcutta University, 1933, p. 189), writes: "from the very nature of the composition it is overlaudatory. Still we can very cautiously use it with regard to the relation between Gulab Singh, his brothers and Ranjit Singh."

The gist of the *Gulab-nāma*, in English, by the late Mr. E. Rehatsek M.C.E., Bombay, appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 19, October 1890, pages 289-303; Vol. 20, February 1891, pages 71-78; June 1891, pages 213-221.]

Gulāb Singh's claim to Jammu rule.

Gulāb Singh claimed that he was the great-grandson of Miyān Surat Dev, the younger brother of Rājā Ranjīt Dev, already mentioned above. Captain Joseph Davey Cunningham in his *History of the Sikhs* says: "The family

Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, the hero of the Treaty of Amritsar, by which he obtained possession of Kashmīr in 1846 on payment to the British of seventy-five lakhs of Nānakshāhī rupees (Sikh coinage), which is equivalent to fifty lakhs of present currency, or less than half a million pounds sterling, according to the assertion of the Kashmīr National Conference. (Photo from the Lahore Fort Museum).

to which he belonged was perhaps illegitimate and had become impoverished."[1] The contemporary Shahāmat 'Alī also states that "Mian Kishora Singh, who though not considered the rightful heir, was called by his subjects Raja" (pages 94-95). It has, however, recently[2] been pointed out by Sardār K. M. Panikkar in his *Gulab Singh* that Maharājā Ranjīt Singh, in his grant of the *rāj* of Jammu to Gulāb Singh, mentions the fact of Gulāb Singh's ancestors having been the rulers of the state."

Gulāb Singh's start in life.

Be that as it may, it is definite that Gulāb Singh took service as a *ghōṛ-chaṛha*, or trooper, in a band commanded by a *jam'adār*. According to one statement, Gulābū obtained military employment on Rs. 3 per month and rations under the Qala'dār (a commandant of a garrison) of Mungla, a fort to the west of Jhelum. Being dissatisfied, he left for service under Sultān Khān of Bhimbar, but soon after returned to his father living at Ismā'īlpur, a place about 12 miles from Jammu on the road to Paṭhānkoṭ. Later, when, as an *employé* of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, Gulāb Singh secured the surrender of Sultān Khān to the

[Captain Joseph Davey Cunningham was born in 1812 in England just about the time when Gulābu was entering Ranjīt's service at Lāhore. Joseph's father, Allan Cunningham, was a literary man acquainted with Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle. Sir Alexander Cunningham, the archaeologist, who had a distinguished career in India, was Joseph's second brother. Joseph was Deputy Commissioner first of Ludhiāna and later of Ferozpur, and rose to the position of Assistant to Colonel Wade, the Political Agent on the then Sikh Frontier. In the first Sikh War, he was attached to the staff first of Sir Charles Napier and then of Sir Hugh Gough. At Sobrāon he was additional A.D.C. to the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge. He became Political Agent, of Bhopāl. As "the result of certain strictures upon the policy of the Government of India dealing with Gulāb Singh" he was reverted to regimental duty to the Meerut Division of Public Works, and he died suddenly at Ambāla in 1851. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* appeared in 1849, only three years after the sale of Kashmīr. As Mr. Garrett remarks "the whole book bears evidence of most meticulous care and the voluminous footnotes show the breadth and variety of the author's study." Frederic Drew, writing in 1875, says that "J.D. Cunningham was an author who wrote with rare impartiality and was able to divest himself of the prejudices of his own nation in estimating the qualities and deeds of their enemies."—*Jummoo and Kashmīr Territories*, page 16.

1. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, edited by Garrett, page 178.
2. Sardār K. M. Panikkar's *Gulab Singh*, 1930, page 14.

Mahārājā, the Mahārājā imprisoned Sultān Khān and kept him under the custody of Gulāb Singh! At one time Gulābu desired to enlist himself in Shāh Shujā'ʿ's army at Kābul but returned after having proceeded as far as Peshāwar.

Gulābu had no school education, and, in the words of a contemporary, he was "hardly able to sign his name." He entered service under Ranjīt Singh, it appears, in 1809 or 1812. His second brother, Dhyānu or Dhyān Singh, was employed on Rs. 60 per mensem. They both became running footmen under Ranjīt Singh's eye. But the author of the *Gulāb-nāma* says that Gulāb Singh was taken into Ranjīt Singh's service on the recommendation of Dīwān Khushwaqt Rāi, agent of Sardār Nihāl Singh Aṭārīwāla, on a monthly salary of Rs. 200 to be shared with his other associate sepoys. According to Shahāmat 'Alī, the start was on two rupees a day.* However, the joint assiduity of Gulābu and Dhyānu and especially the graceful bearing of Dhyānu who, as a common lancer breaking in a vicious horse at the time of a review, attracted the notice of Māhārājā Ranjīt Singh. Baron Schönberg's version is not uninteresting. "Gulab Singh and his brothers were Radjputs from the mountains" writes the Baron (*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 116-17), "and in the commencement of their career, held very subordinate situations. Gulab and his elder brother entered the service of Runjeet Singh as sepoys. It happened that once during a campaign, the brother was placed as sentinel outside Runjeet's tent. The latter, who had an eye for personal

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**The Sikhs and Afghans*, 1847, p. 92.

Shahāmat 'Alī, the author of *An Historical Account of the Sikhs and Afghans*, studied at the Muhammadan College at Delhī 'founded in the time of the Mughal Emperors' and restored 'on the decline of their empire' in 1823 by the British. Shahāmat was second in order of merit in his class, Pandit Mohan Lāl Kashmīrī, afterwards Āghā Hasan Jān, being fourth. In 1832 Shahāmat was employed in the political agency of (then) Captain Wade at Ludhiāna. In 1837-38 he was deputed on special duty to Lāhore to explain certain cases pending between Lord Auckland and Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Later he accompanied Lieutenant-Colonel Sir C. M. Wade to Peshāwar in 1839. He was also Mīr Munshī to the Political Resident in Mālwa. This book was published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London in 1847. According to Mr. Narendra Krishna Sinha, Shāhamat 'Alī is one of those very rare writers of Sikh history who attempted, however briefly, to give an account of Sikh civil administration (*Ranjit Singh*, p. 194).

beauty, was pleased with the soldierly appearance of the Radjput, and promoted him, giving him a place about his person. The advancement of one brother was a stepping stone for the others." This story, however, is not mentioned in earlier contemporary accounts either by Indian or European writers. Dhyān Singh speedily took the place of a chamberlain. Gulāb Singh obtained a petty command, and distinguished himself by the seizure of Āghā Jān, the chief of Rajaurī. Jammu, or to use the language of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's *sanad*, "administration of the Chakla of Jammu was then conferred in jagir upon the family" in 1822, when Gulāb Singh was 30, Dhyān Singh 26 and Suchēt Singh barely 19.

Shahāmat 'Alī states that on the death of 'Mian Kishora Singh,' Ranjīt, at the request of of his favourites, the sons of the deceased, proceeded towards Jammu "to perform the rites of condolence. On that occasion he invested them with *khil'ats* in return for which proof of consideration his Highness demanded a Nazrāna from them; and the three brothers exerted themselves to satisfy the demand" (page 95). The youngest brother Suchētu or Suchēt Singh was young, graceful and handsome. He wormed his way into the Mahārājā's consideration. He as well as the two elder, were one by one, raised to the rank of *rājā*, and rapidly acquired considerable influence in the counsels of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Dhyān Singh's title was—*Rājā Bahādur* Rājā Dhyān Singh *Nā'ib-us-Saltanat-i-Punjāb, Vazīr-i-'Azam, Dastūr-ī-Mu'azzam Mukhtār-ul-Mulk.* Writing of Rājā Dhyān Singh, the contemporary Shahāmat 'Alī, Indian Secretary with the Wade Mission of 1839, notes that Maharājā Ranjīt Singh places great confidence in the Rājā's good sense and fidelity, and considers him one of his sincerest friends. The power which the Jammu Rājās have of late years been acquiring is chiefly owing to the great influence which the constant presence of Rājā Dhyān Singh at court enables him to exercise in the affairs of their family. Dhyān Singh was 15 when he was employed in Ranjīt's *deoṛī*. Suchēt Singh was then a boy of 12 when his "engaging qualities met with particular favour from the Maharaja who became so fond of him that he would never allow him to be absent from his presence. The three brothers were known by the title of Mians." Dhyān Singh received the principality of Pūnch. Suchēt Singh obtained the Rām-nagar *'ilāqa*.

Punch—Pūnch, now a tributary province and officially styled Pūnch Jāgīr, having an area of 1627 square miles, should receive more than a passing reference. It is situated to the south-west of the Valley of Kashmīr and to the north of the Jammu province. It is divided into four *tahsīls*, named Bāgh, Sudhnotī, Havelī and Menḍhar. Pūnch was originally one of the small independent hill states, but was annexed by Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, who slew the rājā of Pūnch, and exposed his head and that of his nephew in an iron cage. When Ranjīt Singh attempted his unsuccessful invasion of Kashmīr by the Tosha Maidān pass in 1814 A.C., and the Musalmān rājā of Pūnch allied himself with 'Azīm Khān, the Afghān Governor of Kashmīr, the Sikhs in their disastrous retreat burnt the city. Gulāb Singh's younger brother, Rājā Dhyān Singh obtained Pūnch from Ranjīt Singh after the conquest of Kashmīr by the Sikhs. Dhyān Singh's third surviving son, Motī Singh, was the contemporary of Ranbīr Singh. Motī was succeeded by Baldev Singh. Baldev's son was Jagat Dev Singh whom Mahārājā Pratāp Singh adopted as his son. Jagat's son Rājā Sheo Ratan Dev Singh would succeed to the *gaddī* of Pūnch on coming to his majority as the Jagīrdār of Pūnch. He is, at present, taking his LL.B. degree at the Lucknow University in U.P.

The population of the Jāgīr of Pūnch in 1931 was 3,87,384. In 1941 it was 4,21,828. Over 90 per cent. of the total population is Muslim.

There are hot sulphur springs at Tattāpānī in the Menḍhar Tahsīl on the right bank of the river Pūnch. These are said to have valuable medicinal properties. But the arrangements for visitors, in the words of the latest census report (1941), are primitive.

Pūnch, the principal place of this principality situated in the Havelī Tahsīl, is at an elevation of 3,210 feet above the sea level. The town is oblong in shape. It is unwalled, and has narrow stone-paved streets. The appearance is quite picturesque from a distance. The population is 8,608. Electricity and the telephone are there. A college building was being constructed in 1944-45. The fort, in which the rājā resided, stands on a mound, about 300 yards from the south-west corner of the town. Pūnch town is well-supplied with water brought by channels from the neighbouring streams. The climate is hot in summer. During the five hot months, it is the custom to migrate to the summer camping grounds in the hills known as Dhobs. A motor road connecting Kashmīr by way of Uṛī over the Hājī Pīr Hill has recently been completed. Motor lorries ply between Pūnch and Jammu and between Pūnch and Mīrpur and Jhelum. A footpath goes to Gulmarg. A road from Jammu through Akhnūr and Rajaurī Tahsīls is under construction. The ancient name of Pūnch was Parnotsa, and the place is often mentioned in the Sanskrit chronicles. The Kashmīrīs always speak of Pūnch as Prūnts.

Rajauri or Rājāpurī, also called Rāmpur by the Dogrās, with an elevation of 3,094 feet, is a walled town near Naushahra, very picturesquely situated on the side of a low range of jungle-covered hills about 150 feet above the right bank of the Tawī river. There seems to have been a Mughul garden on the left bank of the river. Rajaurī was a stage on the old Mughul route. There are two *bāradarīs* and some *hammāms*, wrote Drew in 1875. There is a sarāi used by the Mughul emperors' followers. Rajaurī-Rāmpur is 94 miles south-west of Srīnagar. On the elevated hill north-west of the town there is a fort which commands the valley. The Rajās of Rajaurī were Muslim Rājputs. Drew may be referred to for information on Rajaurī, pp. 92, 154-6.

Ramnagar town, about 2,700 feet above the sea, is about 30 miles east of Jammu. The picturesque and baronial-looking edifice is the palace, near wich is the square-built and turreted castle. Rāmnagar fell into the hands of the Sikhs about the same time that Gulāb Singh became master of Jammū. The old rājā fled to Sabāthu, near Simla, and died there. Suchēt Singh was made rājā of Rāmnagar by Ranjīt Singh. Suchēt Singh took pride in the place, improved it, and encouraged its growth. (*See* Drew, pp. 85-6).

According to Cunningham (page 262), Rājā Suchēt Singh had secretly deposited a quantity of coin and bullion estimated at 1,50,000 rupees, which his servants were detected in endeavouring to remove after his death. It was sent to Ferozpur during the Afghān War, to be offered as part of an ingratiatory loan to the British Government, which was borrowing money at the time from the protected Sikh chiefs.

Gulāb Singh's distinguished appearance.

Gulāb Singh had a distinguished appearance. His photograph reproduced in *Kashīr* shows him as an elderly impressive figure. A contemporary* says: "In manner Gulab Singh is most mild and affable; his features are good, nose aquiline, and expression pleasing though rather heavy. Indefatigable in business, he sees after everything himself. Hardly able to sign his name, he looks after his own accounts and often has the very grain for his horses weighed out before him." His Highness, like his old master Ranjīt, was fond of horses, and a number of grass *rakhs* were reserved for cultivation. Gulāb Singh, no doubt, was a thorough-bred soldier. His manners were those of a warrior, and "were not softened by intercourse with the court of Lahore," obviously because when he got Jammu he was anxious to change Jammu by staying in Jammu rather than to change himself by the life led at the court. He would be in Lāhore only when required and not otherwise. His brothers were

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*Smyth, *Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 257.

superior to him in talent, says McGregor. Because of their close contact with the court, they were naturally different from their elder brother in their manners and their outlook.

Gulāb Singh ordinarily remained in the hills, using Sikh means to extend his authority over his brother Dogrā Rājpūts. Dhyān Singh remained continually in attendance upon Ranjīt Singh. Suchēt Singh continued as 'a gay courtier and gallant soldier.' In 1834, Zōrāwar Singh Kalhoria, Rājā Gulāb Singh's commander in Kishtwār, took advantage of internal disorders in Leh, deposed the reigning rājā, and set up his rebellious minister in his stead, exacting tribute for Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, and bringing spoils to Jammu. In 1840, Zōrāwar Singh took Skārdu (Iskārdu), and later invaded Tibet, but was killed and his army annihilated. Thus when Ranjīt Singh died, in June 1839, at the age of 59, Gulāb Singh, though feudatory to the Sikh Government, had established his authority in Jammu and the neighbouring principalities. He had a commanding influence in Kashmīr, then still under a governor appointed by the Sikh ruler of Lāhore.

An awkward time in Gulāb Singh's life.

A very awkward time in Gulāb Singh's life is referred to by Dr. Honigberger* in the following paragraph. "In the year 1845, cholera arrived at Lahore, having travelled through Turkistan and Cabul. At the same time Gholab Sing was brought from Jummoo, a town in the mountains, a prisoner to Lahore [in the evening of 7th April, 1845, seated on an elephant covering his face with cloth] and he might have congratulated himself on having escaped the persecution of Jewahir Sing (the chief minister, who was the brother of Rānī Chanda, the mother of Dalīp Singh); for it was well known that at different periods attempts had been made upon his life. The reason of Jewahir's hatred against him was that Gholab Sing had persuaded a great number of the Sikh troops to follow his banner to whom (?) he trusted himself. He was brought from Jummoo to Lahore, in consequence of his resistance to some government exactions. It is a remarkable fact that Gholab Sing, in spite of his fortress being blockaded by numerous troops, was bold enough to give orders to

*Thirty-five Years in the East, p. 115.

murder on the road the delegates of the Sikhs whom he had himself despatched with the subsidies requested by the government, as if he had regretted performing his duty." Gulāb Singh was confined within the *havelī* of Kanwar Nau-nihāl Singh, where he was strongly guarded to prevent his escape or suicide. Differences between Jawāhir Singh and Lāl Singh came to his rescue, and he was released mostly through the clever manoeuvring of his own Dīwān, Jawāla Sahāi. In fact, after some time when Jawāhir Singh, the Chief Minister, was killed by Sikh soldiers in September 1845, Gulāb Singh was invited to take his place but he declined the honour in view of the uncertainty of the situation. He also remembered his recent disgrace.

Gulāb Singh's understanding with the English.

The first Sikh War of 1845-46 proved the proverbial tide in the affairs of Gulāb Singh. When the operations began in the winter of 1845, Gulāb Singh, forgetting his loyalty to the Sikhs, contrived to hold himself aloof, either because of the hostile attitude of the Sikh government at Lāhore towards him, or due to some understanding with the English. When, however, the battle of Sobrāon took place in 1846, he appeared as a mediator, and the adviser of Sir Henry Lawrence. We should remember that, in 1841 Gulāb Singh had helped the British by allowing their army passage through the then Sikh territory of the Punjāb for the invasion of Afghānistān, which Ranjīt Singh had refused at the time of the First Afghān War, and consequently the British had had to proceed by way of Sind. Gulāb Singh also assisted the British troops with supplies, even though the British army had suffered reverses in Afghānistān. It was thus that the seeds of future fortune for Gulāb Singh were sown. In January, 1846, Rājā Gulāb Singh had been installed as Prime Minister of the Punjāb State by Mahārānī Jindān. The British, anxious to curb the spirit of the Sikh army, and to reduce the kingdom of Lāhore, entered into negotiations with Gulāb Singh. Two treaties were concluded. By the first, signed at Lāhore on 9th March, 1846, the state of Kashmīr was handed over to the British as equivalent to one crore of rupees (ten millions) of indemnity and the hill countries between the rivers Beās and the Indus including the provinces of Kashmīr and Hazāra. By the second, signed at Amritsar, seven days later, on 16th March, 1846, between the British Government and Rājā Gulāb Singh, the

British made over to Gulāb Singh for 75 lakhs (seven and a half millions) *Nānakshāhī*, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east of the Indus and west of the Rāvī. The amount that Gulāb Singh agreed to pay was really the indemnity of a crore, imposed on the Sikh government. They were unable to pay it, and consequently they offered to hand over Jammu, Kashmīr, Ladākh and Baltistān to the English. But Gulāb Singh offered to pay this indemnity for the possession of Jammu, Kashmīr, Ladākh and Baltistān. As, however, the British retained possession of the trans-Beās portion of Kulu and Manḍī, including Nūrpur and the celebrated fort of Kāngra (with its district and dependencies)—the key of the Himālaya in local estimation—the sum of Rs. 25,00,000 was deducted from it, and Gulāb Singh was lucky to acquire the Earthly Paradise for seven and a half millions, though a part of this money he borrowed at the time, according to a report, from Shaikh Saudāgar (son of Maulā Bakhsh, director of army transport and supplies to the Sikh Government) who subsequently figures as Vazīr-i-Jammu ! At this same time, Gulāb Singh was formally invested with the title of Mahārājā at Amritsar. In view of the sale of their Fatherland without their knowledge, the Kashmīrīs must know the text of the Treaty and it must, therefore, be reproduced here :

Treaty* (of 1846) with Maharaja Gulab Singh.

Treaty between the British Government and Mahārājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu, concluded at Amritsar, on 16th March, 1846.

Treaty between the British Government on the one part, and Mahārājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Councillors, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Mahārājā Gulāb Singh in person.

Article I.—The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its depend-

*For the version, in Persian, of this Treaty see the *Gulāb-nāma*, 1932 Bikrami, pp. 352-4

encies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahore, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

Article 2.—The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

Article 3.—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lacs (seven and a half millions) of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4.—The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be, at any time, changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5.—Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6.—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs, to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7.—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take, or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8.—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles 5, 6 and 7, of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March, 1846.

Article 9.—The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10.—Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

[*Note*—In 1893 it was agreed to drop the gift of "twelve perfect shawl goats."]

This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar, this 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rabi-ul-awwal, 1262 Hijri."

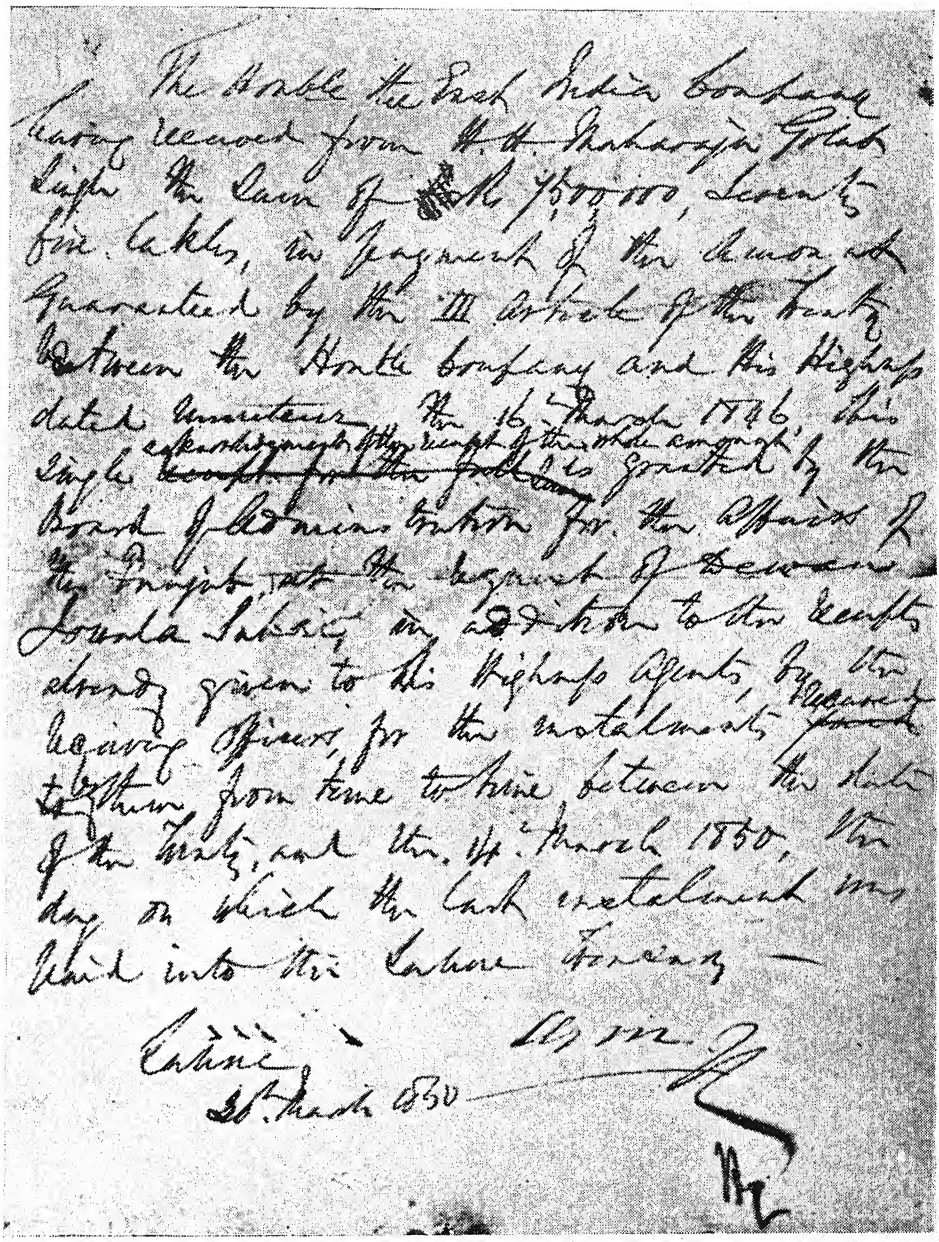
Golab Singh (L.S.) H. Hardinge (L. S.)
F. Currie.
H. M. Lawrence.

"On this occasion Maharaja Golab Singh stood up, and with joined hands, expressed his gratitude to the British Viceroy—adding, without however, any ironical meaning, that he was indeed the *zar-kharīd*, or gold-boughten slave!—Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1849 Edition, p. 332, footnote.

The receipt for the money.

Final Receipt for the transfer of Kashmīr signed by the Board of Administration.

"The Hon'ble The East India Company having received from His Highness the Maharaja Gulab Singh the sum of Rs. 75,00,000 (seventy-five lakhs) in payment of the amount guaranteed by the III Article of the Treaty between the Hon'ble Company and His Highness dated Umritsar the 16th March, 1846, this single acknowledg-



The Honble the East India Company having received from H. H. Maharajah Gulab Singh the sum of Rs 75,00,000, Seventy five lakhs, in payment of the amount guaranteed by the III Article of the treaty between the Honble Company and His Highness dated Amritsar the 16th March 1846, this receipt of the whole amount by the single exchequer payment is granted by the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of the Punjab, at the request of Deewan Jowala Sahaiy in addition to the receipts already given to his Highness Agents, by the receiving Officers, for the instalments paid to them from time to time between the date of the treaty and the 4th March 1850, the day on which the last instalment was paid into the Lahore Treasury —

Lahore
30th March 1850

H. Lawrence

Hardinge

Facsimile of the original receipt of Rs. 75,00,000 (estimated to be equivalent to Rs. 50,00,000 in current coin) for the transfer of Kashmir by Lord Hardinge to Mahārājā Gulāb Singh.

[*By courtesy of the Keeper of Government Records, West Punjāb, Lāhore.*]

ment of the receipt of the whole amount is granted by the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab at the request of Dewan Jowalla Sahae, in addition to the receipts already given to His Highness' agents by the receiving officers, for the instalments received by them from time to time between the date of the Treaty and the 14th March 1850, the day on which the last instalment was paid into the Lahore Treasury."

H. M. [H. M. Lawrence.]
J. L. [John Lawrence.]
C. G. [C. G. Mansel.]

Lahore, 29th March, 1850.

Fauq's comment on the Sale of Kashmīr

Thus it was that the Valley of Kashmīr was sold for 75 lakhs* (seven-and-a-half millions) or a sum now less than half a million pounds sterling, or about fifty lakhs of current Indian coin, paid in instalments during a period of four years! And this commercial deal is "The Document of the Kashmīrī's Bondage."

And the late Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* in an article under the caption *The Auction of Eleven Lakhs of Kashmīrīs*, wonders why this transaction of the sale of Kashmīr should have been struck at Amritsar, over three hundred miles from Kashmīr, without the knowledge of the people of Kashmīr, by a nation known for justice!

ہزار بار جو یُوسف بِکے غُلام نہیں

["Sold even a thousand times, Yūsuf (Joseph) is no slave!" As a matter of fact, Yūsuf ultimately became the ruler of Egypt, the land he had entered as a slave.]

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*Mr. C. Grey, a retired railway official, interested in Sikh history, tells us that he found the receipt for Rs. 75 lakhs for the sale of Kashmīr in the Record Office in Lāhore. The receipt was written on a small piece of ordinary paper, and was in a bundle with other miscellaneous documents, which were destined to be destroyed as waste paper. How the document came to be where it was, is not known. Again, if it is the receipt for Rs. 75 lakhs paid by Mahārājā Gulāb Singh for Kashmīr, one would expect to find it in the State archives in Kashmīr. The receipt is now preserved, according to Mr. Grey, as it deserves to be preserved as a document of great historical interest, in the Record Office.—*The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lāhore, Wednesday, 12th April, 1939.

But it may be pointed out that Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, Keeper of the Records of the Punjāb Government, notes that the receipt is in the Punjāb Record Office Museum, *vide* Monograph No. 12, Punjāb Government Record Office Publications, page 9, Appendix VI.

Each Kashmīrī was thus sold for Rs. 7 by a handful of British officials to Gulāb Singh! A lady humourously remarks that this ridiculously low sale of the Kashmīrī is the reason for the cheap labour of the Kashmīrī in and outside Kashmīr! But the needy and imprudent agents of the East India Company who sold and the rich and shrewd Dogrā who purchased Kashmīr, Fauq points out, did not perhaps realize :—

دہقان و کشت و جُوے و خیاباں فروختند!
قومے فروختند و چہ ارزاں فروختند!
اقبال

[Their fields, their crops, their streams,
Even the peasants in the Vale
They sold, they sold all, alas!
How cheap was the Sale!]

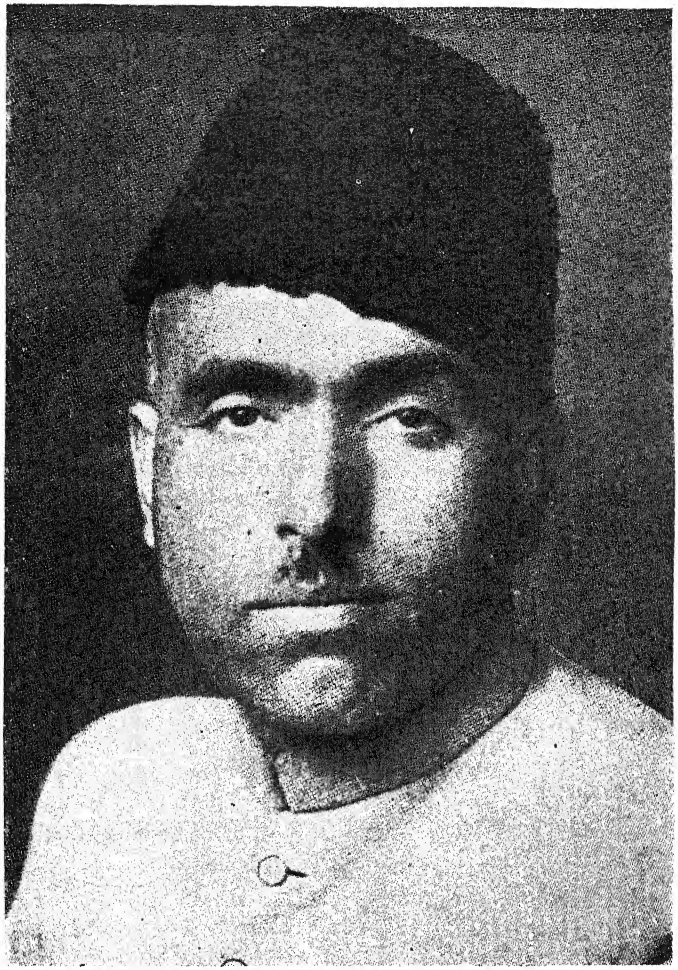
And thus the Kashmīrī became—

در دیارِ خُود غریب اُفتادہ است

[A stranger in his own country!]

The "Quit Kashmīr" Movement of 1946.

The poor Kashmīrī had fallen under successive blows, and, in the consequent coma, did not know what had transpired over his head in 1846 between the British and the Sikh vassal, Rājā Gulāb Singh, in regard to the fate of his fatherland. But such an event could not but have its inevitable echo in course of time. It is but the simple law of nemesis. And it is, indeed, a curious coincidence that the successors of Lord Hardinge and the successors of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh have to face the music simultaneously in India and in Kashmīr. And we witness the "Quit Kashmir" movement organized in 1946, after one hundred years of Dogrā rule, by the workers of the National Conference of Kashmīr under its President, Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh.



SHAIKH MUHAMMAD 'ABDULLÂH
Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmīr State

Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh, six feet four inches,—the posthumous son of Shaikh Muhammad Ibrāhīm, a dealer in shawls, already the father of five sons,—was born in 1905 at Sovrah, an outskirt of Srīnagar (*see* p. 116 of *Kashīr*). After matriculation in 1922 in his native land, he took his B.Sc. degree in 1928 from the Islāmia College, Lāhore, and his M.Sc. degree in Chemistry at the 'Alīgarh Muslim University in 1930.

As reported in local newspapers, Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh claimed, in his speech at Srīnagar on 16th May, 1946, that "he was ordained to liberate his native land from Dogrā slavery that the Treaty of Amritsar brought on it." How prophetic that he is, since 1948, the head of the Interim Government of Jammu and Kashmīr!

It took the Indian about 200 years to rise to the necessity of launching a "Quit India" move against alien rule, but the Kashmīrī has taken but half that time to ask its Dogrā ruler to " quit Kashmīr. " As *Kashīr* is not concerned with present politics, we have to seal our lips about it. The historian of events subsequent to our date, viz. 1925, imposed by us on ourselves, will discuss in detail the *pros* and *cons* of this movement. We here merely record its fateful occurrence.

Reasons for the transfer of Kashmīr.

Surprise has often been expressed that, when Kashmīr had actually been ceded to the British after a hard and strenuous campaign, they should ever have parted with it for the paltry sum of three quarters of a million, writes Sir Francis Younghusband, sometime British Resident in Kashmīr.* The reasons are to be found, he says, in a letter from Sir Henry Hardinge to the Queen published in *The Letters of Queen Victoria.* The Governor-General writing from the neighbourhood of Lāhore, on 18th of February, 1846—that is nearly three weeks before the Treaty of Lahore was actually signed—says it appeared to him desirable "to weaken the Sikh State which has proved itself too strong—and show to all Asia that, although the British Government has not deemed it expedient to annex this immense country of the Punjab, making the Indus the British boundary, it has punished the treachery and violence of the Sikh nation, and exhibited its power in a manner which cannot be misunderstood." " For the same political and military reason," Sir Henry Hardinge continues, " the Governor-General hopes to be able, before the negotiations are closed, to make arrangements by which Cashmere may be added to the possessions of Gulab Singh, declaring the Rajput Hill States with Cashmere independent of the Sikhs of the plains." " There are difficulties in the way of this arrangement," Sir Henry adds, " but considering the military power which the Sikh nation had exhibited of bringing into the field 80,000 men and 300 pieces of field artillery, it appears to the Governor-General most politic to diminish the means of this warlike people to repeat a similar aggression." This was the reason, says Younghusband, why the British did not annex Kashmīr. The

*Kashmir, 1917 edition, pages 170-72.

Punjāb had not yet been annexed. It was taken three years later. The distance from Kashmīr to the Sutlaj (then the British boundary) is 300 miles of very difficult mountainous country, quite impracticable for five or six months. "To keep a British force 300 miles from any possibility of support," wrote Lord Hardinge to a near relative, "would have been an undertaking that merited a strait-waistcoat and not a peerage." The arrangement was the only alternative. "In 1846, the East India Company had no thoughts or inclinations whatever to extend their possessions. All they wished was to curb their powerful and aggressive neighbours, and they thought they would best do this, and at the same time reward a man who had shown his favourable disposition towards them, by depriving the Sikhs of a hilly country and by handing it over to a ruler of a different race." (*Kashmir*, page 172). But Lord Hardinge must have realized the stupidity of his step in the course of his visit to the Valley in 1846, after the signing of the Treaty; but it was too late to repent!

This is one version of the sale of Kashmīr. The truth, however, is that the Board of Directors of the East India Company could not countenance Lord Hardinge's forward policy of expansion, for bringing about the Second Sikh War, and for such large expenditure of money. Hardinge had to save his face and to find money to defray the war expenses. Sir Henry Lawrence came to his rescue and set up Gulāb Singh to step in to save the situation, pay the money and obtain Kashmīr. And the deal was matured in the Treaty of Amritsar!

[Some partisans have confused this transaction of the *sale* of Kashmīr to Rājā Gulāb Singh, by assuming it to be his *conquest* of Kashmīr. This reminds one of the Kashmīrī Pandit, who inserted 35 rājās of the Rājput ancestry of Gulāb Singh in the line of very ancient rulers of Kashmīr referred to by Sir Aurel Stein as "due to flattery" (*vide* page 35, the first footnote, Chapter II of *Kashīr*).

The sale of Alaska to the United States of America, provides a recent parallel. The U.S.A. purchased Alaska from Russia for 7,200,000 dollars in 1867 A.C. Alaska was previously known as Russian America. The name Alaska (Aleut—the mainland) was given to it at the instance of Senator Sumner. Alaska has an area of 586,000 square miles. Its population is 59,278. The area of the Valley of Kashmīr is 6,131 square miles, and the population 14,63,528. So also Manhattan Indians sold the city of New York to Dutch settlers in 1614 for about 24 dollars! Obviously these sales were not private or individual at any rate, nor to a particular person or family.]

Observations on the Sale of Kashmīr.

It is not easy to speculate on the course which events in Kashmīr might have taken had not want of wisdom on the part of a set of British officials—lacking foresight for the interests of their own mother country and for the greater good of Kashmīr itself—sold the Valley and enslaved its subjects to a Dogrā soldier of fortune, whose antecedent and ancestry hardly afforded any striking proof for the propriety of ruling a race, at any rate, with a great past. The keen critical mind of Captain Cunningham expresses itself in a somewhat similar strain. "The transaction," writes Cunningham, "scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness, and the objections become stronger when it is considered that Gulāb Singh had agreed to pay sixty-eight lākhs of rupees (£680,000), as a fine to his paramount before the war broke out, and that the custom of the East as well as of the West requires the feudatory to aid his lord in foreign war and domestic strife. Gulāb Singh ought thus to have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent prince" (page 319). It must, however, be pointed out that Gulāb Singh endeavoured to retain sovereignty for Dalīp Singh on better terms, but unwise counsels among the Sikh leaders themselves would not let him have his way. And the catastrophe did befall Ranjīt's progeny.

When, however, consciousness of their own stupidity dawned on the British, they did not hesitate to give belated expression to their feelings by declaring: "But cannot Kashmir be redeemed? The people are exclusively Musalmans; the ruler to whom it is sold is a Sikh (Dogrā?), an alien. Would it not be possible, therefore, to effect an exchange, to give the Sikh (Dogra?) ruler Sikh (Dogrā?) territory in exchange for his Muhammadan territory? The possession of Kashmir is now of vital importance; no price we could afford to pay will be too great to give for it.

"It may be well to remember that the terms of the original Treaty have already been modified. The Treaty provided originally for the sale of Chamba along with Kashmir; but Chamba was redeemed in 1847, by giving, in exchange apparently, Bhadarwah and the Lakhimpur Taluqa (Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. 2, p. 371). Cannot the Treaty, therefore, be further modified so as to redeem Kashmir? Jammu and Bhadarwah might be left, and

in exchange for the Kashmir Valley, we might give Sikh (Dogra?) territory in the plains between the Chenab and Ravi rivers right down to the Punjab Northern State Railway, with the cities of Sialkot and Wazirabad, in place of the city of Srinagar. . . . . If, however, it be impossible thus to redeem Kashmir, we can at least obtain ground for cantonments, factories, railways, etc., within the valley and approaches, and for the defensive works on the hills...." [Pp. 25-26, *India for Sale: Kashmir Sold* by Major W. Sedgwick, R.E., 1, Mission Row, Calcutta, 1886, total pages 30].

The late Mahātmā Mohandās Karamchand Gāndhī, after his three-day visit to Srīnagar, told the people in the gathering at his evening prayer held at Wāh, near Rāwalpindī in the West Punjāb, on Tuesday, August 5, 1947, that "the Treaty of Amritsar was in reality a deed of sale. He supposed it would be dead on August 15. The seller was the then British Governor-General and Maharaja Gulab Singh, the buyer." "Common sense dictated," he said, "that the will of the Kashmiris should decide the fate of Kashmir & Jammu. The sooner it was done, the better it was."

It is not perhaps inopportune here to make two or three observations at this distance of time in 1946 on probables deduceable from happenings in 1846, exactly 100 years ago. Kashmīr might have become part of the British administration of the Punjāb, or made into a separate British province with some Agent to the Governor-General, or the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, or the Lieutenant-Governor as its head, probably the latter, on account of the extent and importance of the Valley and its frontiers adjoining Russia and China. In that case, the Chief Commissioner, or the Lieutenant-Governor, or the Governor, despite money spent on initial equipment and sumptuary allowance, would certainly have been a very much cheaper commodity than His Highness the Mahārājā to the struggling revenues of Kashmīr. It is true, however, that the former would have spent his salary in the vicinity of London, Edinburgh or Belfast, or in some shire or borough in England, Wales, Scotland or Northern Ireland. In the latter case, for most of the money, whether wasted or wisely spent or hoarded in subterranean treasure, the venue is the Valley itself, though, in modern times no inconsiderable quantity of Kashmīr

cash has been spent abroad. As regards the actual personalities of administrators, the difference is between the moderate, invigorating wine and intemperate enervating opium. Also, "George Stephenson" would certainly have steamed into Srīnagar, and Kashmīr's unhappy isolation would have been a thing of the past. Its trade and its industry might have had more general development, and its administrative and economic betterment would have been far more rapid as is the case with the Punjāb. And, above all, the morale of the Kashmīrī would have been very much higher. James Milne was not wrong when he felt "a new and stronger manhood would have developed among the Kashmiris if we (the British) had kept their country in our hands" (*The Road to Kashmir*, p. 136). There may have been something of the 'slave mentality' incident to foreign rule as in British India, but the intensity of *Jī Huzūr* degradation would have been staved off. I came across, in 1945, an official of the Gwāliār State whose feeling was that *Jī Huzūr* does not gall State people as they do not feel it. I am afraid many in British India would not accept that view. Possibly it may be argued that good government is no substitute for self-government. True, but for the Kashmīrī, the alternatives were between a militant Dogrā and a Liberal or Conservative Britisher. Kashmīr is not Kenya of the Dark Continent, and a white man's colony converting Kashmīrīs into hewers of wood and drawers of water would not have been an altogether easy thing.

Lord Hardinge's visit to Kashmīr.

In the spring of 1846, shortly after the Treaty of Amritsar, Lord Hardinge visited the Valley, proceeding *via* Hoshiārpur, Paṭhānkōṭ, and reaching Jammu on the 13th April. Gulāb Singh himself received him on the other bank of the Tawī. After halting for about a week, Lord Hardinge left for Kashmīr, where he stayed for 10 days. He went *via* Kishtwār, Kāngṛa, Manḍī and Bilāspur to Simla.

The actual possession of Kashmīr by Gulāb Singh.

Kashmīr, however, did not come into the hands of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh without some trouble. Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn, the Governor of Kashmīr, though believed to be well affected towards him, as Baron Schönberg has

already explained, opposed him under written instructions from Rājā Lāl Singh, Vazīr of Lāhore. And with the assistance of Bambas from the Jhelum valley he routed the Dogrā troops, dispatched to take over, on the outskirts of Srīnagar. When the news of the defeat reached Gulāb Singh, he applied to the British for assistance to enable him to take possession of Kashmīr. The British Government had to intervene and coercive measures were resorted to. Lord Hardinge accordingly addressed the Commander-in-Chief on September 22, 1846, requesting him that Brigadier Wheeler commanding the Jālandhar Doāb be ordered to advance in order to enable Mahārājā Gulāb Singh to move all his disposable forces to Kashmīr. The Lāhore Darbār was also asked to assist Gulāb Singh. Strangely enough, a contingent of 17,000 Sikhs, that had been fighting against the British in the First Sikh War, was ordered to support the Brigadier in wresting Kashmīr from Imām-ud-Dīn who was acting under the orders of Vazīr Lāl Singh, the Sikh Premier of the Punjāb, and to hand it over to Gulāb Singh. The mobilization of these troops proved to Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn the hopelessness of further resistance. He raised the siege of Harī-parbat occupied by the troops of Gulāb Singh that had already been in the Valley to take charge of it as mentioned above. Their troop leader Lakhpat Rāi—ex-Vazīr of the rājā of Kishtwār and recruited into Gulāb Singh's service after his Kishtwār campaign—was killed. Lakhpat Rāi is buried on the spot in front of the Pratāp College gate, across the road, at Srīnagar. Through the intervention of Sir Henry Lawrence, Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn ceased opposition. He left the Valley on 23rd October, 1846, by way of Shupiān. Worn out by a mountain march of 40 miles in the course of which he was drenched in a snow storm, Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn reached Bahrām-galla (Bahrām-qullah) on 31st October, and submitted to Sir Henry. The family of Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn left Srīnagar on the 7th November. Kashmīr passed into the hands of the new ruler, Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, who entered Srīnagar at 8 a.m. on the 9th November 1846, an hour that proved auspicious to him and has, so far (1946), proved auspicious to his offspring.

Colonel Lawrence described the arrival of Gulāb Singh in Kashmīr 'as by no means displeasing to the inhabitants of the province who were loud in their complaints of the tyranny of Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn.' But as a writer in the

Calcutta Review,* commenting on the rebellion of Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn as an insurrection of the people of Kashmīr against the sovereign who had been forced on them by the British Indian Government, says the fact is that "not a single Kashmiri took up arms on either side. To the Kashmiris both armies were alike odious, for they disturbed the peace of the Valley, destroyed trade" and, what affected the daily life of the people, "made rice dear." They felt certain that whoever the conqueror might be, the Shaikh or the Dogrā, "their fate would be the same, *viz.* to be squeezed to the utmost possible extent."

Expansion of Gulāb Singh's possessions.

Now a word about the expansion of Gulāb Singh's possessions. Jammu was conferred as a *jāgīr* by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Dhyān Singh obtained Pūnch (population 421,828), and Suchēt Singh the Rāmnagar 'Ilāqa (population 2,442). With this as nucleus, the prospective State of Jammu and Kashmīr absorbed Basohlī (population 2,383), Bhadarwāh (population 2,989), Kishtwār (population 3,335), Bhimbar (population 2,194), and Rajaurī (population 2,449) one after another. Skārdu or Iskardo (population 2,537), as we have already seen, was taken by Zōrāwar Singh, Gulāb Singh's commander, in 1840. The Muslim rājās of Kharmang, Kiris, Khaplu, Shīghar in Baltistān, were subdued. Then came the windfall and Kashmīr was added. By this treaty, Gulāb Singh obtained possession, not only of Kashmīr, but of all the hilly country between the Indus and the Rāvī. This included Hazāra. Under Captain James Abbott's demarcation, Manāwar (population 2,580) and the small area of Garhī had been transferred to the Punjāb. An exchange of these was effected in 1847. Gulāb Singh handed over the district of Sujānpur and part of Paṭhānkōṭ in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 62,200 to the disinherited rājās of Rajaurī, Jasroṭā, Rāmnagar, Basholī and Kishtwār. This made the State of Jammu and Kashmīr quite a self-contained and compact territory covering an area of 84,471 square miles. Geographically, however, the State of Jammu and Kashmīr is not a unity. The variety of physical configuration—from the plains bordering the West Punjāb to the snow-capped mountains of the

*Volume 8, July-December, 1847, pages 252-3.

northern fringes of the State adjoining the lower parts of Central Asia, and within such a comparatively small area—is indeed difficult to find elsewhere. The climate varies from the extremes of the plains to the severe cold of the Ladākh district.

The importance of the State of Jammu and Kashmīr.

In point of area, the State of Jammu and Kashmīr is the biggest State in India. Hydarābād, the premier State of India, has an area of 82,698 square miles, less by 1,773 square miles. If, however, we exclude Gilgit as it was temporarily transferred to British administration, Jammu and Kashmīr would be smaller than Hydarābād, but it is no longer so; as Gilgit is restored to Jammu & Kashmīr. Including Berār, over which the Nizām has nominal sovereignty, Hydarābād would be much greater. The area of Mysore—larger than Eire, the Irish Free State—is 29,469 square miles, or less than half of Kashmīr, while that of Baroda is 8,164, or less than $\frac{1}{10}$th. The Jammu and Kashmīr State in area is equal to Mysore, Gwāliār, Baroda and Bīkāner put together.

The boundaries of Kashmīr extend from the northern outskirts of the plains of the West Punjāb to the point where the borders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Russia and the Republic of China touch Pākistān. And we cannot ignore the proximity of Afghānistān. Kashmīr thus commands a vital strategic position on the map of the great Pāk-Indian sub-continent. If developed economically, it is estimated that the State of Jammu and Kashmīr is capable of maintaining much more than its present population.

The total population of the State was 36,46,243 in 1931. In 1941 it was 40,21,616. The Jammu Province (area 12,375 or three-fifths of the whole State) accounts for 1,981,433 or about one-half of the entire population of the State. The Kashmīr Province (area 8,539 or two-fifths of the whole State) comes next with 1,728,705. The frontier districts of Leh (population 3,372), Skārdo (2,537), and Gilgit (4,671), have only a population of 311,478 in the large area of 63,554 square miles—three-fourths of the whole State. According to the census of 1941, the total population of the entire State of Jammu and Kashmīr is 40,21,616, an increase of 3,75,373 or 10·29 per cent. in

ten years. During the last fifty years, there has been an increase of roughly 54 per cent. since the census of 1891. The number of males is 21,29,872. The number of females is 18,09,744. And this difference of about 3 lakhs between males and females in the State has been practically constant for the last forty years. According to the census of 1941, the number of Harījans is 1,13,464. It is less by 25,000 than the census of 1931, because of conversion or due to change of classification.

[**Jammu** in 1931 had a population of 42,794 (Jammu city 38,613 and Jammu Cantonment 4,181) of whom 13,383 were Muslims, 26,899 were Hindus, 1,317 were Sikhs, 572 were Jains. Jammu city has now a population of 50,379 according to the census of 1941, an increase of 11·766 *viz.*, 30·47 per cent. Compare "Jammoo" of Drew's days, pp. 62-65.]

"And so Jammu became the capital of a kingdom larger than England, in fact, about equal to Great Britain, with tributary peoples speaking a dozen distinct languages and dialects, and at a Darbar, in the olden days, one might have seen not only the Dogra Princes and Sikh generals, Punjabi officials and Kashmir Dewans and Brahmins, with bold Rajput veterans of many fiercely contested mountain campaigns, but those who had been subjugated, Tibetan chiefs from Leh and Zanskar, Balti Rajahs from Skardo or Shigar, Dard chiefs from Astor or Gilgit, with their picturesque and truculent followers, all clad in most diverse costumes. Many of these petty Rajahs were often treated with utmost contempt by the court menials."*

Gulāb Singh's greed for money.

Owing to his character for oppression and avarice, Gulāb Singh was not a popular ruler, and the people did not welcome him, writes Younghusband. But with the support of the British Government, he was finally able to establish his rule over Kashmīr by the end of 1846, due to the presence of Sir Henry Lawrence, who had moved up to assist him as stated before.

It is said of Gulāb Singh that when he surveyed his new purchase, the *baniā* in him grumbled that one-third

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*Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913.

of the country was mountain, one-third water, and the remainder alienated to privileged persons. With regard to his desire for money, it is interesting to recount the story given by Frederic Drew[1] that, with the customary offering of a rupee as *nazr* (present), any one could get Gulāb Singh's ear. Even in a crowd, one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out "*Mahārāj, 'arz hai,*" that is, "Mahārājā, a petition!" "He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petition. Once, a man, after this fashion making a complaint when the Mahārājā was taking the rupee, closed his hand on it and said: "No, first hear what I have to say." Even this did not go beyond Gulāb Singh's patience. He waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand. Then taking the money, he gave orders about the case.

Gulāb Singh would not spare a Gurū.

That Gulāb Singh would not spare even a Gurū, if that Gurū avoided taxation, will be seen from the following case quoted in the *Lahore Political Diaries.*[2] "*30th August 1847* . . . Sut (Sat?) Ram Razdan came to see me," writes Lieutenant Taylor, Assistant to the Resident at Lāhore. "He is a religious character, and has been always much favoured by all parties. Among other things, he is Dewan Deena Nath's *Gooroo,* and appears to be much looked up to by all Hindoos. He has an enormous number of villages in *Hunood* (or *Zar-i-niāz*) and 4,500 rupees worth of *dhurmurth.* Many of these villages he has himself held for many years; others have been held by his dependants and friends in his name; others he had more lately obtained possession of; and others his dependants have as recently absorbed, and this without any

1. Frederic Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories,* London, 1875, page 15.

Mr. Frederic Drew, an Englishman, came out leaving the Geological Survey of Great Britain but was asked to do geological investigation or to look for minerals in the State, and was employed in various civil capacities including the management of trusts. At the time of Sir Richard Temple's visit to Kashmīr in 1871 (*see* Temple's Vol. II, pp. 136-7), he was in entire civil charge of Ladākh in order to remove all indirect restrictions upon Central Asian trade in that quarter. Drew was in the service of the Mahārājā of Kashmīr for a period of ten years from 1862 to 1872. His book, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories,* is dedicated to Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh.

2. Volume 6, pages, 87-89.

order or method, and in most instances totally without official sanction. . . . Razdan and his dependants had no less than 65 villages and portions of villages in their possession, and these dispersed through 15 different *purgunnahs*. . . . . Rajah Suchet Singh was one of his greatest patrons. . . . . the Maharaja himself as Rajah Golab Singh had greatly befriended him. When the latter became ruler of the country and began to examine these and other grants, Razdan . . . . either completely declined rendering any account or put it off from time to time with an evident wish of avoiding it altogether. A *tushkhees* or valuation was, therefore, made of his lands and of those held in his name, . . . The day before I left Cashmere, a *purwannah* was written and signed in my presence by the Maharaja granting him Rs. 7,000 yearly profit *according to his own mode of collection* . . . "

"Goolab Singh," wrote Colonel Torrens[1] as far back as 1863, "went far beyond his predecessors in the gentle acts of undue taxation and extortion. *They* had taxed heavily, it is true, but *he* sucked the very life-blood of the people; *they* had laid violent hands on a large proportion of the fruits of the earth, the profits of the loom, and the work of men's hands, but he skinned the very flints to fill his coffers."

Gulāb Singh's weakness for money, like his old Mahārājā, Ranjīt Singh, was encouraged by his advisers. Lieutenant Taylor's diary[2] dated 24th June, 1847, records the fact. "Shah Ahmad Khan (?) Nukshbundee, visited me and talked long on the affairs of the town and country. He explained the extent of injustice caused by some of the Mabaraja's acts, but seemed inclined to excuse the Maharaja a good deal of the blame due for them, attributing them rather to the vice and recklessness of his advisers, who, taking advantage of his failing—avarice—employ themselves in finding out new modes of raising the imposts on the people, always backing the recommendation with a precedent and an assurance that the victims can well bear a little compression; and to these propositions the king gives too ready an ear, content if it can only be shown that the idea is not entirely

1. *Travels*, page 301.
2. Volume VI, page 40.

new. I give this opinion among a host of others because I think there is a good deal of truth in it."

Complaints against Gulāb Singh.

To investigate certain complaints against Gulāb Singh, Lt. Reynell G. Taylor, Assistant to the Resident at Lāhore, was deputed to Kashmīr from the 14th to the 20th June, 1847.

"Meean Hutto Singh, son of the Maharaja by a slave girl" was sent to meet Lt. Taylor. An idea of the then state of things in Srīnagar could be had from Taylor's diary[1] dated 21st June 1847, over a year after Gulāb Singh's purchase of Kashmīr. "Rode in the morning through the town which presents a very miserable appearance. The houses made of wood and tumbling in every direction. The streets filthy from want of drainage. I saw the houses of the shawl-weavers from the outside, and thought they looked miserable enough. There is a fine old stone mosque of the time of the Emperors well and substantially built; it is now a rice granary, should like much to get it emptied out. None of the bazar look well-filled and prosperous, and altogether my ride made me unhappy. The above sentences are quoted as I noted them down on returning from my visit to the town."

Sardār K.M. Panikkar, while defending him in certain respects, admits that Gulāb Singh did not achieve his ends "by methods which were always beyond criticism. . . . . He did not hesitate to resort to tricks and stratagems which would, in ordinary life, be considered dishonourable. He was trained in a hard school, where lying, intrigue and treachery were all considered part and parcel of politics."[2]

Gulāb Singh's first care was to consolidate his power and ensure his revenue. By dint of untiring industry and by strict supervision of his officials, he made the most of the revenue of the Valley. Reports state that the purchase-money paid for Kashmīr was recouped in a few years, but, says Lawrence, this is not correct. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, however, took care that there should be no unnecessary

1. Volume 6, page 37.
2. *Gulab Singh*, page 152. Sardar Panikkar is now the Ambassador of the Union of India to the Republic of China.

expenditure or, in other words, "he kept a sharp eye on his officials and a close hand on his revenues." He toured his State often.

"No post of importance was given to a new man until he received a piece of salt,"[1] as impressing on him the need to be true to Gulāb Singh's salt.

Gulāb Singh's Repression.

Gulāb Singh repressed opposition and crime with a stern hand. He believed in object lessons. Vigne,[2] who was in Jammu in July 1835, narrates that an insurrection had taken place near Pūnch against the authority of Gulab Singh, who went in person to suppress it and succeeded in doing so. "Some of his prisoners were flayed alive under his own eye. The executioner hesitated, and Gulab Singh asked him if he were about to operate upon his father or mother, and rated him for being so chicken-hearted. He then ordered one or two of the skins to be stuffed with straw; . . . . The figure was then planted on the wayside that passers-by might see it; and Gulāb Singh called his son's attention to it, and told him to take a lesson in the art of governing." Gulāb Singh was naturally feared by his subjects and servants. All frontier troubles were suppressed by Gulāb Singh.

Gulāb Singh's principle of personal rule.

Gulāb Singh "brought the principle of personal rule to perfection," says Lawrence,[3] "and showed the people that he could stand by himself. If he wanted their services, he would have them without resorting to the old-fashioned device of paying for them by the alienation of State revenues. The State was Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, and as he spent much of his time in Kashmīr, and was an able and active ruler, and a fairly wise landlord, the condition of the people improved." Gulāb Singh regulated *bēgār* (forced labour), and appointed an officer to take charge of this work. The rationing of rice in the Valley was undertaken. A rigid monopoly of the same was consequently established, and rice was sold to the people at a

1. *Maharaja Gulab Singh* by Pandit Sālig Rām Kaul, High Court Pleader, July 1907, with an Explanation dated 1st September, 1923, page 249.
2. *Travels*, 1842 Vol. I, page 241.
3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 202.

fixed price. To be precise, shortly after Mahārājā Gulāb Singh assumed the control, the present system of collecting *shālī* in large granaries in the city and selling it by retail through Government officials appears to have been introduced, says Mr. A. Wingate, C.I.E., I.C.S., Land Settlement Officer of the State, in a report written in August 1888. The shawl department was re-organized under a controller regulating the tax according to the price of the shawl in the market. All professional skilled workers were taxed. The State derived from such taxation an income of about one lakh and ten thousand, which was realized through the *muqaddam* (leader) of each profession. The tax ranged from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per month, but barbers and tailors were exempted from the tax. The income from the customs department amounted to about a lakh of rupees per year.

Fowls, sheep and provisions cheap.

Writing on Friday, the 17th August, 1850, Mrs. Hervey says: "Fowls and sheep are plentiful in Kashmir. . . . . Sheep are sold in Kasmir at from six to eight annas each (nine pence to a shilling) and lambs for about five annas (seven pence half penny). . . . Cows are sold in Kashmir for four rupees (eight shillings) and very good ones for six and seven rupees. Ponies cost little also, from twenty to forty Company's rupees (£2 to £4). All provisions are exceedingly cheap and a native can live on two or three pice (copper coin) a day most luxuriously!"[1]

Christian Mission reconnoitring.

In 1854, Rev. R. Clark and Colonel Martin came to Kashmīr to reconnoitre the field for Christian missionary activity. Gulāb Singh was quite willing that they should preach in Kashmīr, saying that the people were so bad already that padres could do them no harm, and he was curious to see if they could do them any good.[2]

The Trigonometrical Survey of the Valley and the First Map of Kashmīr.

Mahārājā Gulāb Singh gave his consent to the operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India[3] in

1. *The Adventures of a Lady*, pages 277-78.
2. *Irene Petrie*, page 118.
3. *The Great Trigonometrical Survey of India* by Major-General J. T. Walker, Surveyor-General of India, Dehra Dun, 1879, vol. vii, pages xiii—C to xlv—C.

his dominions, when Lieutenant-Colonel Waugh—afterwards General Sir Andrew Waugh—was the Surveyor-General of India. The Survey lasted for several years. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh and his successor, Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh, gave aid to those engaged in the work. This survey of Kashmīr was actually commenced and supervised, during 1855-63, by Major T. G. Montgomerie, R. E., who has been quoted by Colonel S. G. Burrard for his theory of the Wular Lake (*see* pages 11-12 of *Kashīr*). The Major died and the duty of compiling an account of the operations was entrusted to Mr. J. Peyton. Colonel Waugh in his instructions to Montgomerie laid stress on the importance of determining the heights of inaccessible points; and in the course of triangulation, the elevation of all the remarkable snowy peaks was ascertained by independent results derived from stations at various distances. The map of the Valley and the surrounding mountains was prepared from the trignometrical and topographical operations of the Kashmīr survey in the Surveyor-General's Office, Dehra Dun, in 1859. A map of Kashmīr on the scale of the Indian atlas was made ready early in 1861. The map of Ancient Kashmīr reproduced in *Kashīr* (opposite page 35) is based on this map of the Valley prepared in 1859.

Chief officers of Gulāb Singh.

Among his chief officers may be mentioned these names: (1) Dīwān Jwāla Sahāi of Aimanābād, West Punjāb, was mainly responsible for negotiations in connexion with the transfer of Kashmīr. Dīwān Kirpā Rām, author of the *Gulab-nāmā*, was the son of Jwālā Sahāi; (2) Dīwān Harī Chand was employed in military expeditions; (3) Wazīr Zōrāwar Singh Kalhoria was the military commander; (4) Colonel Bastī Rām was one of Zōrāwar's important lieutenants in military operations; (5) Vazīr Lakhpat of Kishtwār who was dispatched to take possession of Kashmīr and to oppose Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn, and died in taking Harī-parbat; (6) Sayyid Naththu Shāh of Gujrānwāla served Gulāb Singh; and later lost his life in quelling a rebellion on the Gilgit frontier.

Gulāb Singh appointed (1) Pandit Rāj Kāk Dar the son of Bīrbal Dar, (2) Miyān Hethū—Gulāb Singh's son from a concubine—(3) Ranbīr Singh when 19—one after the other, as *nāzims* or governors of Kashmīr.

Dr. Honigberger proposes sugar-cane and tea plantations in the State in the year 1852.

On obtaining his pension from the English, as stated previously, Dr. Honigberger* wanted to return to Europe. But the season not being favourable for the voyage, he left Lāhore and reached the Valley of Kashmīr in three weeks. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh proposed that the Doctor should enter his service, but he declined as it would have interfered with his trip to Europe. The Doctor, however, promised that he would return to Kashmīr where he intended adopting farming. When the Mahārājā inquired of the nature of farming, the Doctor's reply was: "I had observed that, notwithstanding the great consumption of tea and sugar in his dominions, the cultivation of them had never been attempted, and that they were consequently imported from foreign countries. The sugar used in Cashmere is imported from India, and is conveyed with much difficulty over steep mountains through almost impracticable passes, the journey occupying three weeks;

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*Dr. John Martin Honigberger was a Transylvanian, born about 1785. After qualifying as a physician, he set out in 1815 in search of a livelihood, wandering about the Middle East for years, and, at one time, having practised in Damascus. Giving this up, Honigberger tramped across country, disguised as a Musalmān, and arrived at Baghdād where he cured a Pāshā. But "this rolling stone rolled on," and arrived in Lāhore in 1829. Here Ranjīt Singh appointed him court physician and officer in charge of the gunpowder and shot factories—a curious combination—on a salary of Rs. 900 per mensem. One of his court duties was to distil spirit for Ranjīt Singh. In 1833 Honigberger decided to go home. His journey on foot *via* Bukhārā and Russia took him twenty months. After practising in Istanbūl for a time, he was summoned back to Lāhore as Ranjīt Singh was very ill. He pulled the Mahārājā round for a time.

Dr. Honigberger was the only prominent European who remained in Lāhore throughout the anarchy and the two Sikh Wars. For his treatment of some prisoners, and for service in the jail and the lunatic asylum after the annexation of the Punjāb, he was given a pension by the East India Company. Dr. Honigberger returned to his native land where he died in 1865. His memoirs, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, are "well worth reading." These were published in English, in 1852, by H. Baillere, 213, Regent Street, London. The full title is: *Thirty-five Years in the East*—Adventures, Discoveries, Experiments, and Historical Sketches, relating to the Punjab and Cashmere; in connexion with Medicine Botany, Pharmacy, etc., together with an original Materia Medica and a Medical Vocabulary, in four European and five Eastern Languages by John Martin Honigberger, Late Physician to the Court of Lahore. Pp. 448.

and the tea is brought from Tibet, in the shape of cakes and is very much inferior to that which is produced in India" (pp. 176-7).

"I explained to the Maharaja to his great astonishment," continues Dr. Honigberger, "that the soil of Cashmere was favourable to the production of both these articles" (p. 177). The sugarcane, it was pointed out, was not essential for the production of sugar, as it could be prepared from beet-root for which the soil was eminently adapted. Had Honigberger returned to Kashmīr, we may perhaps have had local sugar and local tea, of which there has been no prospect these hundred years! A sugar factory is now being set up in Ranbīrsingpura near Jammu! A small quantity of tea is being grown in Tahsīl Riāsī in the Jammu Province.

Gulāb Singh's hospitality to Europeans.

Dr. Honigberger describes his stay in Kashmīr: "At the period when I was at Cashmere, the Maharaja had several English visitors, whom he treated with the greatest hospitality. . . . . At that time and previously, it was the custom of every European, of whatever nation he might be, who visited the Valley of Cashmere, to be received as a guest and entertained as such, from the instant of his entering the country to the moment of his departure. . . . . In a conversation. . . . he (the Maharaja) complained that many of the servants of the European visitors had abused the hospitality displayed towards them, for they had frequently taken very large quantities of saffron and other products of the country, much beyond what they could really use during their sojourn (pp. 178-9).

"We sometimes dined together at the Maharaja's; and it may, perhaps, appear very ridiculous. . . . . that on these occasions we were obliged to send our own cooks, our own wines, and our own plate, and other culinary, or gastronomic apparatus. The Maharaja would make his appearance during dinner, but of course, would never partake of our repast; and to show us particular attention, he ordered preserves, fruit, ice and sweetmeats, to be sent to us from his own kitchen. Besides this kind of hospitality, he would frequently minister to our entertainment in other ways, as by exhibitions of fireworks, illuminations on the river, music, dancing girls (bayadères), etc." (p. 179).

Dr. Honigberger, himself a Transylvanian medical man, represents Gulāb Singh as a good *hakīm* (physician) when he says :—" the kings of France professed to cure the king's-evil, by laying the hand upon the patient; and the kings of England to cure epilepsy, by blowing thrice upon the person affected with that disease—the Maharaja emulates their example, by professing to cure all cases of paralysis, although he adopts a more substantial and effective method of operation. He administers for this purpose a *majoon* (*ma'jūn* or electuary) . . . with thirty-five spices."[1]

Estimates of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh's character.

Sir Henry Lawrence's estimate of Gulāb Singh's character is what follows: "I have no doubt that Maharaja Gulab Singh is a man of indifferent character; but if we look for perfection from native chiefs, we shall look in vain. Very much but not all that is said of him might, as far as my experience goes, be so of any sovereign or chief in India. He has many virtues that few of them possess, *viz.* courage, energy, and personal purity. . . . . The way in which he has been doubted, denounced and vilified in anonymous journals is very disgraceful to us."[2]

Major Smyth states : " he was courteous and polite in demeanour and exhibited a suavity of manner and language that contrasted fearfully with his real disposition.[3]

Captain Joseph Davey Cunningham says : " In the course of this history there has, more than once, been occasion to allude to the unscrupulous character of Rajah Gulab Singh : but it must not, therefore, be supposed that he is a man malevolently evil. He will, indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions : but he must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his own position. If these allowances be made, Gulab Singh will be found an able and moderate man, who does little in idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and of generosity of temper."[4]

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1. *Thirty-five Years in the East*, page 179.
2. *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, page 389.
3. Smyth, *Reigning Family of Lahore*, page 257.
4. *History of the Sikhs*, New and Revised Edition, 1918, page 320 *n*.

Sir Lepel Griffin[1] accuses Gulāb Singh of instigating the Second Sikh War, but Sardār Panikkar has contested this accusation.[2] Lord Dalhousie disliked Gulāb Singh. Gulāb Singh was, however, a good friend to the British Government in their troublous time of 1857. And Ranbīr Singh, after him, actually helped the British at that time by troops.

Gulāb Singh quarrels with Jawāhir Singh.

A few months before his death, Gulāb Singh's nephew, Rājā Jawāhir Singh, the second son of his brother Dhyān Singh, made an attempt to wrest one-half of the country ruled by Gulāb Singh. Rājā Jawāhir Singh claimed that, to his father and to his father's brother, Rājā Suchēt Singh, belonged the major part of the hill country. Jawāhir appealed to the English at Lāhore. Dīwān Jawāla Sahāi was deputed to defend Gulāb Singh's case. The English authorities were willing to consider Jawāhir's case when Jawāla Sahāi exclaimed : "Was not the country purchased by my master ?" This settled the matter in favour of Gulāb Singh, particularly because, in the meantime, Jawāhir Singh's intrigue and disloyalty against the English had come to light. Jawāhir's state was confiscated, and he was deported to Ambāla where he died.[3]

Gulāb Singh's death.

Gulāb Singh was an orthodox Hindu in certain ways. He was a strict Sanātana Dharmī. He built several temples in Jammu, and undertook pilgrimage to Gayā, Prayāg, Benāres and Mathurā. Killing of cows was prohibited throughout the State. On his death-bed, according to Sardār Panikkar, Gulāb Singh distributed over 100,000 rupees in charity. Colonel Urmston, says Mrs. Ashby Carus-Wilson, prevented the immolation of his five widows as suttees.

Mahārājā Gulāb Singh died of dropsy on 2nd August, 1857 A.C. (20th Sāvana, 1914 Bikramī) at the age of 65. The day of his death was marked by an earthquake.

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1. *Punjab Chiefs*, second edition, page 511.

2. *Gulab Singh*, pages 128-29.

3. *Maharaja Gulab Singh* by Pandit Sālig Rām Kaul, High Court Pleader, July, 1907, with an Explanation dated 1st September 1923, pages 255-57.

روزِ مرگش آسمان لرزید و لرزیدند خلق
کافگند گاوِ زمین بارِ زمین از اِضطراب
کرد طُغیان آنقدر طُوفانِ اشک از دیدها
کآسمان هر گُوشه آمد در نظرها چُون حَباب
گشت عالم تیره در چشمم بفکرِ سَموُتش
۱۹۱۴
لب گذید و گُفت هاتف از نظر شُد آفتاب
(۱۹۳۶ – ۳۲ اعداد "لب" = ۱۹۱۴)
گُلاب نامه - صفحه ۳۲۹

His cenotaph is built in Rāmbāgh on the Dūdhagañgā stream in Srīnagar.

Concluding remarks on Gulāb Singh's career.

Gulāb Singh was unquestionably a man of great vigour, foresight and determination. He shewed extraordinary self-possession under the gravest calamity when, within a short space of time, and in quick succession, he saw the last of his great brother Dhyān Singh, the premier of the Punjāb, of Suchēt Singh, the younger brother, witnessed the death of Sohan Singh and the murder of Udham Singh, his sons, and of his nephew Hīrā Singh, the son of Dhyān Singh. And remember his own imprisonment in Lāhore too! He is the founder of Dogrā rule in Jammu and in Kashmīr. He may indeed be called Dogrā the Great.

A remarkable figure in the history of Northern India during the first half of the nineteenth century, Gulāb Singh was distinguished as a soldier and diplomat, and knew the statecraft of his own days exceedingly well. He made the best use of the ruin that overtook Sikh power in the Punjāb. He showed his ability in carving out a kingdom for himself further north, which has, to our day, been held by his son, grandson, and great-grandson. And his great-great-grandson, whose betrothal to the Mahārājkumārī of Ratlām in Central India was performed on 11th June, 1941, at Gulāb Bhawan, the splendid royal residence overlooking the Ḍal, Srīnagar, is being apprenticed to succeed his own father in course of time. In this respect, Gulāb Singh was certainly much more fortunate than Sultān Haidar 'Alī of Mysore, or his own master, the 'Monocular Lion of the Punjāb,' whose

fondness for horses and greed for money he closely copied. Gulāb Singh replaced the haphazard and heartless Sikh exploitation of the Valley by his own firm rule, but exacted from the Kashmīrī every possible penny regularly and systematically. Gulāb Singh, at the same time, lost no opportunity in keeping down the Kashmīrī's already drooping spirit, that had been broken by the Afghāns and crushed by the Sikhs. The Kashmīrī, therefore, remained in the same old state of passive resignation throughout his régime of eleven years. Gulāb Singh was incapable of anything better at the time.

MAHĀRĀJĀ SIR RANBĪR SINGH.

[1857 A.C. to 1885 A.C.]

Ranbīr Singh, in comparison with his father, was born under very favourable conditions. He never underwent the struggles through which his father had to pass. His birth in 1829, at Rāmnagar, was considered lucky for Gulāb Singh, as, soon afterwards, Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh conferred Jammu in *jāgīr* on Gulāb Singh's family. Gulāb Singh had married early in life, in 1809, a lady from the Rukwāl Rājpūts. She gave birth to three sons. The eldest, Udham Singh (erroneously called by Sardār K. M. Panikkar Randhīr Singh, p. 57), died with Prince Nau-nihāl Singh, Ranjīt Singh's grandson, at Lāhore, as a result of an accidental, or according to another report, deliberately planned, fall of an archway under which they passed. Randhīr Singh *alias* Sohan Singh, the second son, was killed along with his cousin Rājā Hīrā Singh by the Sikhs near Shāhdara, Lāhore. Thus was paved the way for Ranbīr's succession to Gulāb's *gaddī*. Suchēt Singh, Gulāb Singh's younger brother, who had no son, also adopted Ranbīr as his heir. Ranbīr Singh thus acquired possession of the Rāmnagar *'ilāqa*.

Ranbīr's education was old-fashioned. He could read Dōgrī. His father trained him to the use of arms by sending him with his soldiers to quell occasional disturbances. He was married to the daughter of Rājā Bijai Singh of Seba in 1843, when Rāja Dhyān Singh was present on behalf of Mahārājā Sher Singh. By 1855, Gulāb Singh delegated

most of the powers in state affairs to him after the *Rājtilak* ceremony on the 6th of Phāgun, Samvat 1912 (1855 A.C.), having been, at one time, Governor of Jammu, when, among other events, the mutiny of a Sikh regiment at Mīrpur is recorded. Ranbīr succeeded his father in 1857 and ruled for 28 years. He had the *alias* of Phīna or the flat-nosed.

Ranbīr Singh's patronage of Sanskrit Learning.

Soon after his accession to the throne in the year 1857, Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh consecrated a shrine to the worship of Rāma or Raghūnātha, from whom, according to Dogrā tradition, the house of the Jammu Rājās claims descent. On account of the zeal of the Mahārājā, this shrine gradually became the centre of extensive religious establishments. A Pāthshālā or College and a library of Sanskrit works were the foremost objects of the Mahārājā's care. In the Pāthshālā, he provided for the tuition and support of several hundreds of Brāhman pupils, who were to be trained in the various branches of Sanskrit learning. For the library the collection of manuscripts was simultaneously begun. Translations into Hindi of standard works, selected from the whole range of the Darshaṇas, the Dharma and the other Shāstras, were executed, and partly printed with the object of spreading a knowledge of classical Hindu learning among the Mahārājā's Dogrā subjects through the Dogrī language. As a matter of fact, Dogrī was greatly improved and encouraged. Diacritical marks which did not exist in the old Dogrī were introduced on the model of Hindi. Pandit Govind Kaul was appointed to the charge of the Translation Department. Persian and Arabic works on historical, philosophical, and other subjects were translated into Sanskrit with the assistance of Maulavīs.* The Vidya Bilās Press was installed.

Pandit Sāhib Rām, who, according to Dr. Stein, was the foremost among Kashmīrian Sanskrit scholars of the last few generations, was commissioned by Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh to prepare a descriptive survey of all ancient *Tīrthas* of Kashmīr. For this purpose a staff of Pandits was placed at his disposal, whose business it was to collect the necessary material in the various parts of the country. The large work which was to be prepared on the basis of

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*Introduction, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts at Jammu* by Dr. Stein.

their material, was never completed. But some time before his death, Pandit Sāhib Rām had drawn up abstracts of the information he had collected, under the title of *Kāshmīra-tīrtha-saṁgraha*, giving a list of numerous *Tīrthas* with brief indications of their special features and position, arranged in topographical order of *parganas*. (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, p. 384).

In *A History of the University of the Panjab*, published in 1933, Professor J. F. Bruce notes a donation of Rs. 62,500 (one lakh of Srīnagar rupees) from Sir Ranbīr Singh, Mahārājā of Jammu & Kashmīr, "in response to an explanation given to the representative of the State by the Secretary to the Punjāb Government under instructions from Sir Donald McLeod, the Lieutenant-Governor" in 1868. This sum was increased to Rs. 93,478 by 1882 (pp. 14 and 54). An endowment of Rs. 30,978 received by the Trustees of the Panjāb University College (the forerunner of the University of the Panjāb) on the 2nd March, 1871, had increased to Rs. 41,250, and its interest provides the McLeod Kashmīr Sanskrit Research Studentship of the value of Rs. 100 per mensem. When the University of the Panjāb was established in 1882, Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh was entered as the first Fellow of the University.

The Dharmārth.

The private charities of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh and Ranbīr Singh and other assignments and allocations of several lakhs were constituted by the *Ā'īn-i-Dharmārth* (or regulations for the Dharmārth drafted in Persian) for the benefit of Hindu temples and Sanskrit learning.

The Dharmarth.—When Mahārājā Gulāb Singh "assumed the reins of Government he took pains in the progress of the holy religion of the Hindus as well as in the construction of the various temples, the result of which was that temples arose in the various towns of the State of Jammu." He was a staunch Sanātanist. Prior to his time, only two temples existed, *viz.*, Shrī Vaishnav (about 10 miles from Katra, in the Riāsī District) and Shivjī (in Parmandal village, about 24 miles to the east of Jammu). Gulāb Singh ordained that a treasury called the Treasury of Shri Raghūnāthjī be established wherein five lakhs of rupees be invested and the interest of money be appropriated for the permanent maintenance of *Sadāvarts* (places of distribution of food, etc., to travellers).

In conformity with Mahārājā Gulāb Singh's wishes, Ranbīr Singh by a special *Irshād,* dated 20th Katik, 1941-18 A.C., placed the maintenance of *Sadāvarts* on a permanent footing. With that view he ordained the appointment of a Council for the supervision, management and protection of the Dharmārth Fund. "Whoever among the heirs of the Sarkār and the State servants and officials expended any money towards any other head was to incur the sin of having killed one crore of cows." Miyāns Pratāp Singh, Rām Singh and Amar Singh endorsed the document on 25th Baisākh, 1941, Samvat 18=A.C. April 1884.

Stipends to Hindu religious students and publication of Translations into Sanskrit.

Six hundred *vidyārthīs* (scholars) were to be kept on under tuition on behalf of His Highness in schools in temples according to the *Ā'īn-i-Dharmārth* (p. 29). Gow-shālas were to be maintained, and fodder was to be provided for cows and bullocks (p. 52). A class of translators, compilers and copyists was to be appointed. Ten men "able to translate from Arabic, Persian and other languages into Sanskrit" were to be paid Re. 1/- to Rs. 3/- in addition to their pay (p. 60). Some of the publications* of the Dharmārth Department are:—(1) *Bhāgwat Purāṇa,* dealing with the high power of Bhagawān, (2) *Prāyaschhitta Vali,* oblations offered to a deity, (3) *Ranbīr Jyotī Prakāça,* (4) *Kathā Sāgar* (story book), (5) *Ranbīr Vaidya Prakaça* (diseases and their treatment). Six specified temples were to be properly looked after (p. 88). A *havelī,* or residential house, was to be constructed at Kāshī (Benāres) for pilgrims who could stay for 15 days, and a man of position for a month and eight days." *Muqarrarīs* (allowances) in cash ranging from Rs. 20, 48, 96, 120, to 190 were granted (pp. 142-43). In addition, *Muqarrarīs* in kind, *viz,* rice, dāl, ghee, salt, oil and shālī were also given.

The amount of Rs. 4,356/- was paid from the Sankalpa grant of His Highness. *Jap* numbering one crore was required to be performed in a year. Each *prayogī* was to tell 3,300 rosaries of *jap* in a day. The muqarrarīwālas (prayogīs) were to be replaced by others every month. Regulations were also laid down regarding the Samādh (tomb) of Gulāb Singh in Rām Bāgh, Srīnagar, (p. 144) involving its upkeep and payment of expenses incurred for a variety of religious services at the tomb.

In the time of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh this Department was at the peak of its progress. Arrangements were made for the help of Hindu orphans and widows by certain allowances.

At present the Dharmārth is a "reserved" subject.

The income of the Trust.

The annual income of the trust is about Rs. 3,00,000 (3 or 13 (?) lakhs) from the following sources:—

(*i*) Jāgīrs (*ii*) Rakhs and Forests (*iii*) Gardens (*iv*) Interest.
The expenditure is about the same, *viz.,* three (or 13 ?) lakhs.

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*The *Bhārtī,* Jammu, June 1942=Jaishth 1999 Bikramī, Dharmārth Aṅk (Number).

The figures for 1997-98 Bikramī are as follows :—

	Rs.
Administration	39,000
Temples	90,900
Schools, scholarships and the Raghūnāth Library	26,100
Gaushālā	5,000
General help	34,000
Muqarrarīs	9,400
Pension	4,500
Repairs and New buildings ..	5,800
Subscriptions	2,300

Prachāraks preach to the people. Higher education scholarships are given to Hindu students.[1] In the Kishtwār famine money was spent on the provision of food for the people.

Loan for railway construction.

The railway line from Suchētgarh to Jammu was originally made out of the funds of the Dharmārth Department. About 16 lakhs of rupees were invested on a minimum guaranteed interest of 3½% by the State. If the interest was more than this, it was to go to the Dharmārth Fund. Later on, the Government of Jammu and Kashmīr paid back the amount to the Dharmārth Department, which invested this money in its own funds.

This note is based on the *Ā'īn-i-Dharmārth* or Regulations for the Dharmārth Trust Fund, English Translation, foolscap size, pp. 154. For references see the Preamble, and pages noted above in brackets.

Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh a strict Hindu.

It was Ranbīr Singh's ambition that Jammu should rival Benāres in the number of its temples, "an ambition scarcely to be fulfilled, for, there is no sanctity attaching to the comparatively modern city." And however lavish might be the gifts of the ruling prince, they could not rival the ceaseless stream of wealth pouring from all parts of India into the world-famed Kāshī on the Ganges.[2] Andrew Wilson[3] who had a private audience with the Mahārājā writes in 1875 : "His Highness is reputed to be somewhat serious and bigoted as regards his religion." Colonel Torrens wrote about 1863 :—" Rumbeer Singh is a strict Hindoo ; his favourite wife is "serious," and her influence over her lord and master is increased by the fact that his only children—two sons—were by her."

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1. The *Bhārtī*, Jammu, June, 1942=Jaishth 1999 Bikramī, Dharmārth Aṅk (Number).
2. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913, page 44.
3. *The Abode of Snow*, page 394.

Attempt on Ranbīr's life.

Ṭhākur Kāhan Singh,[1] in his small brochure on the life of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh, refers two to attempts on the part of Jawāhir Singh of Pūnch and Miyān Hethu of Rajaurī to shoot the Mahārājā. The culprits concerned, about twelve in number, were discovered and punished. Shaikh Saudāgar, Vazīr-i-Jammu, is reported to have assisted in unearthing these plots. This is why henceforth Ranbīr employed Afghāns for his own bodyguard.

Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh's help to the British.

Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh detailed a contingent of State troops 2,000 strong with 200 cavalry and six guns to Delhī under the command of Dīwān Harī Chand, then Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmīr forces, to render help in the suppression of the Indian Revolt. In consequence of this timely help in the siege of Delhī, Ranbīr Singh received from Lord Canning a *sanad* [2] granting him the right to adopt, from collateral branches, an heir to the succession on the failure of heirs-male of Gulāb Singh, on whom alone the country had been conferred by the British.

The Mahārājā was also made G.C.S.I. in an investiture darbār held at Lāhore by Lord Canning in 1858. In addition to this, the Supreme Government offered an *'ilāqa* in Oudh. But the Mahārājā declined the offer, saying that he assisted the British as a friend, and not as a mercenary. On the return of the troops to Jammu, Ranbīr Singh distributed a lakh of rupees in gratuities, and in life pensions to the families of those who had fallen.

For continued friendly relations, Lord Lytton conferred the title of G.C.I.E. on the Mahārājā in the imperial darbār at Delhī on 1st January, 1877. Two guns were also added to his salute of 19. "Of course," notes Richard Temple, "the Mahārājā professed himself to be 'a tree planted by the British Government,' and scouted the idea of his intriguing with Russia" (p. 143).

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1. *Sawānih 'Umrī Maharājā Ranbīr Singh Bahādur* by Ṭhākur Kāhan Singh Bilawaria of Basholī. Urdu. Girdhar Steam Press, Lāhore, 1980 Bikramī=A.C. 1923, pp. 55, price -/8/-.

2. No. cxxxiii, page 267, *vide* Aitchison's *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, Calcutta, 1909.

[Sir Richard Temple, Bart., M.P., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L. (Oxon), LL.D. (Cantab), at his first visit to Kashmīr in 1859 was the Commissioner of the Lāhore Division. He then rose to the following positions:—Resident at the court of the Nizām of Hydrābād, Finance Minister of India, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengāl, and Governor of Bombay. The quotations, given above and subsequently, are from his book *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal,* edited by his son, Captain Richard Carnac Temple, in two volumes—H. Allen and Co., 13, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W., London, 1887. Vol II, pages 1—150, describes his two journeys in 1859 and 1871 to the Valley of Kashmīr.]

The Mahārājā's full title was : His Highness Mahārājā Sir Ranbīr Singh, Indar Mahindar, Sipar-i-Saltanat, General, 'Asākir-i-Inglishia, Mushīr-i-Khās-i-Qaisara-i-Hind, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Ranbīr's additions to his father's territory.

Ranbīr added Gilgit, lost in his father's time, to his dominion after his own forces were available from Delhī. He subdued Yasīn in 1863. In 1865 he annexed the Dārel valley lying to the south west of Gilgit. Ranbīr Singh also volunteered help to the British in the Afghān War of 1878.

Colonel Gardiner,* the Mahārājā's Commander-in-Chief, described as "one of the most extraordinary men in India," had from his boyhood days gone "through romantic and daring character." "Probably from this fact he took the fancy of Golab Singh, forty-five years ago, by whom he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of his forces, a post which he has held uninterruptedly till the present time. Now a strong, hale man of eighty-five, his

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*Alexander Gardiner was an Irishman born at Clongoose, in Kildare country, Irish Republic, but according to Andrew Wilson, writing in 1875, on the shores of Lake Superior, U.S.A.-Canada. He was a deserter from the British Navy, and was "a plausible and ingenious scamp, a regular de Rougemont."† Gardiner arrived in Lāhore in 1831, and was employed by Ranjīt Singh in the artillery on Rs. 2 a day. From this humble beginning, Gardiner rose to the rank of Colonel of the Artillery. During the first Sikh war, he was in the service of Gulāb Singh, and kept out of the way. He was deported as an undesirable, but later re-entered Gulāb Singh's service.

There was something almost appalling, writes Andrew Wilson, to hear this ancient warrior . . . . relate his experiences in the service of Ranjīt Singh, Shāh Shujā,' Dūst Muhammad and other kings and chiefs less known to fame.—*The Abode of Snow,* page 399.

†H.L.O. Garrett, *The Asiatic Review,* London, October 1941, page 790.

uniform is a large green and yellow tartan plaid, puggery and trousers." The Colonel at the banquet in honour of Sir Henry M. Durand, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjāb, is represented as ending his speech by saying that "he had been present at the late Maharaja's death, whose last words to his son were: 'Should one Englishman be left in the world, trust in him.' Some present were disposed to think this concluding sentence an embellishment of the gallant Colonel's invention."[1]

The Dogrā soldiers of the army were paid one rupee more than the others. Most of the officers of the army were Dogrā. Parade orders were given in Dogrī.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Temple, then Commissioner of Lāhore, at his visit to Kashmīr in 1871, found that Ranbīr Singh "was fairly well posted up in the events of the then recent war between Germany and France, lamenting the injury it had done to the shawl trade of Kashmir. He said he had prevented hundreds of shawl makers and weavers from deserting the land by giving them state assistance for their temporary support!" (Vol. II, p. 144).

The Mahārājā's Government did not benefit at the time, for want of any large trade, by the treaty[2] of the 2nd May, 1870, which provided for import of goods, into the State through British India free of customs duty. It has an advantage now that trade has increased. On its side, the State had foregone its duty on goods, chiefly *charas*, in transit for British India from Central Asian countries.

"There seemed to be little or no excise on drugs and spirits in the Maharaja's territories and very little drinking," wrote Richard Temple (Vol. II, p. 142).

Miserable condition of Kashmīr under Ranbīr.

Ranbīr was popular with his people. He kept himself infomed by means of *khufya-navīs* in every district who confidentially wrote to the Mahārājā direct. Towards the Europeans he was extremely hospitable. And for

1. *Letters form India and Kashmir*, letter 16, written in 1870, page 197.

2. For the text of this treaty signed by Ranbīr Singh and T. D. Forsyth, and bearing the seal of Mayo, see *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* by Frederic Drew, 1875, London, pp. 547-550.

them he built several houses. He was, in many ways, an enlightened man, but he lacked his father's strong will and determination. Unfortunately, he had not the help of officials capable of immense labour required to remove the effects of previous misgovernment. They were accustomed to the old style of rule, and knew no better. In the early sixties, says Younghusband,* cultivation was decreasing; the people were wretchedly poor. In any other country, their state would have been almost one of starvation and famine. Justice was such that, those who could pay, could, at any time, get out of jail, while the poor lived and died there almost without hope.

'Laws grind the poor and rich men rule the law.'—Goldsmith.

There were few men of respectable, and none of wealthy appearance, continues Younghusband, and there were almost prohibitive duties levied on all merchandise imported or exported. By the early seventies, some slight improvement had taken place. The labouring classes, as a general rule, were well-fed and well-clothed, and fairly housed. Both men and women were accustomed to do hard and continuous labour, and it was obvious that they could not do this and look well, unless they were well-nourished. Their standard of living was not high, but they certainly had enough to eat. And this is not surprising, for a rupee would buy 80 to 100 lbs. of rice, or 12 lbs. of meat, or 60 lbs. of milk. Fruit was so plentiful that mulberries, apples, and apricots, near the villages were left to rot on the ground. And fish near the rivers could be bought for almost nothing. Crimes of all kinds were rare, chiefly because of the remembrance of the terrible punishment of Gulāb Singh's time, and because of the system of fixing responsibility for undetected crime upon local officials. Drunkenness, too, was almost unknown. About half a lakh of rupees was spent upon education, and another half-lakh on repairing the "paths." A slight attempt was also made to assess the amount of land revenue at a fixed amount.

This much was to the good. Yet the country was still very far indeed from what it ought to have

*Sir Walter Lawrence, formerly Settlement Commissioner, Jammu and Kashmīr, and Sir Francis Younghusband, British Resident in Kashmīr, are the principal authorities for this part of the chapter.

been. Means of communication were rough and rude in the extreme, and men had to be used as beasts of burden instead of animals.

We have incidentally an inkling of insanitary Srīnagar of the time of Ranbīr from an eye-witness. Richard Temple, struck with unhygienic conditions in Srīnagar in July 1859, says: "I asked (the Mahārājā) whether Srinagar city could not be drained and cleaned, and to this he answered, that the people did not appreciate conservancy, and that they would much prefer to be dirty than to be at the trouble of cleaning the place. Such is always the idea of a native ruler!" (Volume II, p. 94). Is this not in perfect accord with what Sir Harī Singh, his grandson, said to the late Mr. G. E. G. Wakefield, his Army Member, when the latter pleaded for the recruitment of Kashmīrīs in the State Army, and the Kashmīr ruler reproduced to his Army Member the story of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh's contingent which, on receiving orders of march after completion of military training, asked for Police protection (*vide* Chapter IV, page 141, and Chapter X, p. 671-2 of *Kashīr*). May we inquire if "such is not always the idea" of the Dogrā ruler in respect of the poor Kashmīrīs' dirtiness and cowardice ?

The new assessment of land revenue was three times as heavy as that of the amount demanded in British districts in the Punjāb. There was much waste land which the people were unwilling to put under cultivation, because, under the existing system of land revenue administration, they could not be sure that they would ever receive the fruits of their labour. A cultivator would only produce as much as would, after payment of his revenue, provide for the actual wants of himself and his family, because he knew by experience that any surplus would be absorbed by rapacious underling officials. In matters of trade, there were still the impediments of former days. Upon every branch of commerce, there was the weight of a multiplicity of exactions. No product was too insignificant, and no person too poor to contribute to the State. The manufacture or production of silk, saffron, paper, tobacco, and wine were all State monopolies. The State imported salt for the consumption of the people. The sale of grain was a State monopoly. Though the State sold grain at an extraordinarily cheap rate, the officials in charge did not always sell it to the people, who most

required it, or in the quantity they required. Favourite and influential persons would get as much as they wanted, but often to the public the stores would be closed for weeks together. At other times, the grain was sold to each family at a rate which was supposed to be proportionate to the number of persons in the family. But the judges of this quantity were not the persons most concerned, *viz.*, the purchasers, but the local authorities. Private trade in grain could not be conducted openly, and when the stocks in the country fell short of requirements, they could not be replenished by private enterprise.

Taxation heavy and arbitrary.

On the manufacture of shawls, parallel restrictions were placed. Wool was taxed as it entered Kashmīr. The manufacturer was taxed for every workman he employed, and also at various stages of the process according to the value of the fabric. Lastly there was the enormous duty of 85 per cent *ad valorem*. Butchers, bakers, carpenters, boatmen, and even prostitutes were taxed. Poor coolies, who were engaged to carry loads for travellers, had to give up half their earnings.[1]

The whole country, in fact, was in the grip of a grinding officialdom. The officials were the remnants of an ignorant age, when dynasties and institutions and life itself were in daily danger, when nothing was fixed and lasting, when all was liable to change and at the risk of chance. Each man had to make what he could, while he could. In consequence, a man of honesty and public spirit had no more chance of surviving than a baby would have in a battle.[2]

دست مُزد آو بدستِ دیگران ماهی رُودش بہ شستِ دیگران

—اِقبال

[His earnings are at the disposal of others. The fish of his streams is for others' net].

1. *Kashmir* by Sir Francis Younghusband, 1917, p. 179.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

Severity of famine in 1877.

No wonder that in 1877, when—through excess of rain which destroyed the crops—famine came on the land, the people were unprepared to meet the emergency. The officials were incapable of mitigating its effects. Direful calamity was the natural consequence.

Earthquakes shook the Valley in 1863, 1878, and 1884. Famine caused starvation in 1864 and 1877. Cholera killed people in 1857-58, 1867, 1872, 1875-76, and 1879. Fires devastated life and property in 1875 and 1878.

In the autumn of 1877, unusual rain fell, and owing to the system of collecting the revenue in kind and dilatoriness in collection, the crop was allowed to remain in the open on the ground. It rotted till half of it was lost. The wheat and barley harvest of the summer of 1878 was exceedingly poor. The fruit had also suffered from long continual wet and cold. The autumn grains, such as maize and millet, were partly destroyed by intense heat, and partly devoured by the starving peasants. The following year was also unfavourable. It was not till 1880 that normal conditions returned.

These were the causes of the scarcity of food supply. When this calamity, which nowadays could be confidently met, fell upon the country, it was found that the people had nothing in reserve to fall back on; that the administrative machine was incapable of meeting the excessive strain; that even the will to meet it was wanting. Corruption and obstruction impeded all measures of relief, and even prevented the starving inhabitants migrating to parts where food could be had. In addition, the communications were so bad that the food, so plentiful in the neighbouring province, could be imported only with the greatest difficulty.

As a result, a large number of the population died. A number of the chief valleys were entirely deserted. Whole villages lay in ruins, as beams, doors, etc., had been extracted for sale. Some suburbs of Srīnagar were tenantless. The city itself was half-destroyed. Trade came almost to a standstill, and employment was difficult to obtain.

This great calamity laid bare the glaring defects of the system, which the present dynasty had taken over from their uncultured predecessors, and which, in their thirty years' possession of the Valley, they had not been able to eradicate, or, perhaps, had not the ability to. During the five years which remained of Ranbīr Singh's reign, steps were taken to remedy this terrible state of affairs. The assessment of the land revenue was revised.

Eight anna court-fee stamps were introduced. A mint for coining *chilkī*, equal to ten annas, was set up in Srīnagar. Later, in 1897, in Partāp Singh's time, this *chilkī* coin was replaced by British Indian currency. Postal and telegraph systems were installed. The State Postal system was, however, amalgamated with the Indian system in 1894, and an agreement for exchange of services between the State and the Indian telegraph system was effected in 1897.

The cart-road, now the motor road, into the Valley was commenced. It appears that the British Government had desired "a gun-carriage road through the mountain." (Digby, page 119). The *Ranbīr Dand Bidhī*, modelled on Macaulay's Penal Code of India, was promulgated in Persian.

The advent of the Church Missionary Society in Kashmīr.

The Kashmīr Medical Mission of the Church Missionary Society was founded by Rev. Robert Clark in 1864, and the following year Dr. W. J. Elmslie, M.A. (Aberdeen), M.D. (Edinburgh), started his medical work. After a few years he died. But the work was carried on by his successors till Dr. E. F. Neve joined the staff in 1886, in the time of Ranbīr's son and successor. In 1880 educational work was started by Rev. J. H. Knowels, and considerably developed by Rev. C.E. Tyndale Biscoe in 1890 and onwards.

In 1872 there was a clash between the Sunnīs and the Shī'as at Srīnagar, Baḍgām and Māgām. The Mahārājā offered compensation amounting to three lakhs of rupees to the Shī'as who suffered much. At the collapse of the shawl trade with France after the Franco-German War of 1870, he very humanely made enormous purchases on his own

account, as the Mahārājā is reported to have mentioned to Richard Temple in 1871. Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh made a great effort to introduce new staples into Kashmīr, and £30,000 was spent on sericulture, vines, and wine-making and hops. Writing in 1875 Andrew Wilson says* "the Chief Justice of the Court of Srīnagar (Nilambar Mukerji) is . . . . . in charge of the silk department also." Under his management sericulture improved and developed since Bengāl had a flourishing silk industry at this time, and apparently Nilambar Bābu was personally interested in it as he hailed from Bengāl. In 1876 Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, visited Jammu.

Ranbīr's gatherings on Akbar's model.

Ranbīr held gatherings on the model of Akbar when men of learning were gathered together for discussion of religious and social matters. Dīwān Kirpā Rām was his Abu'l Fazl, but devoid of Abu'l Fazl's religious detachment, who never wrote any refutation of Hinduism. The names of important *littérateurs* were: Pandit Ganesh Kaul Shāstrī, Bābu Nilambar Mukerji, Dr. Bakhshī Rām, Dr. Surajbal, Pandit Sāhib Rām, Pandit Himmat Rām Rāzdān, Mīrzā Akbar Beg, Hakīm Walīullāh Shāh Lāhaurī, Sayyid Ghulām Jīlānī, Maulavī Nasīr-ud-Dīn, Maulavī Ghulām Husain Tabīb of Lucknow, Maulavī Qalandar 'Alī Pānīpatī, Maulavī 'Abdullāh Mujtahid-ul-'Asr, Hāfiz Hājjī Hakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn Qādiānī, Babu Nasrullāh 'Īsāī. They were the ornaments of the literary *darbār* of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh. He was very fond of speaking Pushtu and would prefer servants speaking Pushtu about him (*see* p. 794 as a reason for it). Hakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn notes this in his autobiography and records the great help given to the Hakīm (*Hayāt-i-Nūr-ud-Dīn*, Qādiān, p. 118).

Dīwān Lachchman Dās, Governor of Kashmīr, for about two years from 1941 to 1943 Bikramī=A.C. 1884 to 1886, had a reputation for effective control and proper distribution of *shālī* in the days of famine

Dīwān Kirpā Rām.

Kirpā Rām was the well-known Dīwān of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh. He was dignified, of literary taste, and

The Abode of Snow, pages 396-397.

was the author of the *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr*, the *Gulāb-nāma* (*see* p. 756), the *Radd-i-Islam* (or Refutation of Islam, about which I have no comments to offer as I have not read it). He was generous-minded, gave away a thousand rupees from his private purse at a request on one occasion. Dīwān Jawālā Sahāi was the son of Dīwān Amīr Chand of Aimanābād, West Punjāb. Amīr Chand managed Jammu for Gulāb Singh. After Amīr Chand's death, Jawālā Sahāi succeeded his father as the trusted steward of Gulāb Singh. Jawālā Sahāi's son, Kirpā Rām, was at first the private secretary of Rājā Gulāb Singh, and then became the chief minister of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh. Kirpā Rām's two sons were Dīwān Anant Rām and Dīwān Amar Nāth. The former succeeded his father. The latter was the chief minister of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh after the death of Rājā Amar Singh in 1909. Hakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn says that Dīwān Anant Rām's tutor was Maulavī 'Abdullāh (p. 137). Dīwān Kirpā Rām died in 1876. Richard Temple, who met Kirpā Rām in 1871, notes that he "was a man of considerable intelligence, and ambitious of earning a good administrative repute for his master's government" (Vol. II, p. 144).

Ranbīr Singh's Translation Bureau, already mentioned, now lingers on in the present almost moribund Research Department of the State. The German Orientalist Professor J. George Bühler, of the Education Department of Bombay, visited the Valley, and took away valuable manuscripts in Persian and Sanskrit. Whether all these manuscripts have been published or properly utilized is not fully known, but the loss to Kashmīr was very great indeed. It was almost a literary loot.

Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh's appearance.

"Runbheer Singh (is) now about forty-two years old. His Highness is in person handsome and of a complexion I know not how to express it with a more expressive *epitheton* than olive—an olive colour his face presenteth, fair for the people of his country, with features of the Grecian type, nose and forehead a straight line, and short, black, curly beard. His puggery of lawn, with an edge of gold tissue, was relieved in colour by one scarlet fold. On his forehead was painted the yellow symbol with green centre that indicates the followers of Çiva, and he wore the brahminical cord, also a necklace of berries inlaid with gold resembling the rosary of Romanists, and used

for the same purpose. The rest of his dress was of white cambric and a ribbon of scarlet and gold lace across his breast was his badge of authority. His son dressed in the same way, wore a scimitar with a handle of embossed gold. He is shorter, stouter and fairer than his father, with features indicative of intelligence."† Richard Temple, who had many opportunites of conversing with Ranbīr, adds that he had "a very long moustache." "His figure was small, and his legs inclined to bend outwards, but he rode and shot well." (Vol. II, p. 93.)

Ranbīr's application to his duties.

"From all accounts," writes Richard Temple in 1871 when on a week's sojourn in the Valley, having already been there also in 1859, "the Maharaja attended a good deal to business himself, signed all orders authorizing expenditure however small, sat frequently in court, and heard important criminal trials and cases relating to landed property. He had built new court-rooms for the disposal of public business, and record offices also. Each year he spent part of his time in Jammu and a part in Kashmir. His private domestic life seemed to be good. He rode out daily, and was certainly free from many of the frivolities and vices which but too often disfigure the private conduct of..... Princes. Besides his heir, he had two sons, and his officers told me that he insisted on their being respectable in private life" (Vol. II, pp. 142-3).

Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh's attitude towards the British Government.

In his attitude towards the British Government, Ranbīr Singh showed considerable independence. He would not allow an inch of land in his territory to an Englishman. In fact, he vehemently opposed Lord Ripon's intercession on behalf of an Englishman for the acquisition of land in Kashmīr, when the Viceroy visited Jammu. The Mahārājā would not accept a British Resident in his State.

Perhaps it was, therefore, that certain Anglo-Indian newspapers were continually writing of the misgovernment of Kashmīr in Ranbīr's reign "declaring that misgovernment established occasion for British intervention."

†*Letters from India and Kashmir*, written in 1870, page 187.

The "gravest charges of neglect, and even of dreadful cruelty," were brought against the Mahārājā. On one occasion, it was declared that "His Highness, in order to be saved the expense of feeding his people during a time of great scarcity, actually drowned them by boat-loads at a time in the Srinagar Lake." The Mahārājā declined to sit quietly under this calumny, and at his request "a mixed commission was appointed by the Government of India to inquire into the truth of the story." The Commission found "there was no truth in this hideous statement; the people who were said to be drowned were discovered to be living and were actually produced at the inquiry."*

Ranbīr Singh was addicted to opium in the latter part of his life, and held darbārs late in the night, but otherwise his day was usually well-regulated. A glimpse of this can be had from the eye-witness, Frederic Drew, as a daily attendant at Ranbīr's *darbārs*, from his *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 65-68. Hakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn, his trusted physician, later became the successor of Mīrzā Ghulām Ahmad of Qādiān, the founder of the Ahmadiyya sect in the Punjāb.

Dīwān Kirpā Rām mentions the fire that destroyed several of the buildings and offices of the Shergarhī, a fact also noted by Richard Temple at his first visit in June 1859 (Vol. II, p. 61). Ranbīr Singh re-built them. He also covered with gold plate the entire dome of the temple of Shrī Gadādhar in the precincts of Shergarhī (*The Gulzār-i-Kashmīr*, pages 471 and 473).

Drew describes glowingly in detail the marriage of Ranbīr's daughter with the Rājā of Jaswāl, near Kangrā, in 1871 (pp. 76-82).

Wazīr Punnu, governor of Kashmīr, who met Richard Temple in June 1859, was reputed to be deficient in energy to cope with famine in 1864, and was recalled to Jammu in 1871. He died on the 6th September, 1885, having fallen dead in the darbār.

Death of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh.

At 4-30 p.m., on the 12th September, 1885, Ranbīr Singh died of diabetes at Jammu. He had been taken seriously

Condemned Unheard—The Government of India and H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, William Digby, C.I.E., London, July 1890, page 23.

ill in 1881 too, when he sent for Hakīm Ghulām Hasnain, a noted physician of Lucknow. Immediately before his death, the Mahārājā enjoined his sons to live in peace with one another, and told Pratāp Singh, the eldest, to complete the works of public utility he had begun. He also ordered that the contract for the sale of liquor in Jammu, then recently sold for 40,000 rupees, should be cancelled, and the sale of spirits forbidden as heretofore. He further directed that the toll, levied on persons crossing the Tawī river by ford, should be discontinued, and that firewood and vegetables should, for the future, be allowed to enter Jammu free of duty. At four in the afternoon he became insensible, and according to Hindu custom was removed from his bed to the floor, where he breathed his last shortly afterwards.

The next day, the 13th, the Mahārājā's body was burned on the bank of the Tawī river with great ceremony in the presence of a large multitude. The corpse is said to have been enveloped originally in forty coverings of shawl and other rich stuffs, interspersed with gold coins and jewels of great value placed there by the women of his harem: all but thirteen of the wrappers were taken off by the attendant Brāhmans before the body was placed on the pile. The whole of the Mahārājā's wardrobe, jewels, riding horses, with seven elephants, and a number of cattle besides a very large sum in cash—the whole estimated at from five to ten lakhs of rupees—were set aside for distribution among the Brāhmans or to be sent to holy men in the neighbourhood. Later, a sum of five lakhs was to be added from the private treasury to the fund consecrated by Ranbīr Singh to the perpetual use of temples, which fund had already amounted to 15 lakhs in the previous year.

Ranbīr had four sons: (i) Pratāp Singh, (ii) Rām Singh, (iii) Amar Singh and (iv) Lachhman Singh. The first three were by the Mahārānī Shubh Devi, commonly known as Kahlori Rānī, and the fourth was from Kishan Devī of the Charak Rājpūts. Lachhman Singh, however, died when about five. Ranbīr was succeeded by his eldest son, Miyān Pratāp Singh, then 35 years of age, despite the intrigues of his two brothers, who were "hungry for the crown."

THE DOGRA RULERS OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR AND THE HEIR APPARENT

Top left: Mahārājā Gulāb Singh. Top right: Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh. Bottom right: Mahārājā Pratāp Singh. Bottom left: Mahārājā Harī Singh. Centre: The Yuvrāj Prince Karan Singh, the Heir apparent.

MAHĀRĀJĀ SIR PRATĀP SINGH.

[1885 A.C. TO 1925 A.C.]

Lieutenant-General His Highness Mahārājā Sir Pratāp Singh, Indar Mahindar Bahādur, Sipar-i-Saltanat-i-Inglishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., LL.D.,—to give him his full title—was born at Riāsī on the 11th of the dark fortnight of Sāwan 1907, or July 14, 1850 A.C., about seven years before the death of his grandfather, Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, and was on the *gaddī* for 40 years. The event of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicing. The early education of Miyān Pratāp Singh consisted of a study of Dogrī, Persian and English. When grown up, he was apprenticed to State officials, and thus acquired a knowledge of state administration. He was small of stature and always suffered from ill-health. Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh liked his other sons better than the heir apparent. There were many misgivings, and everybody was pessimistic about Miyān Pratāp Singh's ability to govern efficiently. Indeed no ruling prince of Indo-Pākistān had had a more chequered career.

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh formally assumed power, at the age of 35, in a darbār on 25th September, 1885, over Jammu, Kashmīr and Dependencies. Following his father's practice, Pratāp Singh, from the commencement of his reign, fixed a monthly allowance for private and domestic expenses. This allowance was Rs. 43,000 per month. The handsome Rājā Amar Singh, on the demise of his first wife, was re-married. Pratāp Singh's own administration was vested in a council composed of himself, Rājā Rām Singh, Military Member, and Rājā Amar Singh, Member, Civil Affairs.

The late Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh did not agree to the British Government having a Resident stationed at Srīnagar. But when death removed him from the scene, the Government of India took the first opportunity of establishing a British Residency in Srīnagar. This is quite clear from the letter dated 27th November, 1885, of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Randolph S. Churchill, to the Government of India (Digby, pages 144-45). The new Mahārājā, like his father and grandfather, resisted this encroachment on his power, but gave way in the end. The Punjāb had already been annexed by the British and they were anxious about the frontier of India. "After

the ill-starred Afghān war of 1878, a desire seems to have been cherished," says Mr. Digby, "for the possession of the fertile valleys and the strong mountain-passes of Kashmir" (page 46). This was one reason. The other was that the Secretary of State had hinted that the transfer of sovereignty of Kashmīr to the Hindu ruling family implied intervention on behalf of the Muslim population of the State.

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh deprived of his powers.

On account of family intrigues, Mahārājā Pratāp Singh, however, made a disastrous start. It was alleged that Pratāp Singh was in league with Russia and Dalīp Singh, and that he wanted to murder Mr. (afterwards Sir) Trevor Chichele Plowden, the British Resident, his own brothers Rām Singh and Amar Singh, and one of the Mahārānīs who was, for some reason, personally objectionable to him. The Mahārājā, with great composure of mind, declared that, "if his own brothers were determined to ruin him with false accusations, he would submit to his fate. His Highness did not take his meals for two days, he was so much overpowered; and in his frenzy he saw no room for escape except to give his consent to such arrangements as were proposed to him."† Somehow, Pratāp Singh was made to sign an *Irshād*, or Edict of Resignation, in March 1889. According to this *Irshād*, or Edict, he was relieved of all part in the administration, which was placed, subject to the control of the Resident, in the hands of a Council of Regency consisting of (1) Rājā Rām Singh (2) Rājā Amar Singh (3) An experienced European to be appointed on two to three thousand per month (4) Rāi Bahādur Pandit Suraj Kaul and (5) Rāi Bahādur Pandit Bhāg Rām.

تخت ایوان جلالت کی نہ کچھ پوچھ امیر

راجہ اٹھنے بھی نہ پایا تھا کہ بیٹھی کونسل

خواجہ امیرالدین امیر کشمیری

The Council was presided over, at first, by Dīwān Lachhman Dās and, a year later, by Rājā Amar

† Digby's book *Condemned Unheard* is reported to have been removed from the libraries of the State on account of its remarks against the late Rājā Amar Singh.

Singh, the second younger brother of Pratāp Singh. And, according to Digby, "Prince Amar Singh, Prime Minister, was in secret communication with the Resident" (page 95). Dīwān Lachhman Dās usually acted under the guidance of Rājā Amar Singh, "a man of energy, ambition, and intrigue," who had quite a striking figure. Before family intrigues commenced, Pratāp Singh appears to have truly loved his younger brother, Miyān Amar Singh, and 'bestowed on him the rich jāgīr of Bhadarwah in exchange for the comparatively poor Basohli.' According to the Viceroy, Rājā Rām Singh failed to attend to his business and was continually absent from the Council of State.

The Viceroy accepted this *Irshād* with the following words: "Notwithstanding the ample resources of your State, your treasury was empty; corruption and disorder prevailed in every department and every office; Your Highness was still surrounded by low and unworthy favourites, and the continued misgovernment of your State was becoming, every day, a more serious source of anxiety."

Though the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, was warning the Mahārājā to look better after the finances of his State, the Lady Dufferin Fund Committee, says Digby (page 85), received Rs. 50,000 from Kashmīr, while a sum of Rs. 25,000 was accepted as a contribution to the Aitchison College at Lāhore!

Deplorable condition of Kashmīr under Mahārājā Pratāp Singh.

At this time, the condition of the Valley of Kashmīr was utterly deplorable. "The Brahmans known as Kashmīrī Pandits," writes Sir Walter Lawrence,* "had the power and authority, and the Muslim cultivators were forced to work to keep the idle Brahmans in comfort. In 1889, the Kashmir State was bankrupt. The rich land was left uncultivated, and the army was employed in forcing the villagers to plough and sow, and worse still, the soldiers came at the harvest time; and when the share of the State had been seized and these men of war had helped themselves, there was very little grain to tide the

*The India We Served, Cassell, 1927, page 128 and page 134.

unfortunate peasants over the cruel winter, when the snow lies deep and temperature falls below zero."

The condition of the peasants can be judged from the above. The servants of the State were no whit better off. The extent of bankruptcy of the State treasury can be gauged from the fact that, when Mr. Walter Lawrence demanded his pay as Settlement Commissioner and that of his staff, he was at first offered *singhāṛa* nuts[1] (water chestnuts). *En passant*, unfortunately the *singhāṛa* of Srīnagar is much smaller than that of the Punjāb or the Central Provinces. But when payment in *singhāṛas* was refused, the treasury officers tried to improve matters by offering oil-seed as pay; and it was only with great difficulty that he could get his pay in 'double rupees,' as British Indian rupees were called. *Begār* or forced labour was a misery for poor people. Those who were extremely poor were impressed into service, but the grasping official would levy blackmail from others. People were crushed under the heavy burden of unjust taxation. The tax on the sale of horses, called the *zar-i-nakhkhās*, amounted to fifty per cent of the purchase money. When Lawrence started his settlement, everything save air and water was under taxation.[2] Even the office of grave-digger was taxed. Māhārajā Pratāp Singh, however, lived to abolish a large number of taxes including the Muslim marriage tax.

Natural calamities in Pratāp's reign.

In addition to the misfortunes of the peasantry, the earthquakes of 1885 proved very severe. Cholera in 1888, 1892, 1900-1902, 1906-7 and 1910 took a heavy toll. The plague of 1903-4 in Jammu created panic even in the Valley. Big fires in the Valley in 1892 and 1899 caused great loss of property. Heavy floods in 1893 and 1903 were very destructive.

Pratāp Singh President of the Council.

In 1891, on the visit of Lord Lansdowne to the State, Pratāp Singh was appointed President of the Council, and Rājā Sir Amar Singh became its Vice-President. Dīwān Amar Nāth, the son of Dīwān Kirpā Rām, was the Chief Minister of the Mahārājā. Sir Dayā Kishan Kaul

1. *The India We Served*, page 128.
2. *Ibid.*, page 134.

was Private Secretary for some years. General Farmān 'Alī Khān and General Samandar Khān held high staff posts under the Commander-in-Chief, first, Rājā Rām Singh, and later, Rājā Amar Singh.

Appointment of Lawrence for the Settlement of the Valley.

One of the most important events of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's reign was the settlement of the Valley of Kashmīr. It was commenced by Mr. A. Wingate, I.C.S., C.I.E., in the summer of 1887. He met with great opposition from State officials as well as the *shahr-bāsh*, or the city people, and others who lived at the expense of the cultivator. Finding his work obstructed at each step he left off after over a year. Mr. Walter Roper Lawrence, I.C.S., C.I.E., was appointed in 1889. Sir Walter Roper Lawrence, BART., G.C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B., as he subsequently became, succeeded in settling the land against very heavy odds. To begin with, the upper class of Hindus resented the new system which, it was feared, would operate as a check, and define their control over the peasantry. Hence, all those who surrounded the Mahārājā intrigued against it and tried to wreck it. In addition to this, even nature appeared to conspire against the unhappy people, and famine, cholera, plague and inundations appeared at regular intervals, and laid low the already crushed people. In 1892 there broke out a terrible epidemic of cholera, which took a toll of at least 18,000. In 1893 a fearful flood destroyed a large part of the standing crop, and swept away about 6,000 houses. Sickness followed in its wake and caused additional suffering. Sir Walter, however, faced all these difficulties bravely, and the settlement work was pushed on in spite of these calamities. The operations were completed in 1893, but the actual settlement came into force three years later in 1896. By the year 1912 pratically every *tahsīl* and district directly administered by the State was either settled for the first time or in revision. The land revenue at these setlements was fixed at 30 per cent of the gross produce.

The main features of the Settlement of Kashmīr.

The mainfea tures of the settlement, as finally effected by Lawrence, were: (*i*) The state demand was fixed for fourteen years; (*ii*) Payment in cash was subtituted for payment in kind; (*iii*) The use of force in the collection of revenue was done away with; (*iv*) *Begār*, or forced labour,

in its more objectionable forms, was abolished; (*v*) Occupancy rights were conferred on *zamīndārs* in undisputed lands ; (*vi*) The status of privileged holders of land was investigated, and lands in excess of the sanctioned area assessed at the ordinary rates; (*vii*) Waste lands were entered as *khālisa*, wrongly written *khālsa*, (*i.e.*, lands under government management), but preferential rights for acquisition of such land by *āsāmīs* (tenants) were granted; (*viii*) Permanent but non-alienable hereditary rights were granted to those who accepted the first assessment, and all land was carefully evaluated on the basis of produce, previous collection and possibility of irrigation. The *rasūm* and exactions of *jāgīrdārs* and big landlords were abolished and the rents and liabilities of cultivators were defined. Mahārājā Pratāp Singh, to the satisfaction of his subjects, and against the wishes of his courtiers, wrote off arrears of land revenue amounting to 31 lakhs of rupees.

دعائیں جان کو لارنس کی دو، ہے طفیل اُسکا
زمینداروں کی حالت کو جو کچھ سنبھلا ہوا دیکھا
پیرزادہ محمد حسین عارف

Fittingly enough then did Mahārājā Pratāp Singh install Sir Walter's marble statue in a special stone wall in the premises of the settlement office in Srīnagar.

The younger brother of Partāp Singh, Rājā Rām Singh, who was Commander-in-Chief, died of heart failure in 1899. Rājā Amar Singh, the second brother, was then Commander-in-Chief and also Foreign Minister, and died in 1909 of paralysis.

Persian as court language replaced by Urdu.

Sir Jīvanjī Jamshedjī Modī, writing in 1917, says* that "up to a few years ago, Persian was the court language of the Darbār of Kashmīr. Even during my second visit (June-July 1915) I had occasion to talk in Persian with a large number of people there. Even the Hindu Pandits spoke Persian . . . . At one time, there was, as it were, two parties in Kashmīr ; one was that of the Persian-knowing Pandits and the other of Sanskrit-knowing Pandits. . . . . The Persian-

**The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir—The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXV, Nos. 71-73, 1922, page 63.

speaking Pandits and the Sanskrit-speaking Pandits did not intermarry. . . . The Persian-knowing Pandits could not practise as *Gurus*, or professional Hindu priests." Persian, however, was replaced later by Urdu as the official language, not without a protest from Muslims and several Kashmīrī Pandits.

The replacement of Persian by Urdu, it must be noted, was as disastrous to the people of the State at the time as the replacement of Persian by English to the Muslims of India. It meant economic ruin, then, of several indigenous families, since it opened the door mostly to Punjābī Hindūs, who came in large numbers to supplant the subjects of the State in official employment. Bitterness between Kashmīrīs and non-Kashmīrīs ensued. This bitterness led to strong agitation, which had to be stopped by defining the term 'state subject,' to whom alone the bulk of employment was thenceforth restricted.

Works of public utility under Pratāp Singh.

In the reign of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh, many works of public utility were undertaken. The college, opened at Srīnagar through the efforts of Mrs. Anne Besant early in 1905, was taken over by the State and named the Srī Pratāp College. With 1,187 students on its rolls this college, in 1938, had the distinction of being the second largest college affiliated to the Panjāb University. At Jammu was established, in 1907, the Prince of Wales College, which, at one time, was the only institution affiliated to the Panjāb University in geology. Many high schools, and a large number of primary schools were established throughout the State. In the name of Rājā Amar Singh, a technical institute was opened at Srīnagar. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Pratāp Singh by the University of the Panjāb at the convocation of 1917. He was also a Fellow of the University and "took interest in University affairs."

To combat successfully the ravages of different epidemics that had become regular visitations, the Mahārājā established hospitals in different parts of the State. Preventive measures were also adopted. Filtered water was brought to populated areas by means of pipes. Several large springs were protected from contamination.

Agriculture was not neglected. Extensive swamps were reclaimed for agricultural purposes by building dams on rivers. Zamīndārī *kols*, small streamlets, were improved. Waste lands were offered to cultivators on favourable terms. The co-operative movement was started in the State when the late Khān Bahādur Shaikh Maqbūl Husain was the Revenue Minister, and, as a result of the personal interest taken by him, several co-operative banks were established. A model farm, known as the Pratāp Model Farm, was established near the Shālāmār garden, to improve the existing staple (rice and maize) crops, and to introduce new ones likely to prove productive in the country. Sericulture was started on modern lines at Srīnagar and Jammu. This brought the State a large revenue, and employment to hundreds of State subjects. The urban population entered the silk factories and the rural population engaged in silk-worm rearing. Customs and Excise departments were re-modelled. Forests were improved. The exploitation of deodār was effectively controlled. This was pachieved through the organization of the Forest Department in 1891 under an officer lent by the Government of India. The Forest Department was re-organized in 1923-24.

To help commerce and industry, new roads were constructed. Jammu and Srīnagar were connected by telephone. The railway from Siālkōt was extended to Jammu. Many of the State monopolies such as that of the shawl industry were abolished. Unpaid *begār* was done away with. Electric plants were installed, at heavy cost, at Mohora and at Jammu. The Mohora installation was set up in 1907-8, utilizing the river Jhelum, near Buniyār, about fourteen miles from Bārāmūla. It is, even, now not out of date, but powerful enough for an electric railway line then proposed, through its pipes need replacing. Roughly 18 million units were generated in 1941 which, as Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha says, "is less than a month's output in Mysore." Dredges were used at Bārāmūla to remove the mud which was choking the flow of the river and causing floods in the Valley.

The beginnings of municipal government took place in 1886 when the first Municipal Act was promulgated. Changes were effected in this Act in 1890 and 1913. Untill 1905 the administration of justice was vested in a member of the State Council. In this year the Judge of the Jammu

and Kashmīr High Court was appointed to decide all judicial cases. The Criminal Procedure Code was introduced in Urdu in 1912, under its old Dogrī title, the *Ranbīr Ḍanḍ-bidhī*, after having been passed by the Council in June 1892. Other legal enactments were consolidated and published in a handy volume.

The British Resident's share in reforms.

Thus, it can be said, in a sense, that Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's reign ushers in a new era in Kashmīr, transforming it, partially though it be, from the medieval to the early beginning of a modern age. And here we cannot omit to mention the silent but certain and effective assistance, by advice or by urge, of the British Resident from time to time, in these useful changes and of the British Indian Government in shaping the organization of the State on the Punjāb model.

Military Reforms.

Military reforms were introduced. These transformed the State army into a modernized force by reorganization in such a manner that it could effectively assist in frontier defence against external aggression and internal disorder. The Commander-in-Chief of India visited Jammu in November, 1922.

The conquest of Hunza and Nagar. The Chitrāl War.

The conquest of Hunza and Nagar in 1895 and the Chitrāl War in 1891 took place during Pratāp Singh's time. The conquest of Hunza stopped occasional looting on the Qāra Quram trade route. The details of these events will be found in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Jammūn*, in Urdu, Lucknow, September 1939, of Al-Hājj Maulavī Hishmatullāh Khān Lakhnavī, who was on the staff of the British Agent at Gilgit, and deputed for duty in Chitrāl during 1894-1898, and who later entered the Kashmīr State Civil Service (*vide* pages 826-887). The Pāmīr Boundary Commission brought Kashmīr near to Russia and China. In 1895 over fourteen thousand animals were supplied to the Commissariat Department by way of assistance in transport.

Abolition of the old Council in 1905.

In October 1905 the Council was abolished and its powers were conferred on the Mahārājā himself by Lord Curzon. This arrangement, however, made little change in reality in the administration of the State, since Sir Amar Singh "had dictated too long to be able to obey." It

was not until his death in 1909 that Pratāp "had real authority, and he was then too far advanced in life to understand quite how to use it." In 1922, a State Council of Ministers was, however, again formed to assist the Mahārājā in the administration of the country. Rājā Harī Singh, Pratāp Singh's nephew, who was Commander-in-Chief in 1915, and had been to Europe in 1919, was made Senior Member and Commander-in-Chief of the State forces.

Miyān Harī Singh.

Born in September 1895, Mīyān Harī Singh, the son of Rājā Amar Singh, one of the richest nobles of India, received education under a number of qualified European and Indian instructors.* In 1908, he entered the Mayo College, Ajmer. After completing the full course of studies there, he received training in the Imperial Cadet Corps, Dehra Dūn. Mahārājā Pratāp Singh appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the State forces in 1915, before he had attained the age of twenty. In 1922, he was appointed Senior Member of the then State Council, and a number of reforms were initiated by him in this capacity. As Commander-in-Chief, Rāja Harī Singh was principally responsible for the training and equipment of the units of the State army, which were dispatched to the Front during the first Great War of 1914-18, and for maintaining them at the requisite strength. In recognition of the services rendered by these units in the various theatres of the War, the following battle honours were conferred on them:—(1) 1st Kashmīr Pack Battery—"Nayangoa, East Africa 1916-18." (2) 1st Kashmīr Raghū Pratāp Battalion—"Megiddo, Nāblūs, Palestine 1918." (3) 3rd Kashmīr Body Guard Rifles Battalion—"Kilimanjāro, Behobeho, East Africa 1914-17." 3rd Kashmīr Raghū Pratāp Rifles Battalion—"Megiddo, Sharon, Palestine 1918, Kilimanjāro, Behobeho, East Africa 1914-17."

The maintenance of the contingent of State forces, which was sent to the first World War front, cost the State over a crore of rupees. The State supplied 31,000 recruits to the British Indian Army, which was the largest number of recruits, it is claimed, supplied by any State during the last war. The principality of Pūnch was particularly prominent in the matter of offering these recruits. His

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**Modern Jammu and Kashmir State*, 1925-42, the Ranbīr Government Press, Jammu, 1942, page 29.

Highness Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's Government also contributed a sum of about 43 lakhs of rupees to the War Loan, and Rājā Harī Singh personally made a very substantial contribution from his privy purse.[1]

A sensational episode in Miyān Harī Singh's life.

A sad episode in the life of Rājā Harī Singh, when about thirty years of age, caused considerable sensation at the time. His name came into unwelcome prominence in the case of Robinson *versus* Midland Bank Limited. This episode has been noted by an international publicist in these words: "The Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu is named Sir Hari Singh. In 1925 in London, as "Mr. A." he was the central figure and victim in a celebrated £ 300,000 blackmail case. In court Sir John (now Viscount) Simon called him "a poor, green, shivering, abject wretch." —*Inside Asia* by John Gunther.[2]

[The Right Honourable Viscount Simon, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., Hon. D.C.L. (Oxford); LL.D. (Cambridge) and of eight other Universities; Chairman, Indian Statutory Commission, 1927-30; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1931-35; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1937-40; Lord Chancellor, 1940-45; born on 28th February, 1873, is the most distinguished advocate of his time.]

It is not easy to offer any comment on this sad affair as it took place so far away and as far back as twenty-three years. Besides it is not also certain if Miyān Harī Singh was, on the analogy of practice in Indian law-courts, ever present in person in the court, to evoke Viscount Simon's serious, scathing remark.

King George's visit as Prince of Wales.

At the visit of King George, then Prince of Wales, in the year 1905, "Jammu was decked in the height of Oriental splendour, and a most beautiful camp was laid out around the new Residency at Satwārī. It is estimated that £40,000 was spent in connection with this regal display by a State that is always short of money, and which is terribly backward in such important matters

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1. *A Short Note on some of the Aspects of His Highness' Achievements*, the Ranbīr Goverment Press, 1934, page 1.
2. Harper & Brothers, New York and London, 1939, First Edition, printed in the United States of America, page 455, paragraph 2.

as roads and sanitation."[1] Similarly in 1904 when Lord Ampthill visited Srīnagar as acting Viceroy, about ten thousand poor Muslim *zamīndārs* were made to stand on the Takht-i-Sulaimān with lights in their hands, and were paid two to three annas per head.[2] The Masonic Lodge was established in 1913. The Royal visit led to the foundation of the Prince of Wales College, at Jammu, in 1907, as already noted. This college is now re-named Gāndhī Memorial College according to a State Government order, dated Thursday, May 20, 1948.

The State Darbārs.

"The State Darbārs are an interesting spectacle, whether on such occasion or on one of the great festivals, such as Basant, the first day of spring. The former custom has been revised of every court official bringing his *nazr* or offering to the Mahārājā on that day. This gift is about 3 per cent. of the month's salary. Much of the money thus given finds its way back to the donors in the shape of presents from His Highness to old and faithful servants or as wedding gifts. On this festival, every one should appear dressed in yellow, or, at least, with a turban of that colour."[3] But *darbārs* are now conducted somewhat differently.

The beginnings of the first newspaper in the State.

Lāla Mulk Rāj Sarāf, a Dogrā journalist of the village Sāmba, in the district of Jammu, applied in 1921 for permission to start the first newspaper in the State, but was told that the Darbār did "not consider it advisable to entertain his application for starting a weekly journal at Jammu." A second application in the same year the State was like wise disallowed. A third application met with the reply that His Highness the Mahārājā Sāhib Bahādur "is not inclined to grant the required permission." This last reply was vouchsafed when Rājā Sir Harī Singh was the Senior and Foreign Member of the State Council. A fourth attempt in 1924, however, was successful. This too was during the senior membership of the Rājā when His Highness the Mahārājā Bahādur in Council was pleased to accord permission to a paper being started. And on inquiry by Mr.

1. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913, page 48.
2. Abu'l Hāmid Munshī Hasan 'Alī, Nāopōr, Srīnagar, *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr*, MS., part 18, page 16.
3. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913, page 48-49.

Sarāf he was told that the permission for a paper "implied the starting of a press as well." Rājā Harī Singh gave a donation of Rs. 50 per year to this 'pioneer enterprise' *viz.* the *Ranbīr* of Jammu. This is the genesis of journalism in the State of Jammu and Kashmīr in the régime of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh. For seven years the *Ranbīr* was the only newspaper of the State.

Maharājā Pratāp Singh's orthodoxy.

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh was intensely religious. This explains why he did not go to England, or anywhere out of India, as he thought it to be against his religion. In fact, it was commonly said that he would not see a Muslim or any non-Hindu in the morning before his *pūjā* or prayer. He would look at a cow rather than any non-Hindu as the first thing in the morning. He would even break his *huqqa* if the fringe of his carpet was touched by a non-Hindu, and would bathe as a penance for such unholy touch!

Sir Pratāp Singh was not only "a patron of Brāhmins and Sādhūs but had himself repeatedly visited Hardwār and other Indian sacred places, and even endured the toils and faced the risks of the pilgrimages to the cave of Amarnāth, almost inaccessible in the heart of the snow ranges."[1] No Brāhman could be given capital punishment. When he brougt himself to the signing of the death warrant of any criminal he would fast for the day.

Pratāp Singh always wore a very large turban which, on the one hand, made him conspicuous in any assembly of princes and, on the other, added a few inches to his small stature. He took a keen interest in India and in England. He had an inquiring eye. He was very hospitable. His entertainment, on occasions of State banquets, was most lavish. He discouraged litigation and settled, in private, several complicated civil cases with the aid of arbiters. He had a wonderful memory. He would vividly describe old events extending over several decades, which others had forgotten. Unfortunately, he never enjoyed good health, but he held on to life with amazing tenacity. A very able doctor told Sir Walter Lawrence[2] in 1894 that the Mahārājā could not live for more than two months, and he died full thirty years after the prophecy.

1. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913, page 44.
2. *The India We Served*, page 192.

"In September, 1925," writes Sir Walter,* "I spent a day in Geneva with a great Indian Chief. . . . . we talked of the many men we had known and respected who seemed to take opium with no baleful results. Partāp Singh was one of these . . . . and my host . . . agreed that opium in a large measure accounted for his long life and his ever fresh interest in affairs and the fashions of mankind. He added that the astrologers had recently predicted that if Partāp Singh survived 1925, he would live another fifteen years." Under the influence of opium, "Pratāp Singh sometimes passed orders which he very much repented in his saner moments."

Pratāp Singh's food and drink and other habits.

Pratāp Singh was a voracious eater, so I learnt from his former prime minister. His table consisted of forty dishes. He relished leavened *rōṭī*, and would also take *pūrī* and rice. His food was very rich, and he took a lot of cream, curds and pickles. From one to two he had his mid-day meal. At about five in the afternoon, he would take about a seer of milk and various fruits. Late in the night, at about two, he took his dinner. He ate flesh in his youth, but gave it up, it is said, on the advice of Hakīm Mahdī, his physician. Colonel Hugo operated on him for cancer. But he was so keen on his *huqqa* that two hours after the chloroform he called for it, and smoked apparently without any after-effects. He would get up at about eight in the morning. By about ten, he had heard the day's news and disposed of his personal letters. After this he would have his bath. He then, observed his *pūjā* from about 11-30 to 12-30, and preparation for the meal would follow. He took no *lassī* or buttermilk. He drank no tea during the hot weather. He abstained from food during the day on an occasion of public or private mourning, but had fruits and light dishes instead.

Pratāp Singh mostly sat on the floor, and did not use the chair. He did very little physical exercise in latter days, but his stomach, like his memory, was unusually strong. He was a good horseman, and on one occasion kept pace with Lord Roberts. Swimming and wrestling had been the chief recreations of his youth.

**The India We Served*, page 193.

He could write letters in English, though not without mistakes of spelling and grammar, and at times would insist on the same being dispatched. He wrote in "a very crabbed hand and with the use of peculiar idioms." Now and again he contributed letters to the columns of the *The Times*, London, "steeped in knowledge of the Shastras and aiming at the promotion of British and Indian good will."

Pratāp's riverine processions.

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's entry into Srīnagar every year, between May and June, was a picturesque scene. At Sheltang he would take his seat in a specially decorated *chākwārī* (a boat for high-ranking people) with vazīrs round him, and as the *chākwārī* moved up towards Shergarhī, thousands of people would look out from roofs, windows, and river *ghāts*. The river Jhelum was littered with *shikāras* moving to and fro.

Dogrā Rulers scrupulous about the honour of women.

All the three Dogrā rulers kept three, four or more mistresses each. But they were very scrupulous about the honour of their subjects, and never attempted to smuggle girls from the homes of the subjects of their State or outside. In this respect, indeed, they set an example to many a ruler of our States.

Pratāp's interest in cricket.

Pratāp Singh was generally surrounded by flatterers. He apparently relished their company. In his old age, his courtiers persuaded him to take an interest in cricket. Professionals were employed from the Punjāb. A well-known scholarly State official, a Kashmīrī Pandit, once wrote to me that "the Mahārājā was made to believe that he was a born cricketer! Although he could not hold the bat properly and could hardly hit the ball, yet he always scored more than a century! He was told—and he fully believed it—that balls hit by him came like cannon balls and it was scarcely possible to stop them!" This now reads to us like fun! But it is not all fun. Pratāp Singh was no fool. He was rather shrewd. As a matter of fact, he enjoyed being befooled in order really to befool his flatterers. When bored by a visitor or an appellant or his advocate, Pratāp Singh would snore in order to cut short the matter or get rid of a bore. But his besetting sin was his weakness of will. He would take no initiative but would always depend on some official's move.

From such a man no one expected any improvement in the State. The verdict of history will, however, be somewhat different. The reasons are not far to seek. Owing to a highly developed system of espionage, the Mahārājā knew better than any one in the State that the condition of the people was far from satisfactory. Being a simple man of reverent mind, he sided with the party of progress in spite of the intrigue and opposition of powerful and influential reactionaries, who always gathered round him.

Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn "Fauq's" remarks.

The late Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq*, about whom a note appears on page 376 of *Kashīr*, and who gave a lifetime to the study of affairs in Kashmīr writing in the *Kashmīrī* of 21st August, 1924, said, cow-slaughter was punished with death in the time of the Sikhs. Under Dogrā rule, the sentence for cow-slaughter can extend to ten years' rigorous imprisonment and fine. E. F. Knight† wrote in 1893: "Imprisonment for life is now the penalty, and many an unfortunate Mohamedan, I believe, is lying immured in Hari Parbat because that, in time of famine, he has ventured to kill his own ox to save himself and family from starvation." At the close of the year 1944, the Hon'ble the Chief Justice of the High Court of Jammu and Kashmīr—a retired Judge of the High Court of Judicature, Allahābād—is reported to have recommended in a solemn communication, embodying proposals for reforms in the State, that the period of ten years for cow-slaughter be reduced to a period not exceeding two years, because the sentences for cow-slaughter from 1934 have varied between 2 and 4 years, and the maximum sentence inflicted was seven years' rigorous imprisonment on one occasion only. The import of beef into the State is prohibited. "Some of the mosques and sacred places, closed to Muslims during Sikh rule, are still locked up. In the course of 27 years' rule," points out Fauq, "the Sikhs gave two Muslim governors to the Valley, but 80 years of Dogrā rule—almost thrice the span of the Sikhs—had given likewise only two Muslim governors to Kashmīr. A Hindu adopting Islam forfeits all his rights to his ancestral property in favour of his wife, children, and collaterals." But, perhaps, Fauq forgets here that a Muslim, too, on becoming an apostate, suffers the same fate. The Brāhman in Kashmīr

†*Where Three Empires Meet*, page 16.

has, however, till recently, been immune from capital punishment.[1] The Sayyid in Hydarābād is not. The import of pork or ham so abominable to the Muslim, is not penalized in any Muslim State of India. The Muslims of Kashmīr had a number of genuine grievances. An influential body of leading Muslims took advantage of the visit to Kashmīr, in 1924, of Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, to represent these grievances. The Mahārājā's government put down this constitutional effort of the Muslims with a firm hand.

A patriotic Kashmīrī Pandit Publicist's observations on Dogrā rule in Kashmīr.

"Speaking generally and from the *bourgeois* point of view," writes Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz, "the Dogra rule has been a Hindu Raj. Muslims have not been treated fairly, by which I mean as fairly as the Hindus. Firstly, because, contrary to all professions of treating all classes equally, it must be candidly admitted that Muslims were dealt with harshly in certain respects only because they were Muslims. The law prohibiting cow-slaughter is there to support this statement." It may here be pointed out that "during the last one hundred years of Dogra rule there have been as many as 28 prime ministers in the State. Not one of them has ever been a Muslim. And out of the thirteen battalions in the Dogra army only one and a half are Muslims. The killing of a monkey is a penal offence. The Arms Act allows Hindu Rājputs to bear fire-arms without licence to the exclusion of all classes of Muslims."[2]

"The Muslims are very backward in education. According to the late census 1·6 per cent. of them are literate. The literacy among the males is 2·9 per cent., while among the females it is 1·6 per thousand. In the villages, illiteracy of the Muslim masses is colossal. In hundreds of villages not a single Muslim male or female knows even how to write his or her name or count two dozen sheep" (*Inside Kashmir*, pages 250-1).

"The main blame, however, for this state of backwardness falls on the shoulders of the Dogra rule. The

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1. *Modern India and the West*, edited by L.S.S. O'Malley, C.I.E., Oxford University Press, 1941, page 370.

2. The Srīnagar correspondent of the *Dawn* of Delhi, in the issue of Saturday, October 12, 1946, page 4.

Dogras have held the country for about a century with absolutely no fear of foreign aggression or internal disorder. The record of progress as it is should put any conscientious man in charge of the welfare of four million people to shame" (*Ibid.*, p. 251).

"The demand of Muslims became irresistible and the Maharaja was moved at last to do something in this direction. In 1916, Mr. Sharp, then Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, visited at the request of the Kashmir Durbar the educational institutions in the State, examined the Muslim demands, inquired into their grievances and submitted a report containing his recommendations for the guidance of the State authorities. These recommendations were sanctioned by His Highness but were lightly treated by his Ministers, and instructions issued by him were seldom followed by those in charge of the Education Department, who were invariably non-Kashmiris. As a matter of fact, soon after its publication, the report was safely put in the archives from where nobody could find it out. Fifteen years after, an official inquiry committee had to admit that "no one appears to be aware of the nature of the report submitted by the educational expert." The Muslims rightly felt aggrieved over such a state of affairs. For years they complained and protested, fretted and fumed, but all to no purpose (*Ibid.*, p. 83).

"Mr. Sharp had recommended (in 1916) an immediate increase in the number of schools so as to provide primary education in all villages with a population of 500 or over. This has not been done even in the year of grace 1941." (*Ibid.*, p. 251).

"Other communities were in the meantime making some progress. Especially in the Kashmir Province the Pandits were making rapid advance in education and had on this account begun to capture the offices as subordinate clerks. Kashmir Muslims became impatient. They had now many grievances against the authorities which were collected and sent to them with no results. At this stage a bold step was taken by a few leading Kashmiri Muslims. Recklessly enough a memorial was submitted by them to Lord Reading, then Viceroy of India, when he visited Kashmir in 1924 (already referred to above). In the course of the memorial the Muslims demanded that proprietary rights of the land should be given to the peasants ; that a

larger number of Mohammadans should be employed in the State Service; that steps should be taken to improve the condition of Mohammedan education in the State; that the system of *begar* should be abolished; that the work of the Co-operative Department should be extended; that all Muslim mosques in possession of the Government should be released and handed over to the Muslims. This memorial was signed by some eminent *Jagirdars*, and the two *Mir Waizes* (the Religious Heads of Muslims) also affixed their signatures to it. Some demonstrations in the State-owned silk factory at Srinagar and disturbances of semi-political nature took place in the city during the summer of that year. But everything was in an embryonic form then, and all this was put down by the authorities with a firm hand (*Inside Kashmir*, p.84).

"A Committee of three official members consisting of a European, a Hindu and a Mohammedan examined the memorial and reported that there was no substance in it! Some of the memorialists were exiled and their landed property confiscated. The two *Mir Waizes* were left off with a warning, but all official privileges enjoyed by them were immediately stopped. The demonstrators were summarily dealt with and punished" (*Ibid.*, pp. 84-85).

"The poverty of the Muslim masses is appalling. Dressed in rags which can hardly hide his body and barefooted, a Muslim peasant presents the appearance rather of a starving beggar than of one who fills the coffers of the State. He works laboriously in the field during the six months of the summer to pay the State its revenues and taxes, the officials their *rasum* and the money-lender his interest. Most of them are landless labourers working as serfs of the absentee landlords. They hardly earn, as their share of the produce, enough for more than three months. For the rest they must earn by other means. During the six months (of the winter) they are unemployed and must go outside the boundaries of the State to work as labourers in big towns and cities of British India (mostly of the Punjāb). Their lot, as such, is no good, and many of them die every year, unknown, unwept and unsung outside their homes. The disgraceful environments and unkind surroundings in which so many of them die have been a slur alike on the people and the Government of the country to which they belong."

(*Ibid.*, p. 252). And yet the Royal Commission Report of 1944 have recommended the continuance of the practice as it is believed to be economically good for these poor people! The bankrupt economic policy of the State has no use for this labour within the State, and perhaps because these labourers bring money from the Punjāb to pay revenue to the State!

"Almost the whole brunt of the official corruption has been borne by the Muslim masses. The Police, the Revenue Department, the Forest Officials, and even the employees of the Co-operative Societies, have their palms oiled by exaction of the usual *rasum*. Nobody feels any sympathy with this distressing picture of poverty. The channels of human kindness and mercy have run dry. To loot the peasant is no sin; society does not disapprove of it.

"The list of the earthly possessions of a peasant is very brief. Besides the rags he wears, he owns a small house, a few earthen vessels, a wooden box, a couple of mats and, of course, a large debt. In most cases they have no bedding to sleep in. During winter, when nights are severely cold in the Valley of Kashmir, they sleep on hay spread on the floor in a part of a room occupied by cattle, which is generally warm.

"Rural indebtedness is staggering. The Government never took the trouble of making any inquiry in this behalf. Incomplete and haphazard non-official inquiries show that more than seventy per cent. of the people living in the villages are under debt. In numerous cases the produce of the land is pawned long before it is visible in the fields. Once a debt has been contracted it is never fully paid back" (*Ibid.*, p. 252).

[*Inside Kashmir* by Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz, B.A., was printed in 1941, at the Lion Press, Lahore, and published at Srīnagar in September 1942. This book was proscribed by the Jammu and Kashmīr Government, a month after, *viz.*, on 27th October, though the seniormost lawyer of India, who took the chair at the inauguration of the Indian Union Constituent Assembly, Dr. S. Sinha, characterizes it as "an informative work on the present educational, economic and political conditions" of Kashmīr. "It is," Dr. Sinha further says, "a helpful record and a useful survey and merits serious attention" (*vide* Dr. Sinha's *Kashmir—the Playground of Asia*, 1943 edition, revised and enlarged, p. 378). See also the brochure, *Heresy Eulogized*, published on 1st January, 1943, (Sahitya Mandir Press Ltd., Lucknow, U. P.), in which eminent leaders of Indian political life and leading journals of the land have written appreciatively on *Inside Kashmir*].

In the Royal Commission Report* of Chief Justice Gānga Nāth one reads :—" The average diet of the people of this State falls below the calories content required for an average person namely 2,600. Since most of the population performs manual labour the standard require ment of calories could be even greater. The main defects in the diet are the preponderance of rice in the diet of the Kashmiris, the deficiency of raw green vegetable element, the comparative absence of fruits in the regular diet, and deficiency of milk content.

" In a country so predominently agricultural and with such limited scope for income in cultivable area and equally restricted sphere of expansion of agriculture, the need of industrialization to relieve the pressure on land cannot be over-emphasized. The proposition is so patent that we are surprised at the present industrial backwardness of this State. The State has, if any, a small place on the industrial map of India, although India itself is not a sufficiently industrialized country."

If Jammu is one of the cleanest towns of Northern India, Srīnagar, which has grown by "eighty per cent. during the last fifty years," is certainly the filthiest city of India ; its river is one of the most polluted and the dirtiest of rivers. Its banks are always covered with filth and refuse and the water is muddy and foul. A highly responsible official has made a statement in the Royal Commis ion Report to the effect that " practically nothing has been done in an organized manner to tackle the problem of rural hygiene, sanitation and public health during the last decade." The birth rate of Srīnagar has risen during the decade from 4,000 to 7,000, the death rate has increased from 3,000 to 4,800.

In *Jesting Pilate,* his well-known book of travel published in 1926, and reproduced by Dr. S. Sinha in his *Kashmir*: " *The Playground of Asia* " (first edition, pages 255-56. Second revised and enlarged edition, pp 330-331), Aldous Huxley gives us the following reflections. on what he saw on the Kashmīr roads :—" It is cheaper in Kashmir to have a waggon pulled by half a dozen

*Draft Report of the Royal Commission appointed by His Highness and presided over by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice of the State, Rāi Bahādur Gangā Nāth.

men than by a pair of oxen or horses. (page 20). . . . . Passing, I feel almost ashamed to look at the creeping wain; I avert my eyes from a spectacle so painfully accusatory. That men should be reduced to the performance of a labour which, even for beasts, is cruel and humiliating, is a dreadful thing. 'Ah, but they feel things less than we do,' the owners of motor-cars, the eaters of five meals a day, the absorbers of whisky hasten to assure me: 'they feel them less, because they are used to this sort of life. They don't mind, because they know no better. They were really quite happy.' And these assertions are quite true. They do not know better; they *are* used to this life: they are incredibly resigned. All the more shame to the men and to the system that have reduced them to such an existence, and kept them from knowing anything better." (page 22).

A balanced appraisal of Dogrā rule.

The long quotations above should not give the impression that the State administration has been deliberately oppressive to the people. In spite of the invidiousness of allowing arms only to Hindu Dogrās, army, it must not be forgotton that, in the army one-third, according to an former high official of the State are Dogrā Muslims, etc., that and General Farmān Alī Khān, General Samandar Khān, Brigadier Rahmatullāh Khān and others have occupied quite high positions in the Dogrā force. The Food Control Department was inaugurated for the good of the people, namely, for relieving them of the oppressive rates of food grain charged by a class of profiteers, known as *Wad-dārs*, (*waḍ* in Kashmīrī means profit), who paid advances to the poor *zamīndārs* to purchase cheap, standing crops from them in order to sell food grain to the people at exorbitant rates.

It is, however, true that Dogrā administration lacked imagination, energy and ability to open up new areas, new avenues, new industries and to introduce *the* most convenient modern means of locomotion. Gorgeous Gurēz, with its copious water and wide verdure, its long, long stretches of plain-like level land is inaccessible. Silvery Sonamarg can be approached only through knee-deep mud after a smart shower. The two hundred miles from Srīnagar to Skārdu and Shīghar is a primitive path, difficult to tread and teacherous to ride. I speak from personal experience when I state that the

indigenous apricots (*khūbānīs*) rotting in the orchards of these two places far surpass those of the best of California—such as those obtained in Los Angeles —in shape, in colour, in delicacy and in taste, despite the improvements effected by highly specialized scientific agriculture in that part of the U. S. A. Melons, apples and other fruits go waste for want of transport. And yet the people are the poorest. The 'poverty of the Kashmīrī is proverbial,' but that of the people of Skārdu and Shīghar is indeed appalling. Even the headman of a hamlet *en route* may be seen, in his rags, any day, carrying his load of firewood for sale to any party of visitors that happens to halt for a day near it for the paltry price of an anna and a half. Lovely Lolāb is not easy to approach by the only open way of Kupwāra. And the plains of Deosai remain desolate all the year round. The drug industry has been installed, it is true. But very many essential things continue to be neglected still. Dr. John Martin Honigberger, Physician to the Court at Lāhore, in his meeting with Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, mentioned that he would start making sugar from beet-root, and tea in Kashmīr on returning to the Valley (*see* his *Thirty-five Years in the East*, p. 171). These are still to be attempted, though a hundred years have elapsed since his visit (*see* also *supra* pp. 786-7.) G. T. Vigne, the noted traveller, also over a century ago, in 1835, mentioned that veins of lead, copper, silver, and gold were known to exist in the grass-covered hills in the neighbourhood of Shāhābād below Bānihāl (*see* Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 337).

The Dogrā administration has lacked active sympathy with the aspirations of the people to a vigorous advance in enlightenment and prosperity and to the raising of the standard of living. It has been as foreign to the Valley as the British to India, with the sad subtraction of efficiency associated with British administration.

The Death of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh.

Sir Pratāp Singh breathed his last on the 23rd September, 1925, in his sixty-seventh year, having been on the *gaddī* from September 1885 to September 1925, a period of forty years.

"The bier was covered with costly shawls and the pyre was of sandalwood. . . . . The old Maharaja was on his death-bed in a room upstairs in the palace, but was rushed down to die on Mother Earth which is essential for Hindus. A thread connected him with a cow outside and ensured the safe passage of his soul to Heaven. The priests had a good time when he lay dying. Five thousand rupees produced a Goddess in gold with promises of longevity. The palace gates were guarded and General Janak Singh, the Army Minister, arrested the statue of the Goddess and found it was not even gold.

"A very interesting ceremony was performed after the Maharaja's death. A Brahmin was brought in from outside the State and shaved from head to foot. He was presented with samples of all the articles which had been used by the late Maharaja, money, motor-car, a horse, kitchen utensils in gold and silver, beds and bed linen, etc., and turned out of the State under Police escort, never to return under pain of death. He took away all the sins of the departed potentate."*

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh had a daughter and a son. Both died in infancy. One statement is that, due to disease contracted in youth, he could not be expected to have a child of his own subsequently. Therefore, Rājkumār Jagat Dev Singh performed his obsequies. Jagat Dev was the second son of Sir Baldev Singh, the late Rājā of Pūnch, the second cousin to Pratāp Singh, and the great-grandson of Gulāb Singh's brother Dhyān Singh, and was adopted, when 14 years of age, shortly after the World War I, by Pratāp Singh in his lifetime. Jagat Dev Singh died in 1940; his son, Shiv Ratan Dev Singh, now studying for his LL.B. degree at Lucknow University, U. P., as already noted, will be the Rājā of Pūnch and the Jāgīrdār of the State on his installation to the *gaddī* in due course. There was a rumour that the late Mahārājā Pratāp Singh wanted this adopted son, Jagat Dev Singh, to succeed him, when Rājā Harī Singh was involved in the case in London, already mentioned. But the reports are that the late Earl of Reading, when Viceroy of India, decided to continue the *status quo* in favour of Harī Singh, according to Article I of the Treaty of Amritsar.

**Recollections—50 Years in the Service of India* by the late G. E. C. Wakefield, C.I.E., O.B.E., *The C. & M. Gazette* Press, Lāhore, 1942, pages 192-3.

The accession of Shrī Mahārājā Sir Harī Singhjī Bahādur.

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's mantle, therefore, fell on the shoulders of his nephew, Rajā Sir Harī Singh, the son of the late Rājā Sir Amar Singh, the second younger brother of the deceased ruler and the great-grandson of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, the founder of the State. Miyān Harī Singh, born on the 9th of the dark fortnight of Assūj, 1952, or 30th September, 1895, now rules the State of Jammu and Kashmīr as Honorary Lieutenant-General His Highness Rāj-Rājeshwar Mahārājadhirāj Shrī Mahārājā Sir Harī Singhjī Bahādur, Indar Mahindar, Sipar-i-Saltanat-i-Inglishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., HON. LL.D. (Panjāb, 2nd December, 1938), Honorary A.D.C. to His Majesty the King of England.

His *Rāj-tilak* ceremony was performed with great *éclat* and was attended by several princes and the Governor of the Punjāb. "There was a great display of jewels and 'Zabardast,' His Highness's favourite horse, was decked out with 7 lakhs of rupees worth of emeralds."*

Birth of Shrī Yuvrāj Karan Singhjī.

Mahārājā Sir Harī Singh has a son, named Karan Singh, born at Cannes in Southern France, on the 9th of March, 1931, in the course of Their Highnesses' European tour. Shrī Yuvarāj Karan Singhjī, the heir apparent, is now (1949 A.C.) in his 19th year, receives his education, at present, not like his father at a Chiefs' College, but at the Doon School, Dehra Dūn, and was lately attending Pratāp College, Srīnagar. He is no longer styled *Miyān* Karan Singh or *Miyān Sāhib*, as his father—when he was the heir apparent—and Ranbīr Singh, Pratāp Singh, and Amar Singh, the grandfather of Karan Singh, used to be styled, in their younger days. Karan Singh is now in the U.S.A. for treatment.

Miyān is now discarded in favour of Mahārāj Kumār or Shrī Yuvarāj. The new palace is Gulāb Bhawan. Old Shergarhī is re-named Rājgarh, and the Assembly is called the Prajā Sabhā and the President is Prajā Sabhā Pramukh, the member of the Assembly is Prajā Sabhā Sad, the Prime Minister is Pradhān Amātiya, the Council of Ministers is Amātiya Mandal. The swearing-in of

**Recollections—50 years in the Service of India*, Lāhore, page 193.

high state functionaries is done through a Sanskrit formula. His Highness' orders have taken the place of ***Irshād*** or ***Farmān,*** and are issued in Sanskritized Hindi. And so to quote the late Mr. R. S. Pandit "in the time of the present ruler, the Maharaja Hari Singh, Rājataraṅgiṇī goes on" (*The River of Kings,* page 630).

Farewell to the Reader

The student of history is not permitted to play the rôle of prophet. His function is to chronicle events, to interpret those events, and to emphasize the lessons of those events for the good of mankind. Judging from the happenings of over two decades from 1925 to 1948 during the régime of Mahārājā Harī Singh, but despite himself, the people of the Valley of Kashmīr have made just the beginning of a start on the road to political consciousness. With unity of purpose and readiness to sacrifice, the Kashmīrīs can transform themselves from suppliants into a vigorous and effective agency for the progress of their Fatherland.

Here we stop reviewing the past and enter the land of the living. So our history—partly general, and partly cultural—closes. We, therefore, take leave of the reader and pray—using, in part, the words of the noted traveller, Godfrey Thomas Vigne—

May Kashmīr become "the Focus of Asiatic Civilization," and may it have the Might to Maintain itself as—

The Focus of Asiatic Civilization !

Kashīr—that has chronicled events in the history of Kashmīr up to 1925—goes into the hands of the reader early in 1949. If we skip over this period, as it is current politics, and, therefore, outside the ken of the student of history, it may now be possible to state that signs are clearer and the ray of hope brighter that, with the freedom of India and the creation of Pākistān, the Valley of Kashmīr, on account of sovereignty being vested in the hands of its own people, may henceforth start on a career of greatness and, therefore, the prospect of its future as the focus of Asiatic civilization definitely appears to be reassuring !

Errata—Volume II

Page 348, 2nd line of the footnote No. 2, read *1317* for 1314, and add 3 to the two subsequent dates too.

,, 352, delete (?) in the second hemistich of the first couplet.

,, 354, in the first line of the last couplet, insert the *izāfat* on the second *hāi* of شاهنشه

,, 355, in the last line, insert the *izāfat* on کار

,, 358, delete the *izāfat* from کمالات in the 2nd hemistich of the last but one couplet.

,, 363, in the 1st line of the Persian couplets, insert the *izāfat* on the *shīn* in مرشدِ

,, ,, line 5th, transfer the *tashdīd* from حی to یکُّون

,, 365, read رفته for رفت in the middle of the paragraph 2.

,, 367, insert the *izāfat* on the *'ain* in شمع in the Persian couplet.

,, 375, 2nd line from the top, read *Tibb-i-Ūnānī* for Tibbi-i-Ūnānī.

,, ,, line 3 from above, read *Ranbīr* for Ranbhīr.

,, ,, line 19 from above, read *Vol. IX* for XI.

,, 399, 10th line from the top, accent the *i* in *Ghaznavi*.

,, 401, 5th line from above, read *pepper* for pepher.

,, 403, 15th line from above, accent the *i* in *Himāl*.

,, 405, 7th line from above, accent the two i's in the *Masnavi Himāl*.

,, 410, accent the *i* in *Sultāni* and *Divān* in three places.

,, 451, 2nd line, accent the *i* in *Divān*.

,, 454, read قطرهٔ for قطری in the 2nd line of the 2nd couplet.

,, 456, transfer the *izāfat* from عاشق to بطبعِ

,, 457, 1st line in the 2nd paragraph, accent the *i* in *Khāki*, also the *i* in *Ganāi* in the 4th line of the same paragraph.

,, 458, read و for ' in the first line of the first couplet.

Page 458, insert هم before بُو in the 3rd couplet from above.

,, 472, delete the *izāfat* from رُوح in the 9th line from above.

,, ,, transfer the *izāfat* from ء to ر in the 2nd hemistich of the لمعات

,, 476, in the 2nd line of the top couplet, read ناگہ for ناگاہ

,, ,, read دِلِ for دِل in the third couplet of the paragraph 14.

,, 478, read رہ for راہ in the 2nd hemistich of the 2nd couplet.

,, 480, read ظِلِّ for ظِل in the second couplet.

,, 481, accent the *i* in italics in *Hamid* and *Sāqi* in the paragraph 2.

,, 484, read بُو الوفای کُرد for بُو الوفامی کُرد in the 2nd hemistich of the 2nd couplet of Hakīm Sanā'ī.

,, 489, read چاکِ for چاک in the last line of Pandit Narā'andās *Zamīr's* couplets.

,, 522, under Sculpture, in line 11, read *almost* for amlost.

,, 543, 2nd line from above, the *i* is to be accented as *í*.

,, 548, 7th line from above, accent the *i* in *Sangitaratanākara*.

,, 554, 3rd line from the bottom of the main paragraph, read *Zīr-u-bam* for *Zir u-bam*.

,, 604, in the footnote, *Hājjī* has been wrongly spelt as "Hājī," also in two places, viz., p. lxii, in Vol. I, in the Bibliography, in the name of the last author under M, and in Vol. II, on p. 462, 7th line from below, in the paragraph No. 3.

,, 605, carry the words *capital*, *Khizr* from the 5th line from the top to the next lower line to be inserted after the words *the new*. This error has also been noted in the footnote on the same page.

,, 634, in the top paragraph, delete the accent on *a* in the *bīghā* in three places.

,, 635, 7th line from below, insert "a" between long and time, and accent the a & a in Chaghtai which is correctly *Chaghatāī*.

Page 636, add at the end of the middle paragraph : *According to Wade, Ranjīt Singh got Rs.* 25 *lakhs a year from Kashmīr.*

,, 642, in the middle of the page, in the second legend, in Arabic, there should be a *tanwīn* on the ت in the word جيفة Lower down in the Persian couplet, نور should have the زير below ر and not below و .

,, 650, 4th line from below, delete the *comma* after "attributes."

,, 653, in the Persian couplet, after the first paragraph, read اتش for اتشى

,, 680, line 13 from the top, read *page 781* instead of page 783.

,, 693, delete the *comma* between Kashmīr and State on the line immediately above Urdu poetry, and insert a *comma* after "Hakīm" in the first line of this same paragraph.

,, 702, 3rd line of the main paragraph, delete *with* after provoked. Also, in this same page, footnote No. 2 should have an apostrophe after *Shea* followed by *and*. *See* also the footnote on the same page for this same correction.

,, 704, line 4th from below in the middle paragraph, read *sad* for said.

,, 705, in the first line of the *footnote*, read *Gyānī* for Giyānī.

,, 715, in the last block of the three couplets of Mīrzā Mahdī *Mujrim*, the first hemistich of the second couplet should have سنگ and not سنگی as being more appropriate to the Persian script.

,, 727, 13th line from the top, delete the accent on the second *a* in *Nānāk*.

,, 735, there should have been no space between *Sirāt-i* and *Mustaqīm* in the first line of the page.

In four or five places certain photographs will not be found as noted in the List of Illustrations but a little *after* or *before* the page given in the List.

The photograph of Floating Gardens facing page 650 is an addition, not noted in the List.

NOTE —With reference to page 252, Vol. I, and to page 182 of the Index to Vol. II, *chinār* in *Kashīr* has been throughout spelt as such. On consulting lexicons, the spelling is as follows: Bate (1875), page 208, has chinār; Fallon (1879), p. 539, chinār; Platts (1884), 443, chanār and chinār; Wollaston (1894), p. 939 and p. 956, chinār; Steingass (1930), p. 399, chanār; Johnson, p. 456, has chanār. Persian and Urdu dictionaries usually write chanār. Kashmīrīs, however, as a rule, pronounce it chinār.

The Map of Ancient Kashmir.—The Map of Ancient Kashmīr, intended to face page 35, Vol. I, noted as No. 9, on page xxix, and referred to on page 783, Vol. II, though printed by the Survey of India for *Kashīr*, was detained at Amritsar, and could not be received by the author despite long correspondence with a number of notable officials of the Governmen t of India.

THE END

Imprint

The two Volumes of *Kashīr* by Dr. G. M. D. Sufi were printed at the Civil and Military Gazette Press, Ltd., 48, the Mall, Lāhore, by the General Manager, Lieut. P. Heal, R.N., and published by the University of the Panjāb, Lāhore, Pākistān, in 1949, and can be had of Messrs. Ferozsons, Lāhore, Peshāwar, *or* Karāchī, and of Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Bombay, London, New York, etc., for Rs. 40/- *or* £3. 6sh., *or* $12. 500 copies.

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Volume II

CHAPTERS VIII to XII

[Pages 343 to 832]

[Prepared by Mr. Kamal Hydar, News Editor of the "Pakistan Times," Lahore, Mr. Shaukat 'Ali, M.A., and Mr. Zuhur-ud-Din Ahmad, M.A., Library Assistants, Punjab Public Library, Lahore, and revised by the Author.]

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Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, quoted, *f.n.* 640; quoted *f.n.* 642.

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Chingīz, Mullā Kamal's ancestry traced to, 376.

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Chopra, Sir R. N., on the medicinal plants of India, 499; article on "Drug Research Laboratories in Jammu and Kashmīr," 499.

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Churchill, Lord Randolph S., Ranbīr did not agree to a British Resident being stationed at Srīnagar is evident from the letter of——, 807.

Chuttianah, a duty levied on Kashmīrī shawls, 565.

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Çishya, the word Sikh derived from the Sanskrit word, 708.

Çiti Kanṭha, believed to be the first Kashmīrī poet, 403.

Çiva, on Ranbīr's forehead was painted the yellow symbol with green centre that indicates the followers of, 803.

Çivaparinaya, tale of Çiva's marriage in Kashmīrī, 398.

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Civil and Military Gazette, The, Mr. Grey's account of the receipt for the sale of Kashmīr in, *f.n.* 767.

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Commentary of the Hindu System of Medicine by Dr. T. A. Wise, reference to different systems of medicine in, 492.

Commercial, the——law of Islam shows traces of the Roman-Byzantine law, 612.

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Coomaraswamy, Dr. A., on Kashmīrī shawls, 561 ; on the motif of the decoration of woven Kashmīrī shawls, 561.

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Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing, The, Osborne on Ranjīt Singh, quoted, *f.n.* 709 ; Osborne on the death of Ranjīt Singh, quoted, *f.n.* 716 ; quoted, *f.n.* 737.

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Ḍal-Khālsa, Gurū Gobind Singh's army consisting of 500 Pathans came to be known as the——, 708-709.

Damdama Sāhib, Gurū Gobind Singh finalized the compilation of the *Granth Sāhib* at Talwandī Sābo, now called the——, 706.

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Danish massacre of monks and nuns by—when tolerance pervaded the Hindu-Muslim period, 621.

Dānishmand Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullāh Ghāzī acquires medical knowledge under——, 495-496.

Danube, the Jhelum forms a continuous series of rapids, like those of the St. Lawrence and the——, 537.

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End of the Two Volumes of "*Kashīr*".

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